

POLITICAL THOUGHT IN MAHARASHTRA

(1600 - 1818)

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BY

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POLITICAL THOUGHT IN MAHARASHTRA.

(1600 - 1818)

Chapter I.

Introduction.

The history of Maharashtra occupies a unique position in the history of India as a whole. During the 17th century, Maharashtra threw off foreign domination and established a national state. Maharashtra had to struggle hard for this newly born state against powerful enemy like Aurangzeb. But in this conflict, Maharashtra ~~came~~^{came} out with flying colours. In the 18th century, Maharashtra crossed its traditional political boundaries and began to dominate 'Imperial Affairs' at Delhi. Upto the end of the 18th century, in general Marathas dominated the political affairs of India - from Mysore in the south to Cuttock in the east and Delhi in the north. English rightly thought Marathas as their 'one and only enemy' by the end of the 18th century. It must be remembered that Maratha's was the only power, out of many native powers of India, that fought successfully against the foreign Mughal empire and kept its hold upon Delhi affairs for a number^{of} decades. Marathas, as a constituent part of Hindu society, are only a small fraction of that society. The question will arise that 'how is it that such a small fraction of the Hindu society was able to dominate the political affairs of India for a considerable time ? What are the reasons ?' The answer to question is that 'it is the political thought of

Maharashtra' which provided the necessary spirit of nationalism and power emanating from it, that has made Maharashtra (Marathas) to dominate the political history of India in the 17th and the 18th centuries.

In this thesis, I have tried my level best, from the published historical resources like "Marathyanchya Itihasachi Sadhane; (मराठ्यांच्या इतिहासाची साधने); Peshwa Daptar, (पेशवे दफ्तर); Diaries, (लेखावली) and other published material" the political thought in Maharashtra from 1600 to 1818. The political thought can be roughly divided into four periods - First, from the beginning to 1646; second, from 1646 to 1680; third from 1720 to 1752 and the last 1772 to 1818. It is to be noted that watertight division of this period is impossible, because one thought shades off into another.

In the first period the political thought is reflected in the writings of religious saints and the actual deeds of a few Maratha Sardars. The political thought is reflected in the politico-religious movements, which had its roots in the earlier period. The aim of the movement was obviously to throw off the political and religious domination of Muslims. For this purpose it was essential to rouse the self-respect of the individual Maharashtrian Hindu, to remove from his mind the inferiority complex created by foreign domination, for a period of three centuries; to bridge the gulf created by the caste system, at least in the political sphere and to

effect a cohesiveness of society by means of a spirit of nationalism. From Dnyaneshwar to Tukaram, every saint had advocated the principle of equality before God. In those days religious observance was not separated from God and thus the principle of equality permeated through the different layers of society. The advice of Ramdas that "All Marathas should be united" (मराठा तिकुवा मेळावा) and that 'Maharashtra Dharma' should be established (महाराष्ट्र धर्म स्थापना) clearly reflects the spirit of nationalism. Just as the religious leaders or saints were preaching self-respect and a unity, the Maharashtrian Sardars actually proved their capacity to rule, to govern and to become victorious on the battle-field. During this period many important Sardars like Jadhav, Nimbalkar, Bhosale etc. have shown their bravery on the battle-field. ^{Shahaji} ~~Shivaji~~ had become a King-maker. Yet all these Sardars were nominally feudatory Sardars, owing allegiance to ~~the~~ Sultan of Bijapur. Shahaji was practically an independent king at Bangalore, as shown in the famous book 'Radhamadhav Vilas Champu'. The next step was to establish a completely independent state.

The emergence of Shivaji on the political horizon of Maharashtra is the next important landmark in the political thought of Maharashtra. The aim was to establish an independent kingdom of Maharashtra. The political thought during this period can be summed up in the following manner :

- (a) to establish a national state of Maharashtra in which each Maharashtraian will feel that it is his own state,
- (b) to establish a new state, having the basic principles of Hindu religion,
- (c) The new state will be the abode Gods and Brahmins,
- (d) Establishment of Maharashtra Dharma.
- (e) Ideal of Hindvi Swarajya.

To achieve this aim, Shivaji adopted a pragmatic policy. In the beginning, he kept friendly relations with Aurangzeb and subdued Bājapur; when he became powerful enough, he defied the Mughals. Shivaji's visit to Agra, his ~~flight~~ flight from that place, his offensive policy against the Mughals culminated into his victory. Shivaji crowned himself as a 'Chhatrapati', According to ancient traditions he had performed 'Rajyabhishek' with all the proper ceremonies accompanying it. He struck coins, started a new 'shaka' (era) known as 'Rajyabhishek Shaka', introduced religious reforms - notable among ^{them is} ~~it~~ the re-conversion of Hindus who had under pressure adopted Muslim religion. He revived the old administrative pattern of 'Ashta-pradhans', ~~decided~~ to abolish Watan System.

When Shivaji heard the news that a large Mughal army ^{was} ~~is~~ coming to the south to crush this newly born state, he adopted a wider policy governed by the political thought

'Deccan for Deccanis" For this purpose he visited Golkonda (Hyderabad) befriended the Muslim states of ^{the} south. This policy served its purpose.

From the death of Shivaji to the death of Aurangzeb i.e. from 1680 to 1707 the political thought of Maharashtra is reflected in the continuous war of national freedom, by any means, guerilla warfare etc. The very fact that leaderless Maharashtra was able to defeat an enemy like Aurangzeb and to regain its freedom from the clutches of the Mughals shows how powerful the political spirit was generated by the twin movements in Maharashtra - ideas expressed by politico-religious leaders and Shivaji's movement.

Ignominious departure of the Mughal army towards north from Maharashtra in 1707, opened a new page in the political thought of Maharashtra. Now there was no problem of achieving independence, because it was already achieved. There was no question of danger ~~either~~ ^{either} from Bijapur or from Golkonds, because both had been extinguished by Aurangzeb twenty years ago. In 1707 there was no power in ^{the} south which could check the rising Maratha power. The departure of the Mughal army from Maharashtra without even concluding any treaty, had demoralising effect upon the northern powers. In such a situation, the time was ripe for Marathas to adopt a bold and courageous policy of establishing Maratha Empire.

Shahu required a few years to establish himself. In 1719 there appears a new political thought which aimed at

bringing all the Maratha Sardars into a common quasi-federal constitution. The salient features of this new thought are (a) To accept the paramount power of the Delhi Emperor - who had lost all the real power of the state, - - - Emperor's authority ^{is} to be utilised for establishing Maratha rule over other parts of India. (b) The central figure of Maratha Empire was to be ^{the} Chhatrapati - all Sardars were to be loyal to him and not to the Emperor at Delhi. (c) The decisions of the central government were binding upon all the Sardars; the central government was to punish offending Sardars. (d) Collection of revenue, maintenance of peace and order in their respective territory^s, was left to the Sardars. (e) Raising of the necessary army was entrusted to the Sardars, with the prior consent or order from the central government. (f) Sardars were to submit yearly account to central government, pay the yearly tribute to the Chhatrapati failing which their saranjam (authority and territory) could be attached by the central government. (g) No Sardar was allowed to enter into treaty agreement with any foreign power. (h) Granting of titles was the prerogative of ^{the} Chhatrapati only. No Sardar can receive clothes of honour, title from any foreign power without the consent of the central government. (i) To unite two Maratha states, i.e. Satara and Kolhapur into one. (j) To ensure the freedom of religion to Hindus in the neighbouring foreign powers like Portuguese; and if necessary to punish them.

Authority to collect Chouth and Sardeshmukhi from

the six Subas^h of Deccan was the first step in the direction of total hold of the Marathas upon the Mughal Emperor. The political constitutional structure erected by Balaji Wishwanath, paved the way to the rise of Peshwas^{the} and the rise of the Maratha power also. Bajirao I, Balaji Bajirao were able to hold Sardars under their control. Therefore, a strong central government was established at Poona. The next logical step was realised in 1752 when Mughal Emperor accepted the protection of the Marathas. Thus Marathas became the King-Makers of Delhi.

Nationalist Marathas of the 17th century have now become the Imperialist Marathas in the 18th century. Their political thought underwent a change accordingly. The spirit, the unity, and zeal which filled the hearts of Marathas in the 17th century under Shivaji, could not be found in the Marathas of the 18th century. The granting of great Sanad in 1752 created controversy : North Vs South.

9. It is proved with facts that Jats, Rajputs and Mughal Sardars Vazir and occasionally Emperor himself - had formed a united front against the Marathas. It created a reaction amongst Marathas. The political thought which was essential at this juncture i.e. Indian nationalism against foreign aggression - either of Abdali or of any other power like English etc. had not emerged. Neither the Marathas nor any other power in north India had visualised Indian nationalism as such. The result was, that Marathas suffered a set-back on the battle-field of Panipat in 1761. However, Marathas were able

to re-established their hold upon the Mughal Emperor in 1772.

The quasi-federal constitution of Marathas which functioned effectively from 1720 to 1760, could not function in the same manner from 1761 onwards. There are many reasons for that. The first important reason is the eclipse of the central figure, i.e. Chhatrapait. Peshwas, from 1750 onwards have assumed the entire control of the Maratha Empire. The spirit of idealism, loyalty was lost from the hearts of the Maratha Sardars, and the void created therefrom was filled in by self-interest. Peshwas lost their hold upon the Sardars. Policy decisions passed from the hands of Peshwas to important Sardars like Holkar, Shinde, etc. It created a topsyturvy situation in the organisation, and relationship between ^{the} Sardars and ^{the} Peshwa, of the central government. Sardars now began to dictate terms upon the central government. Sardars have practically become independent. There was no central power worth the name, which could punish them.

The murder of Narayanrao and the Barbhai conspiracy, Raghoba's attempt to assume Peshwaship, and his attempts to seek the help from the English clearly denote the lack of nationalism and other spirit which dominated the Maratha mind in the 17th century. The only thought, which governed the mind of Marathas and men like Nana Phadnis, was to continue the state and to keep it in tact, as far as possible. Nana Phadnis wisely entered into alliances with ^{the} Nizam and Haider in 1780 - a mutual defensive alliance against the English.

But all the stipulations of this alliance failed to realise

the shrewdness of the British policy of 'Non-intervention'. As soon as Lord Cornwallis declared this policy, Marathas and Nizam joined hands with British against Tipoo. Marathas and Nizam fought against each other at Kharda in 1795 without any gain for both the parties. This brought the end of the quasi-federal constitution of the Marathas.

The last years of the Maratha Empire, i.e. 1800 to 1818 are full of plots and counter-plots - clearly denoting the want of any political thought as such. It can be said that Bajirao II realised that he had lost his independence, but it was too late and of no use. The central government at Poona and gradually all the important Sardars were subdued by the British power. The conflict between the Marathas and the English was a conflict of two societies - Medieval society built upon the feudatory system and the modern industrial society - based upon the new relationship. What was essential particularly after 1752, was a new constitution based upon new thoughts, having the intention of building a new Indian society. The Maratha quasi-federal constitution failed to develop itself after 1752. The weakness of the constitution lies in its unworkability. The other important factor was the lack of dynamic spirit in the political thought. The political thought after 1752 had become stagnant. This is the main reason for the downfall of the Maratha Empire.

Chapter II.

BACKGROUND

The land and its people :

The present state of Maharashtra, (Formed after the bifurcation of bilingual Bombay State on the 1st May 1960) practically includes, all the people whose mother-tongue is Marathi. The present Maharashtra includes eight districts of Vidarbha (An ancient ^{Kingdom} known from the days of Lord Krishna) five districts of Marathwada, North and South Konkan and Maharashtra proper. It lies between the 16th and the 22nd degree of north latitude, extending from Daman to Goa on the West; the Satpura range forms its northern boundary; an irregular line joining Chanda to Goa and passing through Nanded, Bidar, Shalapur and Belgaum marks off the South-east limits of the region. To the north of Maharashtra are the rivers Tapi and Narmada, to the extreme south is Warna and to the East is Sina. The territory of Maharashtra is divided into two regions by Sahyadri. Konkan- narrow land between the Western Ghats of Sahyadri and Indian Ocean, and Desh - The eastern slope of Sahyadri. The land of Maharashtra, generally speaking 'yields to much labour a bare measure of subsistence'. The broken rocky nature of the land has made travelling difficult, in the period under our review. The people of Maharashtra were generally poor. There were no rich courts, popular cities or thriving marts to attract merchants. Nor were there regular occasions for the march of large bodies of soldiers as from one province to a

compact and mighty Empire to another ... In their rugged and inhospitable nooks the natives (Maharashtrians) had found safety and peace, while the richer plains had been the scenes of revolution and rapine ... The Maratha peoples' inborn love of independence and isolation was greatly helped by the Nature.¹ It is but natural, that in such land the people of Maharashtra were economically poor, simple, hard-working. There was no feudalism worth the name in Maharashtra which we witness elsewhere.

The Character of the people :

The earliest reference in respect of the character of the people of Maharashtra is found in the writings of Yuan Chwang. This famous Chinese traveller, who visited this part of India in the 7th century A.D. wrote - "The inhabitants are proud, spirited and warlike, grateful for favours and revengeful for wrongs, self-sacrificing towards suppliants in distress and sanguinary to death with any who treated them insultingly."² The soil and climate of Maharashtra is such that it helps develop 'self-reliance, courage,

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1. Shivaji and His Times - Sir Jadunath Sarkar, pages 4-5
 2. Watter's Yuang Chwang : 239.

perseverance, a stern simplicity, a rough straightforwardness, a sense of social equality and consequently pride in the dignity of man as man'. The nature of the soil, climate, social life and religious principles preached by Maharashtrian saints shaped and influenced the political life of Maharashtra. Dr. Choksey in his book³ states that 'this extraordinary people who contested for the supremacy of India with Britain were known to their enemies as a people diminutive in stature, of unparalleled cunning, brave, vindictive and possessing more talent and independent principles than any other people of Hindustan. A people who rose from a state of rustic obscurity and rigorous vassalage to become a mighty power must have within them the seeds of greatness. Their national consciousness burst forth into unquenchable ardour that set fire to the mighty fabric of the once proud and glorious Mughal Empire. It was the wild, predatory, almost semi-barberous Maratha soldier who accomplished the marvels of conquest accompanied by the polished and insidious Brahmin, whose specious politeness and astonishing command of temper often left European hypocrisy in the shade ... wild, turbulent, independent spirited, the Maratha heart ever yearned for leadership and adventure. Cunning and unscrupulous in conquest, they were given to perform the most daring feat with incalculable coldness and astonishing courage.'

3. A History of British Diplomacy at the Court of Peshwas (1766 - 1818)

Muslim aggression :

Muslim aggression in the Deccan started in the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D. Rajput Kingdoms were defeated by Muslims and therefore Muslim conquerors were penetrating deep into the south. Malikaffar - one Sardar of Allauddin - defeated Ramdeorao Yadav of Deogiri, arrested him and ~~was~~ sent ^{him} to Delhi. He was made vassal king by Allauddin. Shankardeo, son of Ramdeorav who became the king after the death of Ramdeorao in 1309 A.D. refused to pay annual 'Nazarana' to the Emperor at Delhi. Enraged by this act on the part of Shankardeo, Malikkaphur marched towards Deogiri. Shankardeo was killed. And so ended the powerful dynasty in Maharashtra. Dnyaneshwar, the Saint poet of Maharashtra, has praised the king of Deogiri, i.e. Ramachandra for his just rule.⁴ Yadav dynasty of Deogiri had held sway over the vast territory of Maharashtra. Even the stone inscriptions, depicting the generosity of the king Ramachandra have been found in the territory upto Mysore.

New Problems :

The death of Shankardeo and the end of the Yadav ^{na} dynasty of Deogiri created a political vacuum in Maharashtra. The challenges which the people of Maharashtra had to face were not merely political, but social, cultural, military and religious also. The problems can be enumerated as follows :

- (1) Muslims were advancing with a tremendous force, with sword in one hand and Koran in another. The destruction of 'Kafir' was their sole aim. Forcible conversion of Hindus was also taking place. There was a danger that the lower strata of the Hindu society could have been easily induced to accept Islam. The problem, therefore, was, how to keep unity in society.
- (2) With the advance of the Muslims, certain cultural traditions, peculiar to Muslims only, gradually began to spread in Maharashtra. For example certain festivals were observed in which Hindus also began to participate. There was a change in dress also. The use of Persian language increased. Therefore, these changes created cultural problems.
- (3) Hindu society was a caste-ridden society and therefore, inequality in social status, was sanctioned by religion. On the other hand Muslim society was based upon the concept of Universal Brotherhood. The problem, therefore, was, how to secure unity amongst various castes among Hindus; and how to keep the Hindu religion safe from the onslaught of Muslims.
- (4) The political void created by the destruction of Deogiri kingdom, created political problems. There was no strong ruler or any other monarch, capable

(4) enough to face the Muslim aggression. There were many petty kingdoms in Maharashtra, which continued to resist Muslims for the next three hundred years. Shivaji was the first powerful Hindu king to fill the void. Therefore, the political aim or policy of the petty states was to secure maximum independence in practice and to keep the political aspirations of the people of Maharashtra, alive.

(5) The superiority of Muslim arms and war strategy was an accepted fact. Therefore, there was a necessity to adopt a new technique of warfare, which Maratha army adopted in the 17th century.

Answers to these Problems :

The problem of keeping the unity of the society was tackled in three different manners or ways. The first and the best way to keep unity in society is to have a common enemy and to keep the fire of hatred burning in the minds of native Hindus. The second way is to bridge the gaps between the various castes through the introduction of social reforms. On the ethical side it was very easy to stress the equality amongst people. All are equal before God. The third way is to castigate, to look down upon those individuals who surrendered themselves to the Muslims. No noteworthy attempts, by any of the Maharashtrian Saints, were ever made to attempt the synthesis of these two religious communities, viz. Hindu and Muslim.

Namdeo, Gora Kumbhar, Nivrattinath, Dnyaneshwar, Chokhamela, Mudhesh Changadeo, Mahalingdas, and several others including the famous Ramdas and Tukaram, are the noteworthy Maharashtrian Saint-Poets who have worked in the same manner mentioned above. Muslims indirectly helped in forging the unity among Maharashtrians by their normal deeds - i.e. destruction of temples, forcible conversions, atrocities committed by them towards women. Namdeo writes ⁵ in his Gatha "The unclean Yavanas (Muslims) have become kings, sins are being committed everywhere; hence, there hath been Divine manifestation to blot out the evil of Kali. Nama says, The people, having found the Yavanas unbearable, are singing the praise of God : for these are ever the means of redemption - " Namdeo. (Tr. by S.R.Sharma.)

Dnyaneshwar stressed the following principles ⁶ - (a) true love towards one's own people (b) firm faith in one's own religion and (c) utmost loyalty in one's own country. Equality has been stressed by all the Maharashtrian saints belonging to different castes in unquestionable terms. Knowledge and learning in Maharashtra was not limited to the priest - class alone, i.e. Brahmins only. Education was open to all the castes. The very fact that saint-poets belonging to lower castes ~~have~~ ^{were} not only been able to read and write but were also able to produce excellent literature reflecting

5. Namdevachi Gatha

6. Dnyaneshwari - Canto 18.

the maturity of thought, proves the statement beyond doubt. 9
This is not merely an accident. Sawanta Mali, Visoba Khechar,
Narahari Sonar, Banka Mahar, Chokha, Koormadas, are Marathi
saints who belonged to different lower castes of Hindus. All
these poet saints of Maharashtra have tried their level best 9
to bridge the gap between various castes of the Hindu society.
The attempts on the part of these sons of Maharashtra might
not have resulted into achieving perfect unity among Mahara-
shtrian Hindus, but at least it blunted the edges of hatred
(if any) among the different castes. That is why we find
from Brahmins downwards to Mahars, fighting side by side with
swords in their hands, against their common enemy. Those who
helped Muslim rulers or those who accepted the service of
the Muslim rulers and tried to influence their own kith and
kin, were castigated in the rudest terms possible. For
example, Mahalingdas sarcastically writes - ⁷ He who serves
Yavan (i.e. Muslim) day and night is completely grappled
by falsity. He is a quisling ... etc. A Brahmin who serves
Mlencha (Yavan) is four times Yavan. The incarnation of
Dattatraya, Narsimhasaraswati and several other saints have
introduced certain new customs and traditions which were
apparently similar to the traditions of Islam. These attempts
on the part of these eminent saints have strengthened the
society to face the cultural onslaught of Muslims.

The most powerful tool in the hands of the Maharashtrians

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common people and saint-poets alike, - was the suppression and destruction of temples etc. by Muslims. It kept the anti-Muslim feeling burning for ever. Though the principle of Universal Brotherhood has been accepted by the Muslims, in practice Muslims have not observed this principle even in respect of fellow Muslims. There are many references of injustice done to the Hindus, whenever there was a case between Hindus and Muslims. In 1606 Muslims⁸ conquerors burnt all the valuable documents. In 1611 there was a conflict between Narsoji Kumaji Jagdale and Babaji bin Yakubji Musalman. It was a property conflict. Formerly, it was decided that Hindus and Muslims should divide the property equally among themselves. Muslims, later on, have broken the tradition. Muslims were warned, but it was of no use. The murders followed. The murderer happened to be a convert Muslim. The death sentence was proposed for him but he was released (retrieved) by the panchayat, because the king was also a Muslim.⁹ The letters 85, 139, 172, 175 of Patrasarsangraha vividly describe how Muslims have looted parts of Gujrat, Bombay etc. Letter No. 332 dated 4th July 1631 describes how Poona was looted and burnt by Muslims.¹⁰ In letter No. 2360 (Vol. I)¹¹ there is a reference of

8. Patrasarsangraha - Part I. - page 7. पृ. ३०, ३१, ३३

9. Patrasarsangraha -

10. "

11. पं. रा. रा. के. ८१

to a Muslim Sardar who is praying to Mahammud. He says¹²
"that for your favour I have destroyed 33 temples."

This happened in 1586. In a legal document of land purchase there is a reference¹³ to how Muslims have wantonly destroyed a village and have arrested the entire population. This took place in June 1629. Another incident, which took place on the 21st August 1629, is referred to, in letter No. 2423, narrates the story of how people fled from the village because Muslims harassed them.¹⁴ In another letter there¹⁵ is an information about the construction of a new Musjid by Ranadulla Khan. It states that, at Santa Bennur, there was a temple of Ragnath. It was totally destroyed and a huge and magnificent Masjid was erected on the same place.¹⁶

The reference to Muslim atrocities amongst private correspondence, semi-legal documents, clearly shows how anti-Muslim spirit generally ~~previided~~ prevailed in Maharashtra. It is no wonder, if we come across the same feeling in the writings of Maratha saints. For example the biography of Mudhesh Changdeo narrates¹⁷ - how the king of Bedar has harassed Brahmins, how the temple of Pandharpur was destroyed and a Masjid erected on that place, how Badwas have taken

12. Patrasarsangraha - Part I, II, III

13. "

14. Patrasarsangraha -

15. Patrasarsangraha -

16.

16.

given
6 ~~have taken~~ the idol of God Pandurang to a secret place.

He further expresses his desire "that the temple should be restored, by destroying Masjid; because Pandharpur is our ancient city." Ramdas has also narrated the atrocities committed by the Muslims.

The political void created by the destruction of the kingdom of Deogiri produced three different streams in the political life of Maharashtra. The first is the continuation of the struggle against Muslims. The second is the establishment of Bahamani Sultanate in Deccan; and the third is the establishment of the Empire of Vijayanagar.

13 // Harpaldeo, the last king of Deogiri 'was flayed alive, decapitated and his head fixed above the gate of his own capital'¹⁸ in 1318, by Mubarak Shah and thus ended the powerful dynasty at Deogiri. Yet this was not the end of the fight against Muslims. Local rulers, to name a few, the king of Khelna, Rayri, Ranas of Sonkhed, Hoysals of Warargal, Ballals of Dwarasamudra, Shirkas, Durves of Khandesh, kings, Ashirgad and Baglan, continued their struggle against the Muslim rulers for a period of nearly hundred and fifty years. But these individual struggle against powerful Muslims was of no use. There was no leader worth the name, who could unite all the different forces under the national or religious banner to fight against Muslims. A leader like

Shivaji was the need of this time. Because 'a stitch in time would have saved more than nine. That the Maratha failure was due to the fatal lack of leadership is amply demonstrated by the subsequent happenings.

As soon as the first phase of Muslim conquest of ^{the} Deccan was over, there appeared on the political horizon two distinct groups. Muslims were now divided into two groups. (1) real Muslims belonging to Delhi and usually outsiders, i.e. those who hailed from Persia and other Muslim states (2) Deccani Muslims. The sovereign authority of the Delhi Sultanate was now challenged by the Muslims of ^{the} Deccan. Hindus were certainly happy to help ^{the} Deccani Musalmans. The massacre of Chakan, near Poona, which took place in 1445, was the result of this internal conflict. Many northern Indian Muslims were masacred by Hindus and Muslims of Deccan. This internal conflict ultimately culminated into the establishment of Bahamani (Brahmani) kingdom at Gulbarga. The Bahamani kingdom was aided by the native princes of the Deccan, and from several circumstances in the conduct of war, particularly the desultory plan adopted by the insurgents (who founded the kingdom), which always required the aid of native inhabitants of any country, there is strong presumption of their having contributed more to its success

than the Mussulman historian was aware of, or perhaps was willing to allow.²⁰

Vijayanagar :

The rise of Vijayanagar in 1336, was a great solace to Hindus in Deccan. Vijayanagar was founded for the protection of cows, gods and Brahmins.¹ This was exactly the aim of Marathas, who later established their independent national state. Vijayanagar, gradually developed into a mighty Empire, which defended Hindu civilization for nearly two centuries and a quarter. The destruction of Vijayanagar Empire in 1565 again created the political vacuum. Bahamani kingdom was also divided among five kingdoms. During this period the Mughal power at Delhi was gradually becoming more and more powerful. The division of Bahamani Empire gave opportunity to many Maratha Sardars to show their skill as a warrior, administrator, politician. Many a prominent Maratha Sardar have saved and served Muslim rulers during this period. Shahaji was one of the most important Sardars of Bijapur Darbar.

Superiority of ~~Arms~~ : Armaments :

The defeat of the Marathas of Deogiri was not due to the lack of fighting spirit, valour, courage or even military strategy. Muslims were successful not because they were

20. Grant Duff - History of the Marathas.

superior in these qualities, but because they had superior armaments. Their artillery was superior ^{to that of} than the Marathas. Marathas were fighting with swords and arrows. This was useless before the artillery fire. Even the defeat of the Rajputs at the hands of Muslims is not due to any superior internal quality of Muslims, but ^{due to the} superiority of armaments. These very Marathas were able to humble a mighty emperor like Aurangzeb because of the new tactic of war-fare - hit and run - which they had adopted. This military factor must also be taken into consideration.

Taking into consideration the background described above, it will be very easy to understand how the spirit of nationalism, Maharashtra Dharma spread all over the Maharashtra. The basis of the new state was partly religious and partly political. In this background, the seeds of future development can be seen. The establishment of the national independent state (Swarajya) in 1674 and quasi-federal state in 1719 are but the natural consequences of different movements started in Maharashtra from the 13th century onwards.

In this chapter, we had briefly reviewed the causes of the rise of Maratha polity - the background and the circumstances which ultimately led to the establishment of an independent sovereign national state of Maharashtra under Shivaji. We shall enumerate the causes of the same in the next chapter.

Chapter III.

PRE SHIVAJI PERIOD

The Situation :

The final defeat of the Marathas of Deogiri in 1318 and the destruction of the Vijayanagar Empire in 1565, established beyond doubt the Muslim domination over Hindus in south India. From 1318 onwards upto 1674 Maharashtra was governed by different Muslim rulers. The successive defeats of the Hindus at the hands of Muslims from the year 1295 onwards created inferiority complex among Hindus. Hence, Hindus from Maharashtra tried their level best to keep the Hindu society united by giving up some traditions and customs and by inculcating some new traditions. The Hindu society at that time was highly caste-ridden society and therefore even the concept - social and political equality was beyond imagination even to a political thinker. Maharashtrian saints and other religious sects and pantheon have rendered excellent service to keep the social and religious unity, which ultimately helped inculcate the sense of nationality and political unity among Maharashtrians. Since all the higher posts in administration, in Military services, in diplomatic services were occupied by Muslims, there was little opportunity for Maharashtrians to show their mettle. It was but natural to expect that Maharashtrians were content in rendering service to the Muslim rulers - by occupying secondary

positions everywhere.

Bahamani Kingdom :

The unity among the five Bahamani kingdoms - Imadshahi, Adilshahi, Nizamshahi, Qutbshahi, and Baridshahi was a temporary one. Quarrels and wars immediately started among the Muslim Sultans. Foreign mercenaries like Turks, Persians, Abyssinians and Mughals employed by the Deccan sultans added fuel to fire. They proved more troublesome than useful. Therefore, the Sultans were compelled to rely chiefly upon the local Bargirs and Shiledars. This situation gave opportunity to Maharashtrians to show their spirit. 'This training in arms brought education, power and wealth with it and in the sixteenth century we meet with Ghadges and Ghorpades, Jadhavs and Nimalkars, Mores and Shindes, Dafles and Manes, as generals in charge of ten or twenty thousand horses and in enjoyment of proportionate Jahagirs. The late justice M.G.Ranade writes that 'the ground was prepared partly by nature, partly by the ancient history of the country, partly by the religious revival, but chiefly by the long discipline in arms which the country had undergone under Mahomed rule for three hundred years". Maharashtrians were politically shrewd enough to exploit this opportunity. The political situation was not yet ripe for the establishment of an independent Hindu kingdom. Any attempt on the part any Maratha Sardar or Jahagirdar at this stage would have indirectly forged unity amongst Muslims. The defeat of the Vijayanagar

7-N.

Emperor in 1567 ~~in the~~ in the battle of Rakshastangdi, i.e. Talikot, was the latest example of Muslim unity.

Beginning of the Maratha Nationalism :

The defeat of the Vijayanagar Empire and the end of it is really the beginning of the Maratha nationalism. The five Bahamani kingdoms now thought that there is no danger to their existence because the powerful Vijayanagar empire was totally destroyed. This fact gave additional impetus to the feuds among the five Bahamani kingdoms. The political policy of different Jamindars and Watandars was to express loyalty to the Muslim Sultans and at the same time to strive for independence.²¹ Hindu Jamindars proved faithful servants and brought with them their own retainers to serve in the Muslim army. Maratha Bargirs and Shiledars proved useful particularly in the hilly country ending in the Western ghats. Mahomedans at no period seem to have had any partiality for hills and the jungles. So naturally, the entire wilder portions of the ~~Maratha~~ Maharashtra was practically in the hands of Hindu Jamindars. This very wilder portion of Maharashtra became the assembly areas of the nationalist Mavales. In this way, writes Smith, there gradually grew up a hardy race of mountaineers, always the best stuff for soldiers, who brought up in their own faith

21. Compare the Policy adopted by the Indian National Congress during 1885 - 1906.

and traditions, were yet taught the art of war by their conquerors, and only awaited a time of danger and of weakness to raise the standard of revolt, and assert their own independence. This was, in fact, the origin of Mahratta nation and the Sultans of Bijapur and Ahmednagar may be said to have educated and brought into existence the nation which, before long, was to take, not only their places, but very nearly to acquire the sovereignty of India.

Maloji and Shahaji :

The policy of Maratha Jamindars and Sardars and Vatandars can be best exemplified in the life history of Maloji and Shahaji - grandfather and father respectively of the great Shivaji. Maloji was born in the year 1550. He became a shiledar at the age of 27, i.e. in the year 1577. Within a period of twelve years Maloji became Panchhajari (i.e. the owner of 5000 horses or one who is authorised to keep an army of 5000 soldiers.) His position as a Jahagir-dar was duly recognised in the Bijapur Darbar. The borders of his jahagir touched the borders of the Mughal Empire, Adilshaha of Bijapur and Nizamshahi of Ahmednagar. How fearless Maloji was can be seen from his following act. He had slain two pigs and had thrown them into a Masjid near Daulatabad.^{21A} Not only that, but he threatened the Badshah of Ahmednagar that, if Lakhoji Jadhavrao is not keeping his word (i.e. about the marriage of Jijabai with Shahaji), he will be compelled to do such acts again and again.

Maloji constructed a big lake ²² on the top of the hill known as Shikhar Singanapur. He also reconstructed the temple at ^{Sh}Grushneshwar. This latter act of ~~MAJJI~~ Maloji clearly denotes the revival of Hindu religious spirit. Maloji died in the year 1619.

For the life history and the political policy of Shahaji we have to depend upon five important sources. -

- (1) Radha Madhav Vilas Champu - composed by Jayaram Pindye
- (2) Shiv-Digvijay (3) Shivaji - Pratap (4) Basatine Salatin (5) Shahaji Maharajanchi Kaifiyat.

Shahaji soon became, one of the most important Sardars belonging to Nizamshahi. In the famous battle of Bhatawadi (1624) against the combined forces of the Mughals and Bijapur, Shahaji showed his capacity as a military leader ^{and} strategist, in defending the Ahmednagar. It was Malik Amber who first employed Maratha Chieftains against the Mughals with a new art - the art of guerilla war-fare.

Policy of Shahaji :

For some reason Shahaji left Ahmednagar and joined the services of Adilshahi of Bijapur. Shahaji was made Sar Lashkar by Ibrahim Adil Shah and Karyat Talbid and Panhala were conferred upon his relations. After the death of Malik Amber (14th May 1626) Shahaji left the services

of Adilshahi and rejoined the services of Nizamshahi. Probably, Murtaza II invited him; and the Jagirs of Poona and Supa which Shahaji has secured on his leaving Adilshahi, were reconfirmed by the Nizamshah. But he soon left the Nizam Shah and joined the Mughals for two reasons - (a) Many events of disloyalty, court intrigues and the wickedness of Hamid Khan; and (b) the shocking murder of Lakhoji Jadhavrao - father-in-law of Shahaji and several members of his family. The Mughal Chronicler Abdul Hamid Lahauri writes about Shahaji " ... Shahaji then came and joined him with 2000 horse. He received a Khil'at, a Mansab of 5000 and a gift of two lacs of Rupees, and other presents. Sambhaji, elder brother of Shivaji, also received a robe and a Mansab." *Source ?*

30

Within a very short period Shahaji left the Mughal camp. The reason for this desertion was his dissatisfaction. It is true that Shahaji has changed sides on several occasions. Not to be too loyal to any of the Muslim Badshah, appears to be his political policy. But his every change of the sides, which he had undertaken had made him more and more powerful, and practically independent. When he left the Mughals and rejoined Nizamshahi, within a period of one month he seized the district of Nasik, Trimbak, Sangameshwar, Junnar as well as parts of Northern Konkan. He repaired a fort called Bheemagadh and renamed it after his name as Shahagad. This Shahagad was the chief centre of his activity. This act, on the part of Shahaji -

tantamounts to the establishment of a new kingdom. Later Shāvaji had done the same thing. Shahaji has now become a king-maker. With the active support of Murar Jagdeo, he got crowned at Pemgad, one petty princeling belonging to Nizamshah's family. Murtuza Nizamshah, ~~was~~ in fact, was secretly murdered by Fath Khan. The sons of Nizamshah were too young to occupy the throne. So it became necessary for Shahaji to take the child (king) upon his lap and occupy the throne himself. In this manner, he conducted the affairs of Nizamshahi Darbar. Even the Sardars like Lakhuji Jadhavrao had to salute to Shahaji, thus seated on the throne. This practice created the bitterness among the Sardars, particularly Muslim Sardars, of Nizamshahi.

Aim of Shahaji :

In joining Nizamshahi, his camp, Shahaji had four-fold aim - (a) To restore the territory of Nizamshahi which had been lost, (b) to administer the territory belonging to Nizamshahi, (c) to unite or bring back all the Sardars who had left Nizamshahi and thus to make Nizamshahi powerful, (d) to deal effectively with Adilshah of Bijapur and the Shahjahan, the Delhi Emperor.

Within a very short time Shahaji captured Junnar, Jivdhan, Sunda, Bhorgad, Parasgad, Mahuli. In 1633 he seized the country from Poona and Chakan to Nasik and Tryambak. Shahaji became so powerful that Shahjahan was compelled to move into the Deccan personally. He arrived at Daulatabad in 1636. Now the worst period of Shahaji's

life started. The Mughals and Adilshah joined hands on the condition that Adilshah should give no quarter to Shahaji until he submitted to the Emperor and surrendered Junnar and other Nizamshahi forts to the imperialist and agreed to take service under Bijapur. The result of this combined effort of the Mughals and Adilshah was that, Shahaji was hunted from fort to fort. In this grave situation many Maratha Sardars helped Shahaji, to name a few - Ghatge, Kate, Gaikwad, Kank, Thomare, Chauhan, Mohite, Mahadik, Kharate, Pandhare, Wagh, Ghorpade etc. By the end of 1636 Shahaji surrendered himself to young Nizam. He agreed to enter the service of Adil Khan. He went over to Bijapur with young Shivaji.

Shahaji joins Adilshahi :

Shahaji served Bijapur kingdom from November 1636 to 1664³. As a Sardar of Bijapur he participated in the wars against Mysore, Bangalore and Basavapattan. In these expeditions, 'some incidence happened' according to Basatin-us Salatin, 'which became the cause of disunion and disaffection between Shahaji and Mustafa Khan'. According to Brihadeeshwar Shilalekha (बृहदीश्वर शिलालेख), Shahaji began to disobey the orders of Mustafa Khan. He began to behave like an independent king. Adil Shah feared that Shahaji might become independent. Another cause of anxiety was already not only existing but growing rapidly - Shivaji's activities near Poona. Shahaji was treacherously arrested in his bed on the 25th July, 1648.

However, Shahaji was soon released. Shahaji was kept in ordinary confinement. He was told that 'Adil Shah would pardon him and restore him to his former honours, if he surrenders the forts of Kondana (Sinhagad), Bangalore and Kandarpi.' Shahaji decided to obey and wrote to his two sons - Vyankoji at Jinji and Shivaji at Poona. Vyankoji and Shivaji promptly accepted the terms. Jedhe Shakavali states - 'Shahaji was released in return of Kondana. At the same time Kanhoji Jedhe and Dadaji Krishna Lohkare were also released. Maharaj (Shahaji) said to them - "on my account you have put to the hardships of a captivity Adil Shah ordered me to march into Karnatak. He promised me to confer on me the province of Bangalore ... Your Vatan is in Maval and my son Shivba occupies Khedebare and Poona. You should help him with your troops; and since you are influential in those parts, you should see that all the Maval Deshmukhs, ^{submit} to him and obey him. Thus you should all assert your strength and should any Mughal or Adilshahi army march against you, you should fight them in full faithfulness to Shivba."

The remaining part of Shahaji's life could be best studied from the following points of view - (a) His relationship with Adilshahi, (b) Shahaji's life at Bangalore, (c) His attitude towards Shivaji and his activities, (d) His relationship with Hindu kings and Sardars, Naiks and Palegars in Karnatak -

(a) As a feudal Sardar Shahaji remained loyal to Adil Shah But his loyalty was based upon partly self respect and partly

expediency. Shahaji's attempt to make Nizamshahi kingdom powerful and to be the de facto master of that kingdom, was short-lived. And therefore, he was satisfied to accept nominal sovereignty of Adilshah. Shahaji's self respect is excellently reflected in his letter (dated 6th July 1657) to Adil Shah in which he states that - 'We Rajputs have served from old till now under several kings; we have never before served nor shall we do so in future under dishonour and displeasure. We shall not further put up with unfair treatment ... if your Majesty will have my services in future, I claim that my status should be maintained as heretofore'.

It was not the 'de jure' authority but 'de facto' authority which mattered in those days. Shahaji, with his large army numbering sixty to seventy thousand - cannot be expected to meekly obey all the orders of Adil Shah. Shahaji had already achieved Dominion States after struggling for nearly forty five years. Foreign registers have recorded how Shahaji threatened Bijapur. A letter written by Revington from Kolhapur dated 10th December 1659, states - "One months tyme more will, wee believe, put an end to his

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23. The Indian National Congress required forty-four years (1885 - 1929) to adopt a resolution demanding complete independence (on the banks of Ravi river in Punjab under the presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru in 1929).

(Adil Shah's) trouble; for Sevagyas father Shawjee, that lies to the southward, is expected within eight days with his army consisting of 17,000 men, and they intend for **Bizapore**, the King and Queens residence, whose strength consists only in men and they are about 10,000 soldyers : so that in all probability the kingdom will be lost".

Similarly, Dutch Dagh Register records (on 16th May 1661) that - " The Neyks of Madura and Tanjouwer and the commander Shahaji, (Sahajie), Antosie Pantele, and Lingamaneyk have met to consider an offensive and defensive contract which is a serious thing to us." It will be clear from these two records that Shahaji, though a vassal Sardar of Bijapur, was powerful enough, even to challenge the authority of Bijapur, i.e. Adil Shah. Shahaji practically became an independent king. The only thing that he had ^{not} crowned himself as a king, as such.

(b) The daily life of Shah^{aji} at Bangalore as vividly described by Jayaram Pindye in Radhamadhav Vilas Champu, clearly testifies the theory mentioned above. This Champu-Kavya was composed by Jayaram Pindye, who was wellversed in twelve languages, at Bangalore - the capital of Shahaji. In it he mentions Shahaji as a protector of South (India). He describes the daily routine of Shahaji. In this description he says the 'Navagagi' was full of Maratha Kshatriyas who were waiting for Shahaji. Shahaji entered the Darbar taking salutes from general (सेनापति) and other Sardars surmounted the throne which had lion-shaped pillars. He

described the names of the important thirty five poets who were in the Darbar of Shahaji.²⁴ Majority of these poets were Hindus belonging to different provinces and speaking different languages like Urdu, Parsi, Bruj, Gujarati, Punjabi, etc. Allikhan is the only Muslim poet mentioned therein. The detailed description of his daily routine, his Darbar and his army clearly shows that Shahaji had become a king. Shahaji was shrewd enough to choose his capital as Bangalore which was sufficiently away from Bijapur. Another advantage of this 'long-distance' was that Shahaji kept himself aloof from the court-intrigues of Bijapur Darbar. With a powerful army he was able to keep his independence intact. Shahaji spent the last fifteen years of his life (i.e. from 1649 to 1664) practically as an independent king. He died accidentally at Basavapattana on the 23rd January 1664. 'At his death his conquests included Anegondi, Basavapattan, Kanakagiri, Bangalore, Kolar, Arni, Ginji, Tegena-pattam, (Cuddalore) and Porto Novo, besides his personal estates scattered about in the Deccan and the Karnatak.'

(c) Shahaji's attitude towards Shivaji and particularly towards his activities have been explicitly mentioned above. When he was released by Adil Shah he spoke to Kanhoji Jedhe and Lohkare. He asked them to be loyal to Shivaji.

24. In addition to this there were 35 poets who were not very famous. Jayaram Pindye had given the names of all these poets.

When Shahaji joined the services of Adilshahi, he left his artillery, camels, horses and elephants in the Jahagir of Poona, Supa and Chakan. He also kept a large amount of money which Shivaji later on utilised for erecting a new army. The most important contribution was the 'personnel' which Shahaji left for Shivaji. Dadaji Kondadeo in Poona, Habshi at Wijapur (Visapur), Phirangoji Narasala at Chakan, Sambhaji Mohite in Supa and Nilakantharao in Purandar. These were the trusted and loyal men who helped Shivaji. Shivaji's activities near about Poona compelled Shahaji, as was expedient, to reprimand his 'recalcitrant' son. Shahaji maintained good relations with the Adil Shah without in any way hampering the good work that Shivaji was doing.

Shahaji and Shivaji :

According to Shivadigvijay', Adil Shah and Shivaji entered into a secret treaty, in 1661. The reason for both the parties entering into an agreement, was the fear from Emperor Aurangzeb. Shahaji advised Adil Shaha that he should enter into an agreement with Shivaji. Shivaji was also prepared to join hands with Adil Shah. The point which must be noted is that Adilshah and Shivaji entered into agreement as equals, and not as Emperor and his vassal king. Adil Shah had not insisted that Shivaji should enter into the services of Bijapur. It was decided that Shivaji's envoy Shamji Naik Punde should reside at Bijapur. Adil Shah must not employ any envoy at Shivaji's Darbar. Adil Shah

was to pay every year an amount of seven lacs of Hons as Peshakas (tribute). After this treaty it was possible for Shahaji to enter into Shivaji's territory. Shivaji and Shahaji - son and father - had not seen each other for the last twenty four years. Shahaji expressed his desire to visit the holy places, like Tuljapur. He was also eager to see his grand child. He, accordingly first went to Tuljapur, visited the Bhavani Devi. Thereafter he reached Shingnapur via Pandharpur. From Shingnapur he went to Phaltan. It was decided that Shahaji and Shivaji should see each other according to ancient Hindu religious tradition, so the place chosen for such a visit was Khandoba's temple at Jejuri. Shahaji and Shivaji visited each other with other members of the family after performing some religious rites. Shahaji visited later on many forts like Rajgad, Torna, Sinhagad, Purandar, Pratapgad, Vishalgad, Panhala, Rangna, Raygad, etc, Shahaji had already advised Shivaji to choose Raygad as his capital. After visiting many forts, observing artillery, army, Pagas, Horses, kept by Shivaji in excellent condition Shahaji was obviously very much pleased. He presented a sword named 'Tulsa' to Shivaji and returned to Karnatak via Jejuri. He also advised Shivaji about the policy to be followed in relation to Adil Shah and Aurangzeb. What transpired between the two, is not known to History. Shahaji went to Bangalore to subdue the Naik of Bidnur and some Palegars of Basavapattan who had recently revolted. By this time Shivaji had looted Surat. Shivaji in the north

(in Poona - Junnar) and Shahaji in Bangalore had sandwiched the Muslim state in between them. But for the untimely, accidental death of Shahaji in 1663, all the plans which Shahaji and Shivaji might have chalked out remained unfulfilled. When Shivaji heard the news of the death of his father, he erected a monument (स्तूप) at Shikhar Singanapur.

(d) The territory which Shahaji had conquered in south was well administered. Shahaji's system of revenue was just and efficient. He employed many Brahmins from Maharashtra. Ryat gladly paid the revenues. He maintained cordial relations with majority of the pategars and other southern princes and Naiks. Shahaji was very punctual in remitting a part of revenue to Bijapur. Still the Bijapur Patshah always suspected Shahaji; He never despatched Shahaji alone either to conquer southern states or subdue rebellious local chiefs. Some one Muslim general - like Ranadulla Khan, Asadkhan, Ahmed Khan, Mustafa Khan, Rustom jama - always accompanied Shahaji. The atrocities committed by the Muslims in the south are described in the Jesuit letters. It states - " but nothing can equal the cruelties which the Mahammadans employ. Expression fails me to recount the atrocities which I have seen with my eyes; and if I were to describe them, truth would be incredible." 2.N. Shahaji was certainly not as cruel as Muslim generals were. One more Jesuit letter from Trichinopoly states - ' The people have submitted to the yoke of a conqueror from whom

they get less cruelty and more justice than from their own sovereigns.' This letter had already mentioned the name of Shahaji as a general of Adil Shah. Shahaji knew Kanadi (Kannad) language very well. He had employed many local people in his administration. The poet Durga Thakur says that the Brahmins of Karnatak have thanked and expressed their gratitude to Shahaji because he had defeated the Yavanas. Shahaji encouraged and protected Vedic Knowledge. In short, Shahaji kept cordial relations with peoples of Karnatak. ²⁵ See 7.N.

Aim - Self Rule :

Of all the Maratha Sardars of his generation Shahaji alone played the most ambitious part of a king-maker and to fight for the defence and maintenance of this kingdom, viz. Nizamshahi. His attempt was short lived, because he had to face two powerful enemies - the Mughals and Adil Shah. Shahaji's attempts created a 'spirit' which was essential to establish a new state. He was the first great Maratha Sardar to encourage Kshatra Dharma, i.e. the duties of warrior class. His attempts paved the way for Shivaji to establish a new independent state. According to Jayaram Pindye, Shahaji's aim was to establish a self rule (i.e. independent state) and to protect, encourage and defend Hindu religion, country, language and people. Shahaji had, during his life time, tried his level best to achieve this goal, but it was left to Shivaji, to achieve it.

It will be easy to understand, from this background,

the attempts made by Shivaji to establish 'Hindvi Swarajya'
- the ideal cherished by Shahaji.

Th 10481

In the next chapter, we shall trace the political developments from 1645 onwards upto the coronation of Shivaji in 1674, resulting into the establishment of national state based on two important principles - (a) This is our state, (b) This is the kingdom of Gods and Brahmins.

Th 10481

~~Shivaji~~

Chapter IV.

TOWARDS NATIONAL STATE.

A - 1645-1660

Introduction :

In the last chapter, we have seen how Shahaji tried his level best to become an independent king and to what extent he was successful. However, powerful Shahaji was with his large army still he cannot be called as a sovereign independent king. To the last breath of his life, he was a Sardar - a vassal king of Bijapur, paying tribute, Peshkashi to Badashaha. It was left to his illustrious son Shivaji to become completely independent sovereign king. Shivaji got himself crowned, by performing that ceremony of coronation according to Hindu traditions; while Shahaji, probably had not even imagined to get himself crowned. We can note that, it would have been possible for Shahaji to get himself crowned at Bangalore. Shivaji's independence, the birth of the new sovereign state, has been duly recognised by other states, because their representatives attended the coronation - ceremony and had presented the presents to Shivaji, which were fit for that occasion. Therefore, the credit for establishing a new sovereign national state goes obviously to Shivaji.

Maharashtra Dharma :

The building up of national state is a long process.

Because nationality is a peculiar integrating force. The concept of nationality is subjective and abstract. A number of elements are responsible for creating the sentiment of nationality. Territory, race, language, history and traditions, common religion, common interest, common political associations and common hopes of political unity are the elements on which nationality is based. Nationality is a quality of corporate personality (²⁶ महाराष्ट्र धर्म and महाराष्ट्र राज्य). The different forces that shaped this corporate personality were working from the days of Dyaneshwar, i.e. from the last quarter of the 13th century. Shivaji was the symbol of Maharashtra Dharma - which was at the root of this Maharashtra Rajya.

Elements of Nationalism - Dyaneshwar to Tukaram :

From Dyaneshwar to Tukaram and Ramdas, Maharashtra had a continuous glorious tradition of saints who sowed the seeds of nationalism. Common language, history, traditions, etc. are the essential elements of nationalism, that is the elements which forged unity, cohesiveness and oneness among the peoples of Maharashtra. Dyaneshwar was the first to interpret Sanskrit Bhagwat Gita in Marathi. Hitherto, the language of the intellectuals was Sanskrit; and Prakrit languages were looked down upon. Thus the doors of knowledge were opened to common people.

had to struggle hard on two fronts. On one hand he had to face the intellectuals who were reactionaries, on the other hand he had to face the tradition-influenced masses. In this respect, Dyaneshwar stands with John Wycliff, Martin Luther, Chaucer and many other prominent reformists in Europe during the Reformation period. From Dyaneshwar, what is popularly known as 'Pandharpur Movement', started. This movement was philosophical, mystical and devotional. This movement reached every house of Maharashtra. Dyaneshwar asked the people to love their own country, religion and people, (स्वदेश, स्वधर्म व स्वजन)²⁷. Through Dyaneshwari, Dyaneshwar conveyed the message of Lord Shri Krishna, a message of hope, of action, of courage and duty. Fearlessness, purity, steadfastness, sacrifice, were the other virtues. Dyaneshwar was an intellectual mystic, Namdeo and Eknath who contributed a lot to the development of Marathi language have expressed their sympathy to the worldly and spiritual life. Tukaram's mysticism is most personal, while Ramdas is an active saint. The Bhajan and Kirtan system of Maharashtra had a profound emotional effect upon the masses. Language was most important unifying factor. There were other factors, like, pride of the race - that we are Rajputs belonging to Sisodia Clan, which Shahaji and Shhivaji had proclaimed on several occasions. The same spirit of pride pervaded through various Maratha families - for example, we

are Kshatriyas - warrior class, ruling class; Marathas belonging to famous 96 families - सहाय्य कुळीचे मराठे
Another most important factor which kept unity among Maharashtrian society is the anti-Yavan or anti - Mlenchha spirit prepared by different saints. Ramdas had castigated Brahmins in severe terms. ²⁸ So the various factors which constitute the concept 'nationality' were being gradually nursed from Dyaneshwar onwards to Tukaram and Ramdas. This background made it possible for Shivaji to establish independent national state, which was obviously his ideal. He wanted to establish 'Swarajya' to be enjoyed under the protecting authority of Chhatrapati (छत्रपति). Shivaji realised this aim when he himself became छत्रपति in the year 1674.

It was not an easy task to establish 'Swarajya'. Let us enumerate the different factors and the situation which was existing at that time. This will enable us to understand the political policy which Shivaji had adopted.

Various Factors :

(1) Any attempt of establishing a new independent Hindu kingdom would have been certainly opposed by the Mughal Emperors at Delhi - whosoever the Emperor might be. Aurangzeb was the Subhedar of the Deccan from 1632, and 1653 - 1657. The history records that the formidable

challenge to the Maratha Swarajya did come from Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb. So it is essential to note the policy of Shivaji towards the Mughal Emperors in general.

(2) Shivaji's policy towards Adil Shah - Shahaji was a Sardar of Bijapur. Though he was away, i.e. at Bangalore, still Bijapur Darbar was in a position to bring pressure upon Shivaji - which it did.

(3) Nizamshahi was dissolved in 1636. The result was that anarchical situation prevailed near Poona and in Thana, Colaba and Nasik districts.

(4) Shahaji's jahagir at Poona - comprising the land between Ghod river in the north, Nira in the south, Bhima in the east, stretching over the ghats and the Mavals into the Konkan in the west - was practically independent, though nominally a fief under Bijapur.

(5) General laxity of feudal administration of Bijapur, particularly during 1646 - 1656 and court intrigues of deadly nature.

(6) Constant war activities and famine.

(7) Loyalty of certain Maratha to the Muslim ruler of Bijapur, coupled with enmity, hatred, and other human psychological factors which hindered the establishment of new independent state. The concept of स्वामीनिष्ठा Shivaji had to face many Maratha Sardars who were unable to understand and digest the new spirit complete independence or

the concept of Swarajya and Chhatrapati.

(8) The caste system and certain other problems of this nature.

(9) Shivaji had to frame his policy after weighing pros and cons of these various factors - the European powers and their settlements : English, Portuguese, Dutch, French, etc.

Policy towards Adil Shah : *under this heading, the Mughal policy is given.*

(1) For the establishment of 'Swarajya', Shivaji adopted a dual policy. Adilshahi was gradually becoming powerless. Shivaji, therefore, opened 'one front' against Bijapur Darbar only. It was merely 'local' or 'internal' affair of Bijapur Darbar. Aurangzeb's interest certainly lay in seeing that Bijapur kingdom is made weak by this internal conflict. Shivaji's military power had not increased to such an extent as to warrant the union of two Muslim powers, i.e. Adilshahi and the Mughals. From 1645 to 1657, Shivaji conquered as much territory and forts as possible, belonging to Bijapur kingdom. During this period Shivaji kept friendly relations with the Mughal Subhedars of Deccan, i.e. Prince Murad and Prince Aurangzeb. Shahaji had been a Mughal Sardar for a short period of merely two years, i.e. from October 1630 to April 1632. Therefore, it is quite natural for the Mughal Subhedar to look at Shivaji as a prospective Mughal Sardar. Aurangzeb had

already started treating Shivaji as his Sardar. In a letter dated 23rd April 1657, Aurangzeb writes to Shivaji that ²⁹ he (Shivaji) should keep with him whatever territory and forts that he (Shivaji) had conquered from Bijapur. Further his (Shivaji's) desire to possess Dabhol port and adjoining territory, had been accepted and the said territory is granted to him. Aurangzeb further asks him (Shivaji) to see him (Aurangzeb) personally. Shivaji had kept his Wakil Raghunathpant with Aurangzeb. In a letter dated 14th February 1658, Aurangzeb writes ³⁰ to Shivaji - " I have received your petition (उर्दस्ता) through Raghunathpant with a letter from Krishnaji Bhaskar Pandit. The matters about your Peshji cannot be forgotten. If you express regret for whatever you have done in the past, and if you ever remember that this (Mughal) Darbar is not despicable, then we shall forgive you. Always serve the cause of this kingdom." Aurangzeb had clearly adopted a double policy. On one hand he treated Shivaji as his loyal Sardar and on the other he encouraged Bijapur Darbar to employ Shivaji's services. In a letter to Ali Adil Shah in 1657, Aurangzeb writes, ³¹ ... " Shivaji had captured a few forts in that province. Drive him out from that province. If you wish to employ him, give

29. 'Patrasarsangraha' Part I, letter No. 724

30. 'Patrasarsangraha' Part I, letter No. 739

31. 'Patrasarsangraha' Part I, Letter No. 744 (1657-58)

him a Jahagir in Karnatak, so that he will not devastate the Mughal territory ... (If you are going to employ him, then,) I will not employ Shivaji in my services.

Aurangzeb's attitude :

Aurangzeb continued the same attitude towards Shivaji even after he crowned himself as an Emperor. In a firman dated the 14th July 1659 Aurangzeb writes³² to Shivaji " ... God had made me the master of this empire. I have appointed Umde Tulmuluk Amirul Umrao as a Viceroy of Deccan. You always behave according to his advice and do as we have prior decided. Accept the robe which I have despatched for you." This cordial relationship between Aurangzeb and Shivaji was known even to foreign settlements. The governor of Goa in his letter to the Emperor of Portugal writes³³ (18th December 1659) that ' Shivaji is a supported by Aurangzeb.' Aurangzeb was compelled to change his policy when he knew that Shivaji had looted Junnar, captured 200 horses, collected a huge amount of 3 lakh hons etc. and had reached Poona.

Double Policy of Aurangzeb :

A few more letters describing the double policy

32. Patrasarsangraha, Part I, letter No. 775

33. Patrasarsangraha, Part I, letter No. 792

of Aurangzeb, are available. Aurangzeb in his letter³⁴ (May 1657) addressed to Nasirikhan and other Sardars, asks them "to defeat and drive out Marathas from Mughal territory. Kill the people mercilessly and loot them to the maximum extent. Poona, Chakan, etc. should be completely destroyed. Enter into Shivaji's territory from all sides and drive the villagers out of it. Do not show leniency." As long as the struggle with Bijapur Darbar continued, Shivaji adopted a conciliatory policy towards Aurangzeb. In a letter³⁵ to the Mughal officers, Aurangzeb writes that he has received a letter from Shahu's son (Shahaji's) that he (Shivaji) is prepared to give province to the Imperial state as an expression of loyalty and obedience on the part of a Mansabdar, provided that he is allowed to keep the territory which he (Shivaji) had conquered from Bijapur and if the Mansab is granted to him (Shivaji). It appears from this letter that Shivaji was prepared to accept Mansab from the Mughal. Yet he had the courage to protest against 'Ziziya' imposed by Aurangzeb. In a letter to Aurangzeb Shivaji writes³⁶ that "You (Aurangzeb) are collecting 'Zizayapatti' from Hindus. Naturally Hindus hate you. Many Hindus can not get even sufficient food to eat. (In such a situation) .. how are you going to rule ..

34. Patrasarsangraha, Part III, 2808, 2616 A

35. Patrasarsangraha, Part III, 2616

36. Patrasarsangraha, Part III, 2621

(over them). If you think that true religion consists in harassing Hindus, then first, collect Ziziyapatti from king Jaysing. Then it will not be difficult from this territory (to collect ziziyapatti).

Shivaji's policy towards Aurangzeb and Aurangzeb's policy towards Shivaji changed after 1660.

(2) From the very beginning Shivaji had adopted a belligerent policy towards Bijapur Darbar. There are two important reasons why Shivaji adopted this policy. First reason is that Bijapur kingdom was on the decline. Being the son of a powerful Bijapur Sardar, he intimately knew the internal situation of Bijapur kingdom. Shahaji was practically independent at Bangalore. Second reason is 'the mild punishment' which Shahaji got from Bijapur Darbar. When the news of Shivaji's aggression reached Bijapur, Bijapur Darbar was not in a position to arrest Shahaji openly. Shahaji was treacherously arrested by Baji Ghorpade, Yashwantrao Wadve and Asad Khan. Shahaji was honourably acquitted later on. Mahammadnama says that "the nobles and the gentry of the city were astonished at the graciousness of the king and began to say : 'Shahaji Raja deserves to be put to death, and not to be kept under guard.' Some councillors did not at all like that Shahaji should be set free, because that faithless man would play the fox again. Many others held the view that to liberate traitor and ruined wretch would be like treading on the tail of a snake. No wise man would rest his head on a hornest nest

9. | as on a pillow." The way in which Shahaji was arrested,
the treatment given to him, the way in which he was
released (Shahaji was released in return for Kondana)
| clearly indicate the weakness of Bijapur Darbar.

Few Important Events :

It will be interesting to note the few events and conflicts between Shivaji and Bijapur. --

- (a) Shivaji becomes the owner of Jahagir in 1636 (by the deed 'Potmokasa' of Shahaji) which included 36 villages (Karyat Maval).
- (b) Shivaji came to Poona from Bangalore in 1641. He captured 'Twelve Mavals' round about Poona. The names of these Mavals are - Andar Maval, Nane Maval, Pavan Maval, Korabarase Maval, Paud, Mutha, Musa, Gunjan, Kanad, Welwand, Hirdas and Rohida - This territory is included in the present Poona district and is roughly equal to it.
- (c) The death of Dadaji Konddeo - 7th March 1647; the capture of Torana Fort in the same month. Capture of Purandhar Fort on the 19th October 1647.
9. (d) Maratha Sardars of Bijapur, like king Nimbalkar of Phaltan, Ghorpade, More were defeated. The defeat of Fattekhan at Purandhar and Balaji Haibatrao at Shirwal.

(e) Kalyan and Bhivandi, captured; Shivaji three Karnatak campaigns - 1656, 1658, 1659.

9
Sawant of Kudal was the first 'Mandlik' of Shivaji.

(f) The defeat of Afzalkhan on 10-11-1659.

Siddi Johar's unsuccessful attempt to defeat Shivaji.

During this period, Shivaji's territory increased. Conflicts with the Mughals started. Shahistakhan came to Chakan. Shivaji, therefore, thought it expedient to establish peace with Bijapur. By handing over Panhala to Siddi Johar, peace was established between Bijapur and Shivaji. Shivaji was now in a position to concentrate upon the Mughal threat.

Relation With the Maratha Sardars :

Mughal Emperor ~~an~~ Shahajahan and Aurangzeb, and Bijapur king Ali Adil Shah were Muslim rulers and therefore both were the enemies of Shivaji. Only expediency required that Shivaji should not fight on two fronts. Therefore, he humbled the minor Muslim power, i.e. Bijapur, keeping friendly gestures towards the Mughals. But Shivaji's relations with Maratha Sardars who were loyal to Bijapur or Mughals, Sardars who could neither appreciate, nor understand the 'new spirit', stand on an altogether different footing. Those, who understood the new spirit of nationalism and joined Shivaji, were certainly respected, loved,

completely taken care of, protected. Those who opposed, who were too loyal to Bijapur or ^{we} Mughal, even at the expense of the national cause (whether they have understood this new spirit or not) were treated harshly. In the beginning Shivaji had to face many Maratha Sardars. To name a few - Nimbalkar, Ghorpade, More, Balaaji Haibatrao, Ghadge, Dalvi, Surve, Samant, Bhosale, etc. were Maratha Sardars who opposed Shivaji in his attempt to establish 'Hindavi Swarajya'. Krishnaji Baji More was beheaded at Chakan when Shivaji saw that there was treachery. In Sabhasad Bakhar we come across one statement -

चंद्रराव मोरे नास मारल्याविरहित राज्य साधत नाही.

It means that unless and until Chandrarao More is beaten, the kingdom cannot be realised. Shivaji had to subdue some of his near relatives who were not prepared to accept new regime. For example, Sambhaji Mohite was ^{the} maternal uncle of Shivaji. Shivaji arrested him on the 24th September 1656.

Shivaji's aim - Hindavi Swarajya :

Shivaji wrote assuring letters to those who joined this new movement. The earliest, and one of the most important letters is one which Shivaji wrote to Dadaji Narasprabhu Deshpande of Rohida. When Shivaji captured Rohida fort, constructed Rajgad, Dadaji Narasprabhu received a threatening letter ³⁷ from Bijapur on the 30th March 1645

'that you will be taken to Bijapur and beheaded there. '
(Because he failed in his duty to oppose Shivaji).
Naturally, Dadaji's father Narasprabhu became worried and
restless. Shivaji wrote on the 17th April 1645 to Dadaji ³⁸
'Neither you nor I am disloyal to Shah (It means there is
no question of loyalty). The God Rohideshwar - on the top
of the hill in your territory - is the self - ancient family
God. He had made us victorious and he is going to fulfil
all our desires by establishing 'Hindavi Swarajya' ³⁹ ...
We shall continue your watan. That this new kingdom should
be established is the will of the God. ⁴⁰

In this letter Shivaji had clearly expressed his
aim of establishing 'Hindavi Swarajya'. Shivaji was a
religious man. In a letter ⁴¹ dated 18th February 1653,
Shivaji wrote to Vedmurti Gopal Bhat Bin Shridharbhat, that
he should perform certain religious rites and he (Gopalbhat)
should pray to God always about Shivaji's welfare and
prosperity. In a very short period Shivaji was known as a
king who is religious and who is a protector of Brahmans
and cows (मो ब्राह्मण प्रतिपालक). In another letter ⁴²

38. Patrasarsangraha, Part I, (504)

39. "

40. Patrasarsangraha, Part I,

41. Patrasarsangraha, Part I, (631)

42. Patrasarsangraha, Part I, (718)

Shivaji is described as a devout Hindu (धर्मपरायण).

Problem of Watans :

Two important letters, slightly of different nature, of this period are available. One letter⁴³ is addressed to Haibatrao Deshmukh of Gunjanmaaval who was doubtful about the continuity of his watan, because of certain debt which he owed. Shivaji assured him about the continuity of his watan. The language of this letter clearly reveals the intimacy which Shivaji had with his juniors.

43 Shivaji writes that 'You (Deshmukh) need not doubt about anything. I swear in the name of Mahadeo and my mother that we shall not do any harm to you. Your thousand crimes are forgiven. You are just like a child of my family. Do not worry about any thing and be loyal to us.' Another letter⁴⁴ addressed to Kedarji Naik Khopade Deshmukh, Tal. Utarvali, Rohidkhore, on 5th September 1661, Shivaji writes, ...

" During Afzal Khan's march over our territory, you have joined Afzal Khan's services. Afzal Khan was defeated. Therefore, you doubted about the continuation of your watan, and therefore, you have started harassing the nearby territory. What advantage are you going to get thereby ? You have not rejoined my services and still are trying to get watan by harassing the territory. Who advised you to adopt

43. Marathi Daphtar.

44. Shiv Charitra Sahitya.

this measure ? Join my services. Do not have any doubt about your watan."

9
N. 44
Maratha Kingdom is an aim :

One more incident, which is also very important from the point of view of Shivaji's aim, is noteworthy. On the 8th January, 1658 Shivaji seized Mahuli. It is certain that he was assisted by certain local Maratha Chiefs who were eager to throw off the Muslim yoke. As a result of Shivaji's increasing activities, Ali Adil Shah issued one Firman⁴⁵ which was despatched to all Deshmukhs of Maval. In it he asked Deshmukhs to assist Afzal Khan. He says in his Firman that 'Afzal Khan is being despatched to defeat and kill Shivaji. You should not assist Shivaji. You should annihilate people who have joined Shivaji.' Kanhoji Jedhe was not prepared to leave Shivaji. Therefore, Afzal Khan himself wrote a letter⁴⁶ to his (Kanhoji's) one of the sons, named Shivaji Jedhe, that ... ' I know that your father and brother are serving Shivaji for the last ten to twenty years. We know this fact. But do not doubt about it. Join our services. If you will join our ~~we~~ services, you will get promotion.' (सफरानो). According to Jedhe Karina Kanhoji Jedhe informed Shivaji about the

45. Patrasarsangraha, Part I, (774)

46. Shiv Charitra (Kale)

real intention of Afzal Khan and of what was happening. Kanhoji Jedhe received a reply from Shivaji that either 'kanhoji should get all the people to swear on oath of loyalty or he should please himself by going over to the Khan.' Then Kanhoji Jedhe with his five sons went and saw Shivaji at Shivapattan and had a private interview. Kanhoji and Shivaji 'put their hands on bel-bhandar⁴⁷ and exchanged solemn oaths.' Shivaji said ... " We and our descendants shall never fail to look after you and your descendants; when I am victorious I shall reward you justly." Then Kanhoji conveyed the message to all the Deshmukhs declaring : " The Khan is treacherous. When the object is accomplished he will ruin us all. This Maratha Kingdom is Our Own. We should stand by Shivaji and protect it with our contingents and courage." They repeated the oaths and Shivaji got together an army of the Mavales.

What happened after this, how Afzal Khan was defeated and how later on his son Fazal Khan was despatched by the Bijapur government, how Shivaji was beseiged at Panhala and how he left it, is all ^a part of the history.

Relations with Foreign Settlement :

47. Bel-bhandar has the same religious sanctity among Marathas which the Holy Bible, Bhagwat-geeta, or Koran has among the Christians, Hindus, or Muslims respectively.

(d) We shall now note the relations between Shivaji and foreign settlements on the Western coast. During this period, ~~i.e.~~ from 1645 - 60 the important foreign settlements were (1) Portuguese at Vasai, Sashti, Chaul and Goa, (2) British at Bombay, Surat and Rajapur. (3) Mughals at Janjira - i.e. Siddis who were nominally under Bijapur but actually their own masters, who pretended to pay homage to the Adil Shah or to the Mughal Emperor as it suited to their convenience. (4) French and Dutch. *where?*

Out of all these foreigners, Portuguese and Siddis were powerful. However, Portuguese monopoly of trade was on the decline. The English, ^{and} French were essentially traders seeking concessions from native rulers for exchanging their merchandise. These foreigners watched political situation and events in this part of India, for their own safety and the safety and security of their business. It compelled them to play a double game. 'Duplicity was the very breath of their nostrils and diplomatic negotiations *P.N.* were intended to cut both ways, if possible.'

Shivaji, is perhaps, the only Indian ruler in the 17th century, who bestowed much attention on the sea. He built up a new navy. The new state of Maharashtra which was emerging, was so situated that its western fringe became very important. Shivaji had the foresight. He visualised the dangers of these powers, particularly the activities of the Siddis and the Portuguese. The religious policy of

intolerance adopted by Portuguese was well-known. 'Their officers used to exact all kinds of compulsory service, popularly known as Vetha (वेथा) from their subjects and their political opponents without paying attention or regard whatever to their birth, position, caste, etc. .. The Prabhus had under pain of being forcibly converted to Christianity ... After the rise of Maratha power good many Prabhu families fled from their Christian rulers and sought refuge under the comparatively mild sway of the Marathas.' (S.M. Nayak's History of the Pattan Prabhus, pages 69-70)

Portuguese prohibited ⁴⁸ Hindus of Chaul, even to bathe in the sea. It is obvious Shivaji hated them most. Even the British East India Company has recorded the conflict between Portuguese and Shivaji on this account. It states that, 'Shivaji hates Portuguese because Portuguese convert the Hindu children into Roman Catholic and therefore there is a constant quarrel among them.' ⁴⁹

'English' had the first political contact with Shivaji in January 1660. Shivaji's troops came upto Rajapur in pursuit of the three junks of Afzal Khan. The English prevented the seizure of these boats and the goods contained in them. A year later Shivaji surprised Rajapur and plundered the English factory and arrested four prisoners. It was

48. Patrasarsangraha, Part III (2596)

49. Patrasarsangraha, Part II, (1798)

really a revenge because the English had given aid to Siddi Johar at the seige of fort Panhala.⁵⁰ English had not only supplied ammunition to Siddi Johar but ^{also} allowed to use English flag while bomabrding the fort Panhala. Therefore, there is nothing wrong, if Shivaji retaliated for this act on the part of English. English demanded the compensation, but it was not paid by Shivaji.

Shivaji's policy towards all these foreign settlements was based upon justice. He allowed them to trade, firstly on one condition that they should not dabble in local politics. Secondly, these settlements should not undertake the work of religious conversion and religious intolerance as practised by Portuguese. Shivaji's aim was to wrest this land (Konkan) from the domination of the foreigners. Another side of this aid was to subjugate the Hindu Chiefs and Rajas who had either remained vassal of Bijapur or asserted their feudal independence. It was necessary to bring them into the new state. Even the foreigners have stated his policy in no uncertain terms. For example, Gyfford on the 24th May 1663, writes 'All the way, as he (Shivaji) goes along, he gives his qual (काल = assurance) promising them that neither he nor his soldiers shall in the least do any wrong to any body that takes his qual, which promise he hitherto has kept.'

The appointment of Shahista Khan as the Subhedar of Deccan required a change in the policy. The new state, which was yet to take shape, now has to face a powerful enemy. We shall note the shift in the policy in the next part of this chapter.

Chapter IV.

B - 1660 - 74.

Shift in the Policy :

Aurangzeb crowned himself as an Emperor on the 5th June 1659. While he was Subhedar of Deccan, he had tried his level best to destroy Deccani kingdoms like Bijapur and Golkonds. Aurangzeb's policy towards these Muslim Sultans and Shivaji can be stated like this -

(a) His ultimate aim was to extinguish Adilshahi and Kutubshahi - which he realised in 1686 and 1687 respectively.

(b) Shivaji was exploiting the anarchical situation in Adilshahi, by conquering and strengthening himself. During his tenure as a Viceroy of Deccan (1653-57), Aurangzeb probably ^{did} ~~has~~ not understood ^{an} ~~the~~ "real" aim of Shivaji. He

thought about Shivaji as a 'rising Maratha Sardar', who would probably be satisfied with a Mansab from the Mughal Emperor. Therefore, he ~~connived~~ connived at the activities of Shivaji, as long as Shivaji was fighting against Bijapur.

(c) Once the territories belonging to Adilshahi and Qutbshahi are brought under the Mughal rule, Aurangzeb thought, Shivaji would not get an opportunity to expand his territory and that Shivaji could be easily crushed. He, therefore, adopted a neutral attitude, when Shivaji was conquering the territories including Dabhol port - belonging to Bijapur. In addition to that, Aurangzeb himself conquered Bidar fort (29th March 1657) and Kalyani fort (2nd August 1657);

belonging to Bijapur.

Aurangzeb's policy towards Shivaji changed when he heard the news of Shivaji's attack upon Junnar. After being firmly settled on the throne of Delhi, he sent one of his highest generals - Shahistakhan - as Subhedar of Deccan to suppress Shivaji. Shahistakhan entered Poona on the 9th May, 1660, defeating the Maratha opposition on his way. Now 'Maratha kingdom' has to face a very powerful enemy in the person of Shahistakhan. And therefore, it was essential to adopt a new political policy. The new policy was based upon three principles - (i) The southern kingdoms should sink their internal rivalries and they should form an alliance to face the common enemy. (ii) North versus South - Southern Patshahis should remain in the hands of southerners. (iii) It is our duty to protect our land. Shivaji consistently followed this policy upto the end of his life, though certain occasions compelled him to change his policy for the time being. This change in the policy was not a fundamental one but only a diplomatic one. Because ~~EMH~~ Shivaji neither had given up the ideal of establishing 'Hindavi Swarajya' or 'Maharashtra Rajya', nor had he side-tracked it. He realised his aim in 1674.

Shahista Khan and Prince Muazzam :

Shahista Khan occupied Poona from the 9th May 1660 to the middle of 1663. During this period the Mughals reconquered Kalyan and dominated Northern Konkan. Direct

fight with a large Mughal army was beyond question. Therefore, Shivaji had to adopt the policy of surprise, terror and coup and Guerilla warfare. The great coup in Shahista Khan's camp (or Lal Mahal) took place on the night of 5th April 1663. Philip Gyfford writes, ".... with 400 choice men, (Shivaji) went to Shahista Khan's camp; there upon some pretence he got into his tent to salam and presently slew all the watch, killed Shahista Khan's eldest son, his son-in-law, twelve of his chief women, forty great persons attending their general, wounded Shahista Khan with his own hand (and thought to death, but since hears he lives) wounded six more of his wives, two more his sons; and after all this returns but losing six men and forty wounded. 10,000 horse under Raja Jaswat Singh standing still and never offered to pursue him ... Shivaji tells his men, his parameshwar bid him do it "

The consequences of such master strokes were - (1) Shahista Khan was transferred to Bengal, which is described as 'hell crammed with good things.' (2) It created terror about Shivaji's prowess in the Mughal Court and camp. (3) Shivaji was fast acquiring a reputation for working miracles.

Guerilla Warfare - Surat I.

Shahista Khan, backed up by powerful Mughal army and Shivaji, was certainly an unequal match. There are only two alternatives in such an unequal match. - (a) Complete

surrender, and (b) Guerilla warfare.⁵¹ Shivaji never allowed breathing time to his enemy and acted with incredible swiftness. Soon after his coup in Poona, he descended into Konkan and struck a blow there on the Sawant of Kudal. From southern Konkan Shivaji 'suddenly turned north and blitzed 'Surat' in the first week of January 1664. After careful consideration, Surat was decided as the 'target' for attack. (1) Surat was the most important trading centre, where Europeans companies like British, Dutch etc. had their settlements (2) It is a religious centre, in the sense that from here, every year Muslim pilgrims used to go to Macca. (3) If Surat is looted it will prove beyond doubt, the inefficiency, unpreparedness, insecurity for trading communities thus resulting into the loss of revenue; and the most important factor was (4) the shock which the Mughals will have.

From the 6th January to 10th January Shivaji looted Surat. His main target was not the 'loot' as such but the 'revenge'. The British prisoner, Mr. Anthony Smith, who was arrested by Shivaji's soldiers was brought before Shivaji, and ' was asked what he was and such like questions, and at last, 'Sevajee told that he was not come to doe any personall hurte to the English or other merchants but only to revenge him selfe of Oram Zeb (the great Mughal) because he had invaded his country ... ' Thevenot, who passed through Surat

F-N.

51. North Vietnam had adopted the same policy.

two years afterwards have noted : 'All the rest of the town was plundered except the monastery of the Capucius. When the plunderers in front of their convent they passed by, and they had orders from their chief to do likewise, because on the eve of the very first day, Father Ambrose, who was their superior, moved with pity for the Christians inhabiting Sourat, went to this Raja to speak to them in their favour and to beg him at least to do no violence to their persons. Sivagy had respect for him. He took him under his protection and granted him what he wanted for the Christians. 'Cosme da Guarda categorically confirms : 'Men, women and children ran naked without knowing where and to whom. But no one was in the peril of his life, for it was the strict order of Sevagy, that unless resistance was offered, no one should be killed, and as none resisted none perished. (Compare the atrocities committed by Nadir Shah in Delhi and Muslim Emperors in general.) Valentyn states ... ' He (Shivaji) distributed the less valuable things ... among the poor, whereby many acquired much more than what they had lost through fire and pillage ... (Shivaji) ... departed ... delighted to have plucked such a fine feather from Aurangzeb's tail.' All these statements by foreigners prove that Shivaji's aim in attacking Surat was mainly political and neither financial nor religious. Shivaji achieved his political aim.

Policy of Sama, Dam and Bhed : (साम, दाम व भेद)

Shivaji's raid on Surat had dealt a blow to the

prestige of the Aurangzeb's Empire. Firstly Surat was to be fortified and to set it on the road to recovery. Secondly Aurangzeb decided to open a grand offensive against Shivaji. Prince Muazzam, who succeeded Shahista Khan as Mughal Subhedar of Deccan was a sluggard and spent his time in caring only for pleasure and hunting and so was Jaswant Singh. So, Aurangzeb sent his ablest generals Mirza Raja Jay Singh of Amber and Dilir Khan. 'Jai Singh, who was now about sixty years old, had served Mughal army for nearly forty seven years and had travelled from Balkh in central Asia to Bijapur in South. He was a first rate diplomat, a man of tact and patience, was able to speak many languages. ' His foresight and political cunning, his smoothness of tongue, and cool calculating policy were in striking contrast with ... the Rajput character.' Unfortunately, he allowed himself to be exploited by a foreign, fanatic, orthodox Muslim ruler to suppress a native, religious, nationalist, budding Hindu king like Shivaji.

Jai Singh started from North in September 1664 and arrived in Aurangabad on the 13th February 1665 and reached Poona on the 3rd March 1665 and occupied it. He lost no time in augmenting his forces by despatching orders to the various Sardars, foreign settlements etc. By using many means (Wealth and Mansab) M Jai Singh had broken the Maratha unity. Fazal Khan, More were already the enemies. Jai Singh attempted that Portuguese, Dutch, English and Siddi shall march against Shivaji at that very moment. European arti -

artillery had helped in conquering Purandhar Fort. 'The first thing that Sevagy did was to tempt this general (Jai Singh) as he had done the other. He sent him a very large and very valuable present desiring his friendship. (Policy of दान). The Raya (Jai Singh) refused both and ordered to inform Sevagy that he had not come to receive presents but to subdue him; and for his (Shivaji's) own good, he asked him to yield and avoid many deaths, or he would make him yield by force. This resolution perturbed Sevagy. (Cosme da Guarda). When the policy of दान failed Shivaji employed another policy of भेद. He wrote a letter to Jai Singh ⁵² as a Hindu. Shivaji writes ... ' it is astonishing that a few handful Muslims are governing so vast a country of ours. Their mastery over this land is not the fruit of their valour ... We should now try our utmost to protect Hindus. Hindustan and Hindu religion.' If you would help me, ... ' I will remove the name of Islam from Deccan.' In order to rouse the fighting spirit of Raja Jai Singh, Shivaji further writes that Jai Singh should attack the enemies of Hindu religion and root out the Islam (from India). ' I will show you the secret letter which I have picked up from Shahista Khan's pocket.'

When this policy of दान and भेद failed and दण्ड was out of question, Shivaji adopted the last method

i.e. १६६५ After nearly two and half months (3rd March 1665 to 20th May 1665) Shivaji opened negotiations through Maghunath Pandit but Jai Singh insisted on a personal interview. Accordingly, it took place on the 11th June, 1665 and Shivaji spent a couple of days as Jai Singh's guest. The treaty of Purandhar was signed on the 12th June, 1665. By this treaty Shivaji ceded 23 forts and adjacent land yielding four lakhs of hons a year and retained only 12 forts and lands of the annual value of one lakh of hons and further he agreed to serve Delhi government as a loyal vassal.⁵³

The treaty of Purandhar (1665) was a severe blow to the politically developing Maharashtra nation. The dream of establishing a new independent sovereign national state was shattered to pieces and Shivaji became a vassal king of Aurangzeb, whom he hated most. Raja Jai Singh of Amber the most obedient and loyal servant of Aurangzeb was following the tradition of Raja Man Singh of Jaypur and Shivaji was following the tradition of Pratap Singh of Udaypur. A year later, Jai Singh had thought of murdering Shivaji⁵⁴ by adopting treacherous and immoral means. Shivaji shrewdly avoided becoming a Mansabdar. Sambhaji attended the Mughal camp on the 18th June, 1665. Shivaji accepted the Mughal Firman on the 27th September 1665.

53. Patrasarsangrah, Part I, 1067, 1068.

54. Jai Singh's letter to Jafar Khan.

Shivaji's force now joined the Mughal forces when Jai Singh ~~set~~ set out on the invasion of Bijapur on 19th November 1665. Jai Singh reached twelve miles from Bijapur where he came across stiff resistance. 14000 Mughal soldiers and many officers were killed.⁵⁵ Shivaji was wrongly blamed for it. Jai Singh, in despair began his retreat on the 25th January 1666. He died in disgrace, at Burhanpur on his way back to Delhi, on the 28th August 1667.

Visit to Agra :

Jai Singh has persuaded Aurangzeb to invite Shivaji to visit the Emperor in person and to adopt a policy of conciliation. On the other hand, he prevailed upon Shivaji by 'a thousand devices' to undertake a visit to Agra, which Shivaji reluctantly accepted. After making masterly arrangements for the safety and administration of his territories during his absence, Shivaji left Rajgad on the 5th March 1666, and reached near Agra on 11th May 1666. Shivaji was to have been presented to Aurangzeb, on his birth day Darbar on 12th Morning. But owing to Ram Singh Kachvas bungling (Shivaji's host), Shivaji met Ram Singh in the heart of the city at noon, after the public Darbar had broken up. Ram Singh hurried Shivaji to Agra Fort, where he was presented to the Emperor, who received his gifts but said not one word of welcome in return. Then

Shivaji was led back and made to stand in the third row of Nobles. Shivaji felt humiliated and angrily protested to Ram Singh and refused to accept Mughal Mansab. The result was that Shivaji was kept in detention in charge of Ram Singh, but with a guard of Agra police-prefects men round his tent.

Effect of Shivaji's flight from Agra :

When all hope of deliverence was lost, Shivaji turned to effecting his own deliverence. He sent home his men and escaped from his tent on the 19th August 1666, with his son Sambhaji, concealed in big baskets of sweets. By moving in disguise, he reached Rajgad on 12 September 1666. After two months, Shri Krishnaji Vishwasrao brought Sambhaji safely. On the 20th November 1666, the news of Shivaji's return was authoritatively proclaimed.⁵⁶ Shivaji's successful flight proved that Aurangzeb's Empire is not invincible, it restored the faith that 'Shivaji does miracles', it rekindled the hope of establishing 'Hindavi Swarajya' (which was practically extinguished by the treaty of Punandhar in 1665), it gave freedom to Maharashtra and a blow to both Jai Singh and Aurangzeb.

Policy of Offence :

After his return from Agra, Shivaji had not started

56. See Appendix

immediately, an offensive campaign against the Mughal Empire. Because, he knew perfectly well that it will be suicidal. In spite of the worst treatment, insult and imprisonment at the hands of Aurangzeb, Shivaji, outwardly at least,⁵⁷ kept a friendly policy with Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb was also occupied with the suppression of Yusufzai rebellion at Peshawar (March 1667). Shivaji appealed to the Prince Muazzam, who was again appointed as Subhedar of Deccan, to become his patron. At his recommendation, Aurangzeb recognised Shivaji as a Raja⁵⁸ and a loyal vassal. Sambhaji was restored to his Mansabdari and was sent to Aurangabad.

During the period of three years (1667 - 1669) Shivaji kept friendly relations with Aurangzeb. He utilised these three years for organising his government, repairing his forts and making sufficient provisions over them. He extended his power on the Western coast at the expense of Bijapur and the Siddis. Shivaji opened his offensive with great vigour in 1670. Because time was now opportune for it - (1) Mughal power in the Deccan was weakened by quarrels between Diler Khan and Prince Muazzam, (2) Aurangzeb was insulted by the Emperor of Iran, (3) The campaign of Jai Singh against Bijapur was unsuccessful; (to that extent

57. Ramdas, Dasbodh,

58. Patrasarsangraha, Part I, (1200)

against Marathas also) (4) Aurangzeb adopted a policy of religious persecution - (1) a letter from Vasai (Bassein) dated the 10th December 1667 communicates the news that 'Ziziya' had been reimposed upon Hindus ⁵⁹ (2) a letter from Bombay (Garry to Lord Arlington) mentions ⁶⁰ the fanaticism of Aurangzeb, destruction of many Hindu temples. This very letter explains the cause of Shivaji's offensive policy against the Mughals. This letter also mentions about the forcible conversions of Hindus. (3) He (Aurangzeb) reimposed taxes upon the Hindu merchants of Surat. On several occasions Hindu traders and merchants observed 'Hartal' in Surat. (4) The worst act of Aurangzeb was that he demolished (August - September 1669) the temple of Kashi Vishweshwar at Benaras and erected there a Masjid. The temple of Kashi Vishweshwar was (and even to day is) the most important sanctuary. When Shivaji heard the news that 'the temple of Kashi Vishweshwar is demolished', he wrote a stunning letter to Aurangzeb. The result of the policy of Aurangzeb can be imagined. Shivaji adopted aggressive policy against the Mughal Empire as a fitting ⁶¹ reply to Aurangzeb's policy of religious persecution. (5) Aurangzeb issued orders to arrest Prataprao Gujar and Niraji Pant, who were at Aurangabad with Sambhaji according

59. Patrasarsangraha, Part I, (1187)

60. Patrasarsangraha, Part I, (1281)

61. "

to the treaty of Purandhar. Prince Muazzam secretly communicated the news to Prataprao Gujar and Niraji Pant and asked them to leave Aurangabad. This incident clearly reflected the aim of Aurangzeb.

Offensive :

Marathas opened offensive with great vigour. Many of ceded forts were recaptured. During the period of three years, i.e. 1666 - 1669, Shivaji had raised a large army. The English factories at Surat wrote in March 1670, that ' ... Shivaji marches ... with an army of 30,000 men, conquering as he goes.' Shivaji sacked Surat for the second time (3rd October to 5th October 1670). His purpose of sacking Surat, was clearly stated by the French, English and the Dutch people who were there. According to Abbe Carre ... ' As the purpose of Shivaji was only to make fun of the great Mogol, he did not exert himself further and did no harm to the people.' The French, the Dutch and the English were given ' a timely notice to display their standards on the top of their terraces that they may be saved thereby from the fury of the soldiers ... ' The English lost one soldier, the French 'two black servants' and the Dutch none : ' we could only oppose to Shivaji's horde, 35 men in all, but they not molest us.'

The Marathas flushed with victory burst into all directions. Trimbak, Ahiwant and three other forts, Khandesh, Berar, Bahadurpura, Karanja, Baglan and Salher

were captured and Mogol territory was looted. As a retaliation, Dilir Khan seized Poona (December 1671) and
2.N. 'massacred all its inhabitants above the age of nine years.'
This was replied by Marathas at Salher. Baglan was captured in 1672. Kolwan, Jawhar, Darampur were conquered. In November 1672, Maratha army made a lightning raid onto Berar and Telangana. In 1673, Bijapuri Kanara was invaded, Hubli was sacked. In the same year Bankapur was sacked. Shivaji reached upto Kadra. In April 1674 Shivaji was able to keep his hold on Kudal. The Rani of Bednur promised to pay an annual tribute. Panhala was recaptured on the 6th March,
2.N. 1673.

Mughal Reaction :

The Maratha blow at Salher to Mughal army was so powerful that the Emperor at Delhi was shocked. Sabhasad Bakhar states ⁶² : " The Badshah at Delhi felt much distressed at the bad news. For three days He did not come out into the Hall of Public Audience. So sad was he that he said, 'It seems God has taken away the Badshahi from Musalmans and conferred it on Shivaji.' As per their traditions, Persian records are silent on this; but the English records had confirmed the victory. It states that Marathas 'forced the two generals (Bahlot Khan and Ikhlas Khan), who with their armies had entered into Sevagy's country, to

62. Sabhasad Bakhar.

retreat with shame and loss.' Aurangzeb wrote a strong letter (according to Jayram) asking them 'to bring into a commonfold all the enemies of Shivaji like Adil Shah, Kutub Shah, Firangis, Hashbis and the Mughal army should conquer all the territory belonging to Shivaji. Shivaji will not be able to reside on forts for long and therefore, he will surrender.' But Bahadur Khan and Dilir Khan replied that ' It is of no use. He (Shivaji) possesses many strong forts and ... even if we try for hundred years he will not surrender. we have therefore, no alternative but to enter into a treaty agreement with him. We have accordingly, despatched one Brahmin envoy to Shivaji for discussion and in return he has despatched one Muslim envoy named Kazi Haider, to us. kindly, order us to enter into treaty agreement (with Shivaji). However, Aurangzeb was not prepared to have a treaty with Shivaji. With the result Kazi Haider was arrested and was confined on the fort of Parinda. However, the situation was such, Mughal generals were prepared to establish peace by entering into treaty agreement with Shivaji. This shows that the time was ripe to transform 'de facto' sovereign state of Shivaji into 'de jure' sovereign state by performing the Coronation ceremony according to Hindu religious traditions.

2.N.

Chapter IV

C - 1674

The Coronation of Shivaji :

Reasons :

(a) Practical -

There are many reasons why Shivaji got himself crowned at Raygad on Friday 5th June 1674. The reasons can be broadly classified into two categories namely (a) practical reasons and (b) Ideological reasons. Political scientists have accepted a few advantages of monarchical forms of governments. They are chiefly, respect for law on the part subjects, obedience, continuity, etc. So long as Shivaji was not crowned, he was not respected like a king by the Sardars and subjects and foreign powers. British and other foreign records have described Shivaji as a predatory. Henry Oxenden who was present at the time of Coronation ceremony (najyabhishek) at raygad ' was assured that the rajah would after his coronation act more like a prince by taking care of his subjects and endeavouring the advancements of commerce and trade in his dominions which he could not attend before being in perpetual wars with the kings of Vizapore and the Great Mogull.' The other practical difficulty was in respect of the old Maratha Sardars. Maratha Sardars like Shirke, Mohite, Mahadik and others whose traditional social and political status was higher than that of Shivaji, thought

it below their dignity to bow their heads before Shivaji. According to Shivadigvijay ⁶³ when Shivaji realised this situation he asked Balaji Avaji about the remedy. He replied - 'the king who sits on the throne is respected like a God by the people.' He further said that 'you (Shivaji) should be able to prove that you are Kshatriya, because a kshatriya alone is entitled to wear a crown and perform a coronation ceremony. That is why Shivaji had to prove that he was a kshatriya, and that he belonged to Sisodia Family of Rajputs. And hence the traditional ceremonies like sacred thread ceremony etc. were performed. It is said that Swami Ramdas was present at the time of sacred thread ceremony of Shivaji. The third practical reason was to impress upon the people by performing all the ancient traditional ceremonies which accompany the major Rajyabhishek ceremony. The common people could not find in Shivaji the traditional splendour and lustre resulting from certain specific traditions and customs which are observed by the Royal Families. Sabhasad Bakhar has given the practical and ideological reason why Shivaji got himself crowned. Sabhasad Bakhar states ⁶⁴ - According to the opinion of Bhat (Brahmins) and Gosavis, Muslim Badshahas occupy the throne, become Chhatrapati and rule over the territory. And how it is that

63. Shivadigvijay.

64. Sabhasad Bakhar.

Shivaji Raje, who has humbled four Muslim Patshahis, who has a military force of 75,000 horse, several forts and Ports, has no throne to sit upon ? Therefore he thought to himself that a Maratha king should become Chhatrapati.

When he was fully convinced about it, he summoned all the

7.N. prominent people for discussion.⁶⁵ In the discussion everybody supported the idea of coronation. Therefore, Bhat and Gosavi (i.e. Brahmins) said that Shivaji should get himself crowned. " When this decision was taken then followed the normal procedure. The Family Tree of the Raje was investigated. It was found that Shivaji belonged to Sisode Rajput Family. One branch (family) of this family came to the south from north. During the intervening period, the observation of certain family traditions gradually elapsed. Hence there was the necessity of reviving those traditions. So it was essential to perform the sacred thread ceremony to which high caste ^{kshatriyas} ~~kshatriyas~~ were entitled. When Shivaji performed this ceremony, he became pure, high caste kshatriya. Then it was decided that the coronation ceremony should be performed according to the traditional Hindu customs. A Sinhasan (Throne), weighing 32 maunds (roughly lbs. 2,560) was constructed. Water of seven great rivers was brought. Water from important rivers, sea, holy places was also brought. Special pots of gold were prepared for Abhishek. Shivaji bowed his head before the learned Brahmins

65. Note the procedure which Shivaji followed. This proves beyond doubt that he was not a despot or an autocrat.

and sat upon a special square sized seat made of gold. Then the Brahmins and Ministers showered the holy water through gold pots. Afterwards, saluting the Sinhasan, Shivaji sat upon the throne and thus became a real king, or de jure king. Sabhasad proudly states, that this was not a small achievement. Everywhere there are at present Muslim rulers or Patshahas. Shivaji is the only (Hindu) Maratha ruler who was become a Chhatrapati."

(b) Ideological

Maharashtra Dharma :

Sabhasad Bakhar has already referred to practical as well as ideological reason - the ideological reason being that everywhere there are Muslim kings or Badshahas governing Hindus and there was not a single Maratha Badshaha or king. Only now the Maharashtrians felt that they have their own king and that they have their own kingdom. The dream of establishing Maharashtra Dharma (महाराष्ट्र धर्म) was realised when Shivaji crowned himself as a king. From the 13th century onwards there was the deeply rooted concept amongs the Hindus that the Muslim power in general, cannot be defeated. After the collapse of the Vijayanagar Empire, Shivaji was the first Hindu to prove that Muslim power can be defeated. The importance which is attached to Russo-Japanese war of 1905 and its political impact upon the nationalist movements in Asian states, ~~the~~ is the only example which can be compared with Shivaji's achievement.

By crowning himself, Shivaji proved beyond doubt that Muslim power is not invincible.

Cherished Dream

Background

The establishment of Maharashtra Dharma was long standing cherished dream of the Maharashtrians. ~~Though~~ ⁶⁶ Though the rulers might belong to different religion. Dyaneshwar has advised Hindus to follow their own religion. His advice to a certain extent checked the temptation amongst those Hindus who perhaps would have tempted to adopt Muslim religion for selfish motives. He further asked kshatriyas to fight with the enemies because there is nothing more proper for kshatriyas than to resort to fighting. He stressed the principle of equality amongst different castes in Hindus. The Pandharpur movement or the Cult of Vithoba was started by Dyaneshwar, has the same goal to achieve. Vithoba was the symbol of unity amongst Maharashtrians. Vithoba was not a mere a Deity to be worshipped at, it was much more than that. The famous saint ⁶⁷ Tukaram has properly described Vithoba. He says that ' Vithoba is the deadly enemy of these Asuras. He protects his disciples.' He further describes Vithoba as a symbol of prowess. Vithoba is the full incarnation of the Gods Rama and Krishna. The Vithoba at Pandharpur

66. Dyaneshwar.

67. Tukaram.

was thus an objective symbol for Maharashtrians, which inculcated the spirit of nationalism amongst them.

Meaning of Maharashtra Dharma

68

The Bakhar of Mahikavati, written during the middle of the 15th century describes the condition of Maratha Kshatriays; how the goddess Jagadambika जगदंबिका is pleased to support the cause of protection of Maharashtra Dharma. She has advised the people to come together. Nayakorao dreamt about this Goddess. The Bakhar states that 'in this country the number of Yavanas (Muslims) increased. The Marathas forgot the pride of their country. They gave up their arms and became agriculturist. They began to forget their past, their traditions, customs, family goddess, etc. Observing this state of affairs the Goddess Jagadambika came into the dream of Rajeshri Nayakarao." Thus the movement was started. Maharashtra Dharma consists of three important principles - (1) Observation of religion (2) Observation of system of Varnas and Ashramas (3) Acceptance of the final authority of Shriti's (श्रुति = Vedas) and Smriti's (स्मृति) Keshavacharya⁶⁹, in the Bakhar of Mahikavati states that - Behaviour according to Vedic principles is superior, behaviour according to the family traditions and traditions of the country, Maharashtra Dharma is the life-root of all religions.

68. महिकवतीची बखर ही

69. Keshavacharya - Bakhar of Mahikavati. १९

It means in Maharashtra Dharma all the important principles to be observed are included viz. Vedic principles, principles of family tradition and the principles of local traditions.

Establishment of Traditional Hindu Religion :

Shivaji got himself crowned not because he had a personal desire of pleasure or greatness, but because he had fulfilled a national cause, realised a long standing dream of Maharashtra Dharma being established. The political aim behind the coronation was to terrorise those who opposed traditional Hindu religion, and to remove the deeply rooted impact of Muslim domination from the minds of Hindus. The idea behind establishing Maharashtra Dharma was, on one hand to remove the inferiority complex of the Hindus and their misconception about the invincibility of Muslims; on the other hand to make people feel that this is their own kingdom, it is meant for their happiness and for observation of their religion. From 1645 Shivaji had triple ideas before him viz. Maharashtra should become independent, the people of Maharashtra should live freely and fearlessly and the protection of religion. All the three ideals were realised when according to ancient Hindu traditions Shivaji crowned himself in 1674 at raygad.

Coronation Ceremony :

The Gaga Bhatta, who was the chief priest at the Coronation Ceremony at raygad, was a well known authority in India, well versed in Vedas and an author many learned books. His book 'Kayastha dharma deep' (कायस्थधर्मदीप)

is a well known book. He wrote one book the title of which is Shivarkodaya (शिवार्कोदय.). Bhattavanishkavya, Sarga 5, Shlokas 7 - 8 states that it was Ramdas who asked Shivaji to bring Gaga Bhatta from Varansi for his Coronation. Sabhasad states that 'for the coronation ceremony of Shivaji, 50,000 Brahmins learned in the Vedas had assembled. Besides them had gathered many Taponidhinis and holy men, Sanyasis, Manabhavas, Yogis, etc. Ramdas, was obviously very much pleased to note the changed political situation in Maharashtra. He describes Maharashtra as Anandvanabhuvan⁷⁰ (the abode of happiness). He says that now the religion will flourish from this place. The sinful Aurangzeb had been defeated, Muslims have been killed, the temples which were demolished are reconstructed, now happiness will prevail in Anandvanabhuvan. All our desires will now be fulfilled, in Maharashtra because Maharashtra Dharma has been established. In the Sanad⁷¹ granted by Shivaji to Chaphal Village state, Shivaji had himself stated the aim of his State as ordered to him by Ramdas. In it he states that "the chief aim in establishing a state is the restoration of Dharma, service to the Gods and Brahmins, protection and care of the subjects."

Chhatrapati :

'It speaks, writes Dr. S.R.Sharma, volumes for

70. Ramdas

71. Sanad

Shivaji's statesmanship to have conceived of all the implications of an Abhishikta Raja (अभिषिक्त राजा) and the significance of the unique title of Chhatrapati (छत्रपति). No Hindu or Indian prince, or for that matter any ruler whatsoever had borne the significant name of Chhatrapati symbolising the protective umbrella ...

A very good illustration of the manner in which the Chhatrapati discharged his trust as leader and protector of Hindu Dharma and civilization is to be found in an important document ⁷² which might be considered as Magna Carta of Maratha Swarajya. This document traces the past history and atrocities committed by Muslim rulers. It states that through the instrumentality of Shivaji, it was God Shankar (सांबर) defeated the Muslim and will do the same in the future. It has assured every community within the Hindu society to follow their own traditions and customs. If any one raises any dispute within the community then that community should communicate it to Shivaji immediately. 'It assures to render the most speedy and impartial justice to all who should invoke Shivaji's dispensation following established traditions, scriptures and public opinion; and calls upon people of all communities to act with one accord and co-operate with the government in defeating the Muslims coming from the North.' This proves the real political aim why Shivaji crowned himself. The ideals which Shivaji cherished continued to dominate the whole of the Maratha Polity in

the remaining part of the 17th century and throughout the 18th century as well. We shall write now about it in the next few chapters.

Royal Seal ⁷³ of Shivaji :

The very fact that the Royal Seal of Shivaji is in Sanskrit, connotes more meaning than the words would suggest. During the days of Shivaji, Persian was the state-language and it dominated the official correspondence including the usage of Muslim Calendar. The Sanskrit language used in the Royal Seal of Shivaji denotes that it is the revival of ancient regime, based upon sacred scriptures. The Royal Seal suggests the end of the state i.e. protection of Hindus and Hindu religion. The literal meaning of this Royal Seal is as follows - "Increasing in size like the new born moon, adored by the Universe, this Seal of Shiva (Shivaji) who is the son of Shahaji, guarantees happiness and prosperity."

D - 1674 - 1680

Reforms :

Official Language and Almanac :

The very first thing, which Shivaji had to do when his coronation ceremony was completed, was to look after the administration. The happiness of the subjects lies in the clean and efficient administration of the State. Therefore, in order to realise the aim of the state, i.e. the happiness of the people, he issued 'Kanujabte's⁷⁴ - i.e. state orders in which we see the clearcut division of administrative work. The Kanujabtes were issued on the 21st June 1674. Administrative system of Shivaji was based upon the famous ancient system of Ashta-Pradhan. The names of the different ministries are in Sanskrit and not in Persian. The administration was to be carried out in the language of the people, and not in the Persian - which was obviously a foreign language. In order that the regional language should flourish and Persian language driven out of official correspondence, Shivaji asked Raghunath Pandit to compose 'Rajyavyavahar Kosh' (राज्यव्यवहार कोश) - a dictionary of words on state-administration. In order to remove another draw-back viz. the usage of Muslim almanac in official correspondence, Shivaji asked Krishna Jyotish to compose

a new almanac named 'Karan Kaustubh'. (करण कौस्तुभ.)

7.N.

It is obvious that with these two reforms, the people of Maharashtra thought that now it is their own kingdom; Swa-rajya (our government) has been established.

Ministries :

The Kanujabtes distributed the administrative work among the different ministries and other officers. Though the authority was divided, yet there was some inter - dependence left among different authorities. Though the authority was divided, yet the final power - sovereign power - was in the hands of Huzur, i.e. Shivaji. The work of each Minister was as follows :

(1) Mukhya Pradhan : (Chief Minister)

was in charge of the overall supervision and general administration. He had a separate Seal of his own. He was to conduct war and when a territory was conquered, he had to protect it and administer it. All Sardars and army were to accompany him and all were to obey his orders.

9

(2) Amatya : (Minister for Finance)

Revenue?

9 He had to prepare the State Budget after careful inquiry. Phadnis and Daptardar were his under-officers. He had to participate in war. He had a Seal of his own.

(3) Sachiv : (Minister for Correspondence)

His duty was to scrutinise the state papers carefully and if necessary to make slight changes therein. He had to participate in war.

(4) Mantri : (Minister for Home)

His duty was to frame a policy after careful thinking. He had to participate in war.

(5) Senapati : (Minister for War)

His duty was to keep the army upto date. He had to direct the war and to protect the territory which was conquered. He had to keep record of all taxes, booty, etc. imposed upon the people of the conquered territory. He had to settle the disputes arising within the army. It was his duty to listen carefully to the grievances and disputes within the army. All the army Sardars must accompany him.

(6) Panditrao : (Minister for Religion and Law)

He was to inflict punishment according to religion, after the careful scrutiny of each case. He should bestow honours upon the worthy people. He had to seal all the letters of Aachar, Vyavahar and Prayaschitta.

(7) Nyayadhish : (Minister for Justice)

He had to decide the cases according to religious scriptures, traditions and customs.

(8) Sumant : (Minister for foreign affairs)

He had to correspond with foreign states, to receive foreign ambassadors and to follow the protocol. He had to participate in war.

Apart from these eight Ministers there were many other subordinate officers, to whom some specific function was assigned by 'Kanujabta', for example, the duty of the Chitnis was to write all state letters, replies, sanads, Danapatra, etc. There were other officers like Karkhanis, Sabnis, Sarnobat, Tatsatnobat, Subhedar, Havaladar, etc. The duty of the army Sabnis Bakshi was to distribute salary to the army people and to maintain attendance. One important note issued '75' was that nobody should spend anything from 'Karkhannas' (Stores) unless a written order was received. In all there were twenty Kanujabtes (List of Laws), issued.

Careful Administration :

Efficient administration helps in realising the aim of the State. A few letters of Shivaji even prior to his coronation ceremony and a few letters after his coronation ceremony prove the best quality of his administration. How Shivaji cared well for his subjects is proved by a letter which he wrote to his soldiers and officers of his

army on the 13th May 1671 - . He has stated in his letter that 'proper arrangement of supply of grass etc. required for horses had been made. If you use it in improper way, the time may come when there will be no grass left to feed the horses. It might result into the loss of the horses. Then in that case, it will be you, who will be responsible for the loss of the horses. Improper use of supply may land you into certain other difficulties. You will think of collecting corn, bread, grass, etc. from the neighbouring people. In that case the poor Kunabis who are residing in those villages might leave those villages, cursing you and saying that you have harassed them more than the Mughals. Wherever you might camp, it is not your business to harass the subjects. You must go to the market and purchase the things which you require. You should not purchase anything by way of force. Utmost care should be taken about your behaviour, otherwise there will be tremendous loss due to fire or any other such thing. He who behaves contrary to the directions issued will lose his wages because he has lowered down the prestige of the Marathas. Guilty individuals will be severely dealt with.'

A letter addressed to Tukaram Subhedar and Karkuns of Prabhavali points out the need, stressed by Shivaji, that he (Shivaji) should be immediately informed about the incidents which have taken place in his kingdom. He had laid down a rule to that ^{effect}. The letter dated 8th September

1671 refers to a conflict between some Marathas and a Brahmin Sabnis. In the conflict, the Sabnis was attacked by the sword. Shivaji castigated the Subhedar and Karkuns for not informing this incident to him. He states, 'You should have communicated it to me so that I could have ordered the relevent individuals to present before me and I could have punished them according to law. It is your duty to see that people do not become indisciplined. You should see that nobody behaves in indisciplined manner.'

2. Shivaji had used very curt, strong and stern language in his letters when he came to know that a Subhedar has been negligent in carrying out certain duties which were assigned

2.N. to him with full faith. The letter addressed to Jiwaji Vinayak Subhedar and Karkuns, dated 18th January 1675, refers to the failure on the part of the Subhedar, not sending the supplies to the proper authorities. This Subhedar was asked to despatched supplies to the navy at Padmadurg which was a very important sea-base built to counteract the Janjira - Rajapuri - a sea-base of Siddis. Shivaji suspected some foul play; he thought that the Subhedar might have been bribed by Siddis. He, therefore, writes that 'the agent of the enemy will be treated like the enemy.' At that time he (Shivaji) will not take into consideration the upper caste (Brahmin) of the individual, in question. The same Subhedar is further warned that he (Subhedar) will be treated harshly if he (Shivaji) receives any further information about his

7.N. (Subhedar's) failure in his duties.

Directive to Revenue Collectors :

A letter addressed to Ramaji Anant Subhedar ⁷⁷ dated 5th September 1676 refers to the system of revenue collection and the attitude which revenue collectors must adopt while collecting the revenue. Shivaji states that the revenue officer should behave properly and correctly. While collecting the revenue, they should not collect even a stem more than whatever is due to government from farmers. 'You should collect revenue in such manner that the ryots receive its proper share and the government also receives its proper share. The government (i.e. Shivaji) will be displeased if you harass or vex the ryots for collecting the revenue. You must make an attempt, by ~~removing~~ from village to village, by which the Ryots will be rejuvenated and that they will sow their farms with vigour. All the Kunabis of a village should be asked to assemble and revenue officers should render all sorts of help to those who need it. Attempts should be made by which the waste land would be brought under cultivation. The necessary facilities and exemption should be given to those who deserve it.'

Effect of the Policy :

The above mentioned letters clearly denote the policy which Shivaji adopted towards his ryots. This attitude bridged the gulf between the ruler and the ruled. This policy created a sense of unity, a feeling that 'this is our government', which looks after the happiness and prosperity of the people as suggested by the Royal Seal of Shivaji viz. मुद्रा मद्राय राजते. The words on the Royal Seal, were not like a political platitude meant to deceive the people, but the words which reflected the true spirit behind them and the actual implementation of it.

Religious Reform : Reconversion :

The most important religious reform which Shivaji enunciated was that of re-conversion of those Hindus who had embraced Muslim religion for one reason or another. Many Hindus embraced Muslim religion because they were forced to do so, many were enticed, while a few adopted for selfish motive or political gain. The orthodox Hindu religious tradition had prevented the re-entry into the Hindu fold of those who had knowingly or unknowingly embraced other religion. Shivaji started this tradition of re-conversion by asking Netaji Palkar to re-embrace Hindu religion. It is essential to narrate the history of this important event. Netaji Palkar was one of the trusted Sardars of Shivaji. At the camp of Vishalgad in 1666, there arose a row between Shivaji and Netaji. Netaji left Shivaji and joined the Bijapur Darbar and became a Jahagirdar

of Vijapur Kingdom. He started attacking the Mughal Kingdom. Jay Sing first arrested him and later on gave an employment under him, After Shivaji's flight from Agra, Aurangzeb arrested him and kept him at Agra, on the assumption that Netaji was a relative of Shivaji. In order to avoid harassment in prison, Netaji, along with his wives and children, embraced Muslim religion. He was named 'Mushid Qulikhan' and was given an important post. After ten years i.e. on the 19th June 1676⁷⁸ Netaji Palkar was reconverted by performing a certain 'Prayaschitta' ceremony, and Murshid Qulikhan once again became Netaji Palkar. This was really a stupefying incident for Hindus. This shows the willingness on the part of Shivaji to keep aside the superficial religious technical conditions for the important political cause which serves the national interest, People obviously have attached more importance to this unique episode, which had some political effects in the country as a whole.

Religious attitude :

There are many Sanads available, showing the religious attitude of Shivaji. Even prior to his coronation ceremony Shivaji had granted Inam to Veda Murti Gopal Bhat Bin Shridharbhat of Mahabaleshwar.⁷⁹ There is one unique

78. Patrasarsangraha, Part II.

79. Sanads and Letters.

word which is used in this Sanad, granted in 1652. It appears that Shivaji was a student (विद्यार्थी) of Gopalbhat. Another Sanad granted in 1654⁸⁰ to Sidheshwarbhat bin Meghnathbhat, Brahmin/ Paragana Chakan shows Shivaji's belief in religious blessings offered by holy Brahmins. The Sanad begins with the word obedient (आज्ञाधारक) Shivaji. It states that 'because Swami had performed certain religious rites (अनुष्ठान) he, (Shivaji) had been able to secure kingdom for himself and had received all, whatever he had prayed for. He had an experience to that effect and therefore he is granting a Varshasan (Endorcement). This kingdom is the gift (प्रसाद) of Swami ... ' Sanads granting endowments to Holy places like Chinchwad,⁸¹ Dehu, Alandi, Chaphal⁸² are also available. Sanad⁸² was granted to one Taponidhi Deobharati residing at Mudalgaon because he conferred blessings upon Shivaji and said that 'the Forts of Salher and Mulher will be conquered on the 9th day from to-day.' 'If it happens,' said Shivaji, 'I will grant this village to you.' The said forts were captured by Shivaji extactly on the 9th day. Shivaji kept his word by granting a Sanad

80. Sanads and Letters.

81. Biography of Ramdas.

82. Sanads and Letters.

to that effect.

Temples :

Shivaji reconstructed the temple of the God Saptakotishwar at Narve⁸³ (near Goa). This temple was demolished by Portuguese in 1540. In May, 1675 Shivaji conquered the Fort Phonda, Shiweshwar, Ankola and Kadwar. He repaired the Fort Phonda⁸⁴ and fixed a wooden plate (which had a carved Ganapati idol in it) upon the main entrance-gate of the Fort.

New Political Policy - Deccan for Deccanis :

When the coronation ceremony was over and the administration firmly rooted in the state, Shivaji undertook the task of increasing the size of Swarajya. There were three important powers he has to face viz. Mughal, Bijapur and Golkonda. Besides these, there were other powers too ! For example Siddis, English, Portuguese etc. After the death of Ali Adil Shah II in 1672 the Bijapur power rapidly broke up. Taking the advantage of this situation, Shivaji conquered eastern Karnatak. The territory annexed by Shivaji roughly covers an area of 22,000 sq. miles, including 86 forts and yielding a revenue of Rs. 44 lakhs. Prior to this campaign, Shivaji entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the government of Golkonda, i.e. Qutb Shah.

83. Portuguese Maratha Relations.

84. " " "

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The adoption of this new policy i.e. 'Deccan for Deccanis' was not a genuine one. It was a policy adopted for a temporary period to achieve the political gain. In Bijapur Darbar, there were two factions - one led by Pathans under Bahalolkhan and other led by Deccani Muslim~~s~~ Khawaskhan. The attitude adopted by Mughal power was based upon the temporary gain. The Mughals changed sides on several occasions. In order to face Mughal power of the North, it was desirable on the part of Shivaji to align himself with the power of Southern Muslims. The actual result of this policy, was the increase of the Maratha power in the Deccan at the cost of Muslim powers.

The Aim of the Policy :

The aim of this policy is clearly reflected in a letter ⁸⁵ written by Shivaji in March, 1677 to Malojiraje Ghorpade of Mudhol. Malojiraje Ghorpade was the son of Baji Ghorpade, who had treacherously arrested Shahaji on the 25th July 1648. Yet Shivaji conniving at this act on the part of Ghorpade, wrote him a letter. In this letter, Shivaji narrated the historical background of the conflict between the two families and mentions his aim. When Shahaji was a de facto ruler of Nizam Shahi, his aim was to make 'our kingdom i.e. Marathas who are subsisting themselves upon the ordinary hosts of Sardars, as Imperial Sardars

(पादशाही वजीर.). Accordingly your father was made an Imperial Sardar ... Now Bahalolkhan is a Pathan - has become a master of Adilshahi. If Pathans become powerful, then they will destroy one after another the powerful, influential families of Southerners. Therefore, we kept friendly relations with Qutb Shah of Bhaganagar ... Qutb Shah requested us to visit Bhaganagar. Qutb Shah knowing fully well that I have now become a Chhatrapati, adopted a new protocol, and left aside the traditional protocol of salute etc. We embraced each other on equal terms. During the discussion that followed we both accepted the policy that 'our rule' Padshahi should be extended as far as possible, the Pathan rule should be destroyed and we should take such steps by which the Pada Shahi of Deccan shall remain in the hands of ours, i.e. in the hands of the Deccanis. I, therefore, thought, that all true Marathas should be introduced to Qutb Shah. It is but proper for us to consider the good of the Marathas who are my kith and kin. You should be free from suspicion ... because the Pathans (of Bijapur) Leave the Pathans and come to me at Bhaganagar. Bijapur had been taken over by Pathans. Now, where remains Adil Shahi ? If you wish to continue your service at Bijapur still Pathan is not going to give you any higher post. Moreover, we ourselves and other southern powers together are going to destroy the Pathan-rule at Bijapur. Therefore, leave Adil Shahi and join Qutb Shahi.

The Result of the Policy :

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2.N. The actual effect of this policy - Deccan for Deccanis - was the weakening of the both Adil Shahi and Qutb Shahi powers, also the great Mughal power and strengthening the Maratha power. Because soon after the Karnatak expedition, Shivaji has a rupture with Qutb Shah. Qutb Shah had borne all the expenses of this expedition but Shivaji neither had given a single fort out of 86 conquered there nor a part of the fabulous booty to Qutb Shah. So Qutb Shah and the Ministers of Bijapur entered into a mutual agreement. Their aim was 'to confine Shivaji to Konkan' But this coalition was broken. Shivaji who a year ago wrote to Malojiraje Ghorpade, that he should leave Bijapur and join Qutb Shah, now helped the defence of Bijapur⁸⁶ by raiding Mughal territory. In a lengthy letter Shivaji states that 'the Dilir Khan, observing the weakness of Bijapur government, had descended upon the Bijapur city. Masaud Khan wrote to me that 'the enemy (Mughals) is pressing hard. Therefore, please come and help us.' Accordingly, I started immediately and I reacted Panhala'. Shivaji then narrates how he, with a large army, had defeated Ranamasta Khan, had looted the Mughal territory. He further states that 'Dilir Khan now understood that if we (Dilir Khan) remain here, our rule will be totally overthrown; therefore, he left Bijapur.

Thus, we protected Bijapur by removing the calamity hanging over Bijapur. We encircled the enemy and utterly routed the same wherever it went. The enemy had been defeated to such an extent that it dare not attack Bijapur again.'

Extension of Swarajya :

It is clear from the letters cited above that the policy 'Deccan for Deccanis' supported by Shivaji was not the real political aim of Shivaji. Mughals ^{from} ~~for~~ north or any other power from North was not automatically 'a foreign power' to Shivaji because it came from North. From his point of view all Muslim powers were foreign. Whether they are in the South or in the North, was simply immaterial for him. His real political aim was to extend the territory of Swarajya. He supported the policy in order to realise this political aim, which he successfully achieved.

The Death of Shivaji :

Shivaji died after a short illness on the 4th April, 1680. At the time of his death, his kingdom included all the country from Ramnagar to Karwar (excluding Portuguese possessions); its eastern boundary embraced Baglan in the North and then ran southwards through the Middle of the Nasik and Poona districts, encircling the whole of Satara and much of the Kolhapur districts. The

territories conquered in Karnatak were ruled by a Viceroy at Jinji. Shivaji successfully established a national state in 1774 and strengthened it from 1774 to 1680. The important factor was the spirit of nationalism which survived after him, facing grim onslaughts of the Muslim power under Aurangzeb. This spirit defeated all the attempts of Aurangzeb to smash this tiny national state. On the contrary, this tiny national state, later on became an imperial power extending its sway from Peshawar in the North to Jinji in the South and upto Bengal in the East.

In the next chapter we have to study the policy adopted by Sambhaji, Rajaram and Tarabai to face the Mughal power. The spirit of nationalism and the policies adopted by Rajaram and Tarabai upto 1707 paved the way for Shahu to establish Maratha Empire or Maratha Confederacy. 8

Chapter V.

STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL.

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After the death of Shivaji, his second son Rajaram was crowned, on the 21st April, 1680 by Ministers. Rajaram was a boy of ten years only. But the army chief Mohite and others went over to Sambhaji, who was arrested and imprisoned by Shivaji at Panhala. Sambhaji, with the help of Mohite seized control of Panhala and came to Raygad and secured peaceful possession of Raygad. The group which supported Rajaram was executed. Soyarabai, mother of Rajaram died in prison.

Defection of Sambhaji :

Sambhaji's unworthiness of becoming a king was proved even prior to the death of Shivaji. Sambhaji had joined Dilir Khan on the 13th December 1678. Sambhaji, with Dilir Khan had attacked the fort of Bhopalgad near Pandharpur and treated the subjects and prisoners with brutal ferocity. However, when Dilir Khan had to retire in disgrace from his invasion of Bijapur in 1679, Sambhaji was persuaded to return to his father, which he did on 4th December 1679. Both Shivaji and Ramdas tried to reform Sambhaji, but their attempts failed. Shivaji, therefore, found it necessary to keep Sambhaji in prison at Panhala.

Reign of Ancestral Growth :

Sambhaji neither had a political ideology nor even capacity to understand the philosophy behind the establishment of Swarajya and Maharashtra-Dharma, which his father had. Therefore the whole reign of Sambhaji from 1680 to 1689, was a period of arrested growth for Swarajya. Because firstly, as the records of English merchants of Bombay and the French of Pondicherry show that there had been many plots to overthrow Sambhaji. Secondly, there was a constant conflict between the supporters of Sambhaji and Rajaram. This internal weakness of the Maratha Swarajya was shrewdly exploited by Aurangzeb. There was an excellent opportunity for Sambhaji to create ample trouble to Mughal Emperor when Muhammad Akbar, the fourth son of Aurangzeb, rebelled and came to Sambhaji for shelter.

Character of Sambhaji :

2.N. According to Chitnis Bakhar, Yesubai, Sambhaji's queen never supported her husband's actions. She was much distressed to when trustworthy servants of Swarajya were trampled under the foot of elephant. Raghunath Hanamante, who was removed by Sambhaji, asked, 'why is the kingdom shrinking daily ? ... why are the Brahmins being beheaded instead of being imprisoned ? why are the enemies sought to be won over instead of being executed ? why is the administration in the hands of Kavi Kalusha instead of the kings ?' For these questions there was no reply from Sambhaji. Khwafi Khan has described Kavi Kalush as 'a filthy

not aware of
research re. Sambhaji.

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dog' and had described Sambhaji as ... 'unlike his father, Sambhaji was addicted to wine, and fond of the society of handsome women, and gave himself up to the pleasure ... pleasure which bring so many men of might to their ruin.'

Advice of Ramdas :

It is on this background, that the importance of advice given by Swami Ramdas to Sambhaji can be properly understood. Ramdas states ⁸⁷ ... Eternal vigilance should be kept. If you continue quarreling about the share in the achievements of Shivaji (i.e. Shreshthi) then certainly the enemy will be profitted by your quarrels. Being all the people under one banner and defeat the enemy. All the people in the state should be trusted and thereby should be employed for the services of the state. Whatever (kingdom) exists should be preserved and (more territory) should be conquered; everywhere the state of Maharashtra should be expanded.' For this purpose, the policy adopted by Shivaji should be remembered.

Reconversion of a Brahmin :

Inspite of this bleak background of Sambhaji, we come across certain incidents which can be properly described as the confirmation of the policy adopted by Shivaji. The

first instance refers to the reconversion of a Brahmin who was forcibly converted to Islam. One Shri Gangadhar Mangnath Kulkarni⁸⁸ of Harsool, a brahmin, was in the services of the Mughals. Mughals forcibly converted him and kept him under detention for a few months. He served Mughals for a period of five years. Though he was given a higher post under Mughals, he always repented for his lost religion. Ultimately he gave up all his property and post under the Mughals and came to Raygad. For a period of one year he was requesting the various authorities that he should be retaken into Hindu-fold. He was prepared to undergo प्रायश्चित्त (religious punishment.) When Sambhaji heard this, he ordered that the brahmin in question should be adopted into Hindu-fold by performing प्रायश्चित्त. After performing the necessary rites he was made a Brahmin again.' Another incident occurred during the conflict between Sambhaji and Portuguese. In the conflict between Sambhaji and Portuguese the Desais of Konkan usually sided with Portuguese, In the nick of the time, Dulba Naik of Phonda joined the Portuguese army.⁸⁹ Yet the Desais joined Portuguese on one condition that 'after the establishment of the Portuguese rule in Konkan Portuguese should not demolish the temples of Hindus'⁹⁰ Sambhaji entered into the Portuguese territory of

88. Rajwade Khand.

89. Portuguese Marathe Relations - Pisurlekar.

90. " " "

Sashta and Bardesh on 11th December 1683. It is said that Maratha army started looting and burning the territory. Many churches were demolished and many Christian women were raped. Ultimately, peace was restored between Sambhaji and Portuguese on the 4th February 1684. In a letter, written by Portuguese Viceroy to the Emperor of Portugal, dated 8th February 1686, we come across a reference to a secret treaty, made between Portuguese and Desais. The condition laid down by Desais is as follows : ' In the territory, which will come under the governance of Portuguese authorities in Kōnkan people should be able to enjoy religious freedom as they were enjoying under Muslims and Sambhaji.' This proves that under Sambhaji, Hindus were able to enjoy religious freedom, as they enjoyed under Shivaji.

Aurangzeb in Deccan :

Aurangzeb, could not obviously tolerate an emergence of a new dynamic Maratha Raj, under Shivaji, in south. He was the most inveterate enemy of Maratha power, which espoused the cause of Hindus. He had declared : ' My armies were employed against him (Shivaji) for nineteen years, but ~~it~~ nevertheless, his state has always been increasing.' The English factors had recorded : ' He (Aurangzeb) is so inveterate against the Raja (i.e. Sambhaji) that he had thrown off his pagri and sworn never to put it on again till he hath either killed, taken or routed him out of his country.'

Another objective before Aurangzeb was to extinguish the two southern Muslim States viz. Bijapur and Golkonda, which he did in the years 1686 and 1687. Aurangzeb arrived in the Deccan at Barhanpur on the 13th November 1681. In the next eight years he had captured and occupied many forts of Maharashtra. Sambhaji was arrested at Sangameshwar on the 1st February 1689. Kavi Kalusha was also arrested. Sambhaji was painfully paraded on a camel with a cap and bells of a clown, and when the humiliating and painful perambulation was completed Aurangzeb 'ordered his side to be cloven open with an axe and his heart to be extracted.' The body was thrown to the dogs.

7.4

Repurcussions of Sambhaji's Death :

This vain hatred of Aurangzeb sent a thrill of horror through every Maharashtrian. All the misdeeds of Sambhaji were immediately forgotten. 'Revenge' was the only word which every one in Maharashtra could utter. Therefore, the period from 1689 to 1707 was one of the utmost trial for the Marathas. Aurangzeb ^{seemed} secured to have reached the zenith of his success in the year 1689. Now the downfall started. Rajaram fled to Jinji. From that remote place, Marathas continued their fight. The policy obviously was to regain the lost territory and independence.

Plan for Struggle :

The struggle for independence was neatly planned.

The declaration ⁹¹ issued on 22-12-1690 by Sachiv Shankaraji Narayan to Deshmukhs and Deshpandes of different places, communicates to them the division of work between Ramchandra-pant Amatya and Sachiv Shankaraji Narayan. It states that the territory from Satara onwards, which will be hereafter conquered, shall be governed by him and the territory from Raygad to Gokarn Mahabaleshwar is handed over to Ramchandra-pant Amatya. Dhanaji Jadhav was to serve under him and Santaji Ghorpade was to join Ramchandrapant Amatya. In order to encourage Maratha people to continue their struggle against Aurangzeb Rajaram had written letters to his Sardars, stating that their Inams would be continued.

Policy of Watans (Fiefs) :

To a certain extent, Rajaram had to follow a different line, than ~~the one~~ followed by Shivaji. Shivaji never encouraged Inam system. Rajaram had to adopt this policy of protecting Inams in order to achieve the noble end i.e. Swarajya. In a letter written on 22nd March, 1690, he states - that 'this is the kingdom of Marathas. You people have an emotional attachment to it. Therefore, whatever is useful for this kingdom (स्वामी कार्य.) should be done with utmost pre - caution and the territory should be acquired. Your achievements should be communicated to me. I will grant the same

91. Quarterly.

92. Rajwade - Khand 15.

territory to you.' He further states how 40,000 ₹ cavalry and 1,25,000 foot-soldiers (दरम) have joined him. He further states that the hereditary Palegars of Karnatak have all come over to him. He says that 'you should have faith in me. If you trust me and do the proper service, what the enemy can do ? When you take it to your heart to do something towards your state, what the enemy is going ~~to~~ to do ? When you continue to have an emotional attachment to this state, it obviously means that you do not care a fig for Aurangzeb's prowess. So do as we have directed. Aurangzeb has undertaken the task of converting forcibly Marathas into Musalmans... By the will of God, we shall be victorious. Have courage and patience.'

f.N.

Effect of the Policy :

The policy of encouragement, of granting Inams, of rousing the emotional spirit of the Marathas adopted by Rajaram (was) proved fruitful in every corner of Maha - rashtra. Rajaram had hinted at the possibility of forcible conversions of Marathas and thereby enlivened them for action on religious grounds also. Repercussions of this policy can be seen among the Desais of Konkan, roundabout Goa, who once upon a time opposed Sambhaji, now joined Rajaram.

Desais of Maneri, Sakhali, Dicholi (मत्ग्राम), Phonda, Chandrawadi now joined the forces of Rajaram because they

were attracted by the principle adopted by Rajaram. The principle was that 'this kingdom is the abode of Gods and Brahmins.' Another proof for the success of this policy is clearly expressed in a letter ⁹⁴ dated 16-1-1691, written by an Acting Governor of Goa to the king of Portugal. In this letter the Acting Governor states that 'many Desais from Konkan have left Mughals and have joined Rajaram. Because this king (Rajaram) and Desais belong to the same religion. Moreover, Muslims rape Hindu women and then demolish or make impure, Hindu temples.' He further states that 'it is better to have a Hindu kingdome near us than a Muslim kingdom.'

The Ambition of Rajaram :

The ambition of Rajaram was not limited to the reconquest of the territory of Maharashtra, which was at present occupied by Aurangzeb. His ambition was to include Bijapur, Bhaganagar (Hyderabad) and Delhi into Swarajya. During the reign of Rajaram, many a Maratha Sardar, Prabhus, Brahmins who were serving under Muslims, left their services and joined Rajaram. Rajaram, therefore, had rightly stated that 'our forces are increasing and those that of enemy are decreasing' (गनिमाचे लष्कर आटोन हजर जमाव होवू लागला)
Mudhoji Nimbalkar of Phaltan, writes ⁹⁵ to Rajaram that ' I

94. Portuguese Marathe Relations - Pisurlekar. j. 9

95. See Appendix

was serving the Muslims. Now I have given up that service and have joined your services, for the reasons being that this kingdom of Maharashtra should be expanded (and become prosperous), that our Vatan should be safeguarded. Every-⁹⁶body was convinced about this reason. In a letter written by Rajaram to Hanumantrao Ghorpade and Krishnarao Ghorpade, ^{Rajaram states} that he (Rajaram) will grant them Inam - Saranjam to the tune of Six lakhs Hons (हौंस) provided they fulfil the condition laid down by Rajaram. Hanumantrao Ghorpade and Krishnaji Ghorpade were in the services of Muslims. Now they are leaving their services and joining the services of Marathas. As an inducement to this he was offered this Saranjam. Rajaram states - "Rajshai Nagoji Mane had been to me. On your behalf he requested me and told me your intention of serving us, provided we grant you Tainat (तैनात) as per your status. I understand that you are joining our services with a view to protect earnestly Maharashtra, Dharma. We are pleased to grant a Tainat on the following conditions-

62,500	Saranjam, after the conquest of Raygad.
62,500	after the conquest of Bijapur.
62,500	if Bhaganagar is captured, (i.e. Hyderabad)
62,500	to be given after the conquest of Aurangabad.
2,50,000	When Delhi is conquered.
<u>5,00,000</u>	

For Krishnaji Ghorpade

12,500 after the conquest of Raygad,

12,500 when Bijapur is conquered.

12,500 when Bhaganagar is conquered

12,500 when Aurangabad is conquered

50,000 when Delhi is conquered.

1,00,000

We have accordingly decided to grant you Saranjam. If you will remain loyal and serve this state, I will grant you more Saranjam."

Deshmukhi Watan :

In a letter,⁹⁷ addressed to Rajaram - Rajshai Na Nagoji bin Rataji Mane of Mhaswad, on 12th April, 1691, Rajaram had used the same method of inducement to Maratha Sardars, who were serving under Mughals. It states -
' Formerly you were serving under Mughals. You came to me at Jinji and requested me to grant you vatan of Sardeshmukhi of 12 Mahals in Maharashtra, with a view that Maharashtra-Dharma should prevail, our state is the abode of Gods and as such should not be disturbed by Muslims, that this kingdom should expand. We are pleased to grant you Vatan of Twelve

Mahals viz. (1) Mhaswad, Sangole, Adpadi, Brahmapuri, Akluj, Mangalwedhe, Dahigaon, Bhalawani, Nazra, Kaledhow, etc.' Deshmukhi was granted to Amritrao bin Tukaram Nimbalkar,⁹⁸ practically for the same purpose. Amritrao Nimbalkar was also serving Mughals. He left the services of Mughals and joined Marathas. The same idea, that this kingdom is the abode of Gods and Brahmins, is repeated here.

Wise Policy : Forgiveness :

Rajaram adopted a very wise policy towards the Vatandari system which was very practical in one sense, and at the same time it served national purpose. People in general and Sardars and Vatandars in particular were very keen and sensitive about their watans. Watan was the chief source of income to them and it also attached some social status to the individual concerned, in society. Whosoever the ruler might be, these Watandars cared more about their Watans than their people, religion or any other such ideal. During the reign of Sambhaji and after his death, many Maratha Vatandars have joined the Mughal services in order to protect their Watans. That is the reason, why we come across such sentences like ' you were serving Mughals ' (तुम्ही पूर्वी ताम्राकडे होता). Rajaram wisely followed the policy of forgiveness towards such Vatandars and assured that their watans would continue. A letter written by

Rajaram clearly reflects this policy. One Shri Mahadji - Jagdale⁹⁹ approached Rajaram at Jinji and explained the situation about his vatan. He narrated the history of his vatan and said that they (Jagdales) had been loyal to Maratha king. When Aurangzeb occupied the territory of Maharashtra, he went to Aurangzeb and received Firman about his Watan from him; because many vatandars had followed the same suit. It was a practice among watandars to get their watans (documents signed and sealed by the proper state authority) reissued, whenever there was a change in the ruling power. Now he had come to you. Rajaram pardoned him for his misconduct of joining the Muslims and granted him his vatan.

Revision of the Policy :

It seems that Rajaram reviewed the policy of granting watans in the year 1698 for two reasons. Firstly, granting of watans and Inams had served their purpose. Mughal forces were unable to establish their rule in Maharashtra. Secondly granting of watans, without any limit, automatically created many administrative difficulties arising out of the conflicting claims. So, Rajaram rightly decided not to grant more watans from now onwards and to renew watans of those who possessed the same during the time of Shivaji. In a letter¹⁰⁰

99. Marathyanchnya Itihasachi Sadhane, Vol. 15.

100. Sardesai ...

7.N.

written to Mahadaji Ballal Sabhasad Namjad, Subha Dabhol, in the month of March, 1698, Rajaram states - ' In order to convince the Watandars about the security of their watans, watans were granted to those who demanded it, w without any limit, at Jinji, in that peculiar situation. Hereinafter, carry out the administration as per orders issued by me. No new watans should be granted to anybody except to those, who had been granted watans at the time of Late Swami i.e. Shivaji. Revision of the policy of granting Inams was necessitated by the conflicts among old and new watandars, who claimed the same watan. The conflict which arose about the watan of Rohidkhore, proves beyond doubt the difficulties which were created by the policy. Originally, this watan belonged to Narasi Prabhu Deshpande. During the occupation period i.e. from 1689 - 1707, when Aurangzeb practically occupied the whole of Maharashtra, the original watandars fled from their territory. Their watan was later on usurped by Naro Pandit and Pantaji Pant. After the return of Rajaram to Maharashtra from Jinji, this conflict came before him. This conflict continued even after the death of Rajaram. An order was issued to Dattaji Shivdeo in 1719 to investigate the matter. In that order there is a clear description of the situation prevailing at that time. It states ¹⁰¹ - It was impossible to enquire there (about the truthfulness of the matter brought before us in the court) i.e. at Jinji,

because we were far away from Desh, i.e. Maharashtra. Moreover, those were the days of revolution and therefore, he who wrote (demands) whatsoever, while which was served the state, was granted to him."

Rajaram had the same respectful feeling towards holy men, religious men exactly like his father Shivaji. Inams were granted to Khandobhat Shaligram¹⁰² for suggesting the auspicious occasion. Sanad of oblation was granted to Holy place like Alandi¹⁰³ for carrying out the daily routine in respect of the Samadhi of Dyaneshwar. One village named Mahagaon was granted, 104, as Inam to Deo Chinchwadkar, in 1694. The reason for granting this village as an Inam was the belief that 'this kingdom expanded and became prosperous by the grace of Shri Deo, who resides at Chinchwad. This kingdom is the result of the grace of Gods and Brahmins.' Another Inam granted¹⁰⁵ to Nagojirao and Chandjirao Patankar Desai reveals the same feeling with an addition 'that kingdom is the abode of gods, Brahmins and Marathas.' One village was granted to Bhavangiri Gosavi. The letters¹⁰⁶ granting of village are in the form of an order to Ramchandra Pandit Amatya, Hukumat

102. Sanads and Letters.

103. Sanads and Letters.

104. Sanads and Letters.

105. Sanads and Letters.

106. Marathyanchya Itihasachi Sadhane.

Pasha, written in the year 1697. Rajaram in his order states that 'the village Nimb has been granted to Bhavangiri Gosavi because some religious purpose is served in the matter of this Gosavi by way of giving food etc. to those religious people who came over there. Welfare of the state is realised in keeping these Gosavis and Mahants satisfied in all manners.' The reason for issuing this order was the complaint lodged by Gosavis that a state-servant named Parashuram Trimbak had collected Rs. Two hundred as a tax Similar order was issued to Shankaraji Narayan ¹⁰⁷ not to ¹⁰⁸ create any trouble to this village. Similar orders were issued to Anaji Janardan, Subhedar and Karkun. Shankaraji Narayan Sachiv also issued an order to this effect. Tarabai, widow of Rajaram, ¹⁰⁹ had also issued a similar firman.

It appears from the various letters cited above, that Rajaram had a clear idea before him about the situation which he had to face, the way which he found out to come out of it, and the dangers involved in it. In short the aim and the policy of Rajaram can be summarised as follows :

(a) To drive out the enemy forces from Maharashtra; to regain the lost territory and to re-establish Swarajya

107. Marathyanchnya Itihasachi Sadhane, Vol 15.

108. " " "

109. " " "

in Maharashtra.

(b) In order to achieve this end, he inspired many Maratha Sardars, about the end of the state that this is the kingdom of gods and brahmins. This kingdom belongs to us;

(c) He adopted the policy of inducement towards Sardars, watandars, etc. by way of granting watans and assuring them the continuity of the same.

(d) His devotion to religious centres and holy people created a religious zeal in the cause of national independence. Thus, Rajaram achieved a sense of unity among different strata of the society which overthrew the foreign yoke. Rajaram's policy was a combination of loyalty, religious devotion, nationalism and love of freedom. It is, therefore, no wonder when Adnyapatra states ¹¹⁰ - ' after achieving so much success by favour of God, Rajaram divulged his inmost object of conquering the country occupied by the Yavanas, of destroying the Yavan conspiracy, and of beating down the Yavan predominance which had taken root in the east, west and south, by sending large armies.'

Attitude towards Shahu :

Rajaram's attitude towards Shahu - son of Sambhaji - reveals his high moral character. Rajaram does not appear

110. Adnyapatra.

to have undergone a formal coronation, after the death of Sambhaji, (Rajaram, a boy of ten, was crowned as a king immediately after the death of Shivaji, but was thrown into prison by Sambhaji.) In a letter addressed to Shankaraji Narayan Pandit ¹¹¹ dated 25th August 1697, he states - 'God will bring back Shahu surely in course of time, he is the true master of the kingdom. All that I am doing is only for his sake. Ultimately all people have to look upto him : it is God's will.' In the same letter Rajaram warned Shankaraji Narayan Pandit 'not to do anything which will be harmful to the state and troublesome for future ruler to solve. If you do anything of the sort, it will be deemed an act of disloyalty. Therefore, act in a proper manner.'

Rajaram left Jinji in January 1798 and came to Vishalgad and from Vishalgad to Satara. He left Satara in October 1699 again. On the 2nd March, 1700, Rajaram died at Sinhagad of fever caused by the hardships of his swift flying raids. Before his death Rajaram had practically established his rule over Swarajya. In 1699, he had an army amounting to sixty thousand men. Mughal forces were defeated in Berar, Khandesh, Poona, Northern Nasik and Baglan, Nanded, Nandurbar; Chaouth and Sardeshmukhi was levied in these parts.

Tarabai :

After Rajaram's death, Tarabai took the reigns of government into her own hand, declaring her three year old son Shivaji II as successor to Rajaram. She took vigorous measures for ravaging the Mughal territory as far as Sirouj Mandoor and Malwa. Even the Portuguese Governor's wife at Goa was impressed by the daring acts of Tarabai. In Portuguese records, Tarabai ¹¹² has been described as 'most intelligent woman.' Unfortunately, after the rise of Shahu and Peshwas, all her attempts were directed to ~~over~~ overthrow their (Shahu and Peshwas) power. There are many references about Tarabai in Portuguese records, the last one being in 25th November 1756 when Tarabai despatched Rajashri Vithojirao Patole to Goa for secret understanding between the two parties. However, Tarabai's role in Maratha Polity can not be forgotten. Because from the year 1700 onwards she continued the national struggle with vigour and determination upto the death of Aurangzeb. Khwafi Khan wrote : 'Tarabai won the hearts of her officers and for all the struggles and schemes, the campaigns and sieges of Aurangzeb, up to the end of the reign, the power of the Marathas increased day by day.' It ~~is~~ is her leadership which guided the Marathas to achieve the goal. Bhimsen, the North Indian Chronicler states : As the Marathas had not been vanquished, and the entire Deccan had come into their

112. Portuguese Marathe Relations : Pisurlekar.

possession like a deliciously cooked pudding, why should they make peace ?'

Policy of Tarabi :

Like her husband Rajaram, Tarabai encouraged her Sardars to attack Mughals, inspired them with the national cause. A letter, written by Shivaji II ¹¹³ in 1702, (means Tarabai, since Shivaji II was hardly a boy of 5) reflects clearly the policy adopted by Tarabai. In this letter addressed to Prataprao More, she states : 'we heard the news that both you and Santaji Pandare have overrun the Aurangzeb's post near Malakapur. Now Aurangzeb is trying his level best to conquer Vishalgad. For this reason, you should continually attack his camp-positions, loot the enemy supplies. Only then, Aurangzeb remains engrossed in harassment. Therefore, you with other Sardars, unitedly harass Aurangzeb everywhere. By these acts of yours, Aurangzeb's will will become powerless. At present, we are at Pratapgad. Therefore, it is necessary to have a powerful army near about us, because Aurangzeb is a very treacherous enemy. When you are near us with a large army, Aurangzeb will not attack on this side. So, remain where you are at present and harass the Aurangzeb's camp as usual. If you will now undertake any new invasion into Mughal territory far away from this place, then obviously, this side will become

113. Aitihāsik Patravyavahar.

vulnerable and Aurangzeb might despatch his army to invade this territory. If you go away from this place, you will have no time to come to the rescue of Swami, i.e. Shivaji II. Therefore, do not go anywhere, giving chance to Aurangzeb to attack Pratapgad. Protect the kingdom and take such actions by which it will be possible for us to remain at Pratapgad.'

In a poem,¹¹⁴ composed in Marathi by Govind Kaveendra there is a vivid description how Delhi-rule has become pitiable, because of Tarabai's activities. This poem is composed to praise Tarabai. However, the pitiable situation of Delhi is corroborated in a letter written by Aurangzeb to Parashuram Trimbak,¹¹⁵ on the 27th May, 1702. In this letter he agreed, that 'our (Mughal) armies will go back to our territory (North India); because this was the important condition laid down by Parashuram Trimbak for handing over Kelna fort to Aurangzeb.

Capacity of Tarabai :

Tarabai's administrative capacity and her policy saved the Maratha nation from the greatest crisis following the death of Rajaram and the captivity of Shahu. It was Tarabi, who saved Maharashtra from the clutches of Aurangzeb-

114. Sthirabuddhi Rajaram.

115. " "

- a diehard enemy of Marathas. The dismal failure of Aurangzeb to defeat Marathas, proves that the power generated by the spirit of nationalism is far more greater than the power generated by religious fanaticism. After 1707, the spirit of nationalism was not limited to only Maharashtra, but it expanded in every direction of India, subjugated the Mughal power at Delhi and established its sway over a vast territory of India. Maharashtrian Nationalism gave place to Quasi-federation of Maratha Power. In the next few decades Marathas were able to control the Emperor at Delhi. The next chapter will reveal how this objective was achieved.

Chapter VI.

TOWARDS QUASI-FEDERAL STATE

Division of Period :

The period from 1700 to 1719 can be divided into two parts : (1) 1700 to 1707 i.e. from the death of Rajaram to the death of Aurangzeb, and (2) from 1708 to 1719, i.e. from the release of Shahu to the granting of Sanad to collect Chauth and Sardeshmukhi in the six Subhas of Deccan. In the first part, there was no question of adopting any new policy as such. The ^{old} policy of the Marathas merely continued under the leadership of Tarabai.

Regaining of Swarajya :

Even before the death of Aurangzeb in February 1707, Marathas had practically regained their hold upon 'Swarajya' and have started raiding the Imperial territory. It was Aurangzeb who thought of changing his policy ¹¹⁶ towards Marathas. Manucci records ¹¹⁷ : 'king Aurangzeb repents of having entangled himself in the war with Marathas, for it has not succeeded as he had hoped. The Marathas move about with their armies and pillage the empire in all directions. Every day, they display their power and audacity to a greater

116. Letter to Parashuram. *Source?*

117. Storia Do Mogot - by Manucci. Vol. IV.

extent in every part of the empire. In this war, over a hundred thousand could have died yearly, and of animals horses, hack oxen, camels over three hundred thousand. The great nobles are in distress, their families are begging 'It is no wonder, when Bhimsen states, that Aurangzeb had attempted appeasement, but it proved too late and futile. 'The envoys of the Prince returned in disappointment and 7.N. Raja Shahu was once again placed under surveillance in the gulal bar.' Thus an attempt to make use of captive Shahu failed to gain his (Aurangzeb's) ends.

2.N. Prior to 1707 Maratha commandoes have already established their hold upon the Maharashtra. They have appointed Kamavisdaras (Revenue Collectors). They had divided all districts among themselves and had appointed Subhedars Kanavisdars and Rahdars.

Shahu's efforts :

After the death of Aurangzeb, his son Azam began his retreat into the North without concluding any formal treaty with the Marathas. Shahu was not prepared to be dragged to Delhi, with the retreating Imperial armies and therefore, he began his efforts to regain his liberty through peaceful means. Zulfiquar Khan and the Rajputs advised Azam to allow Shahu to return to the Deccan, on the condition that he would serve Empire as a feudal lord. Moreover a friendly Prince in Deccan, would ensure the safety of empire in the

Deccan. If Shahu failed to obtain his patrimony and general recognition from the Marathas, the Marathas probably would plunge into Civil War. This, they thought would remove the danger of Marathas once for all and their attacks on Imperial territory for a few years.

Release of Shahu :

Shahu and Azam had three audiences, but without any practical result. Shahu became restless and on the 8th May left Mughals at Dhurula near Sirong and went in the Vinddhya forest to elude pursuit. Shahu had a meagre escort with him. Shahu made his way to Bijagad, south of Narmada river. Mohan Singh, the Rawal of that place gave him a cordial welcome and helped him to get on to Sultanpur in Khandesh. Shahu camped at Lambkasi in Khandesh. Here many Maratha Sardars came and they had an audience to Shahu. A letter ¹¹⁸ addressed to Malhar Tukdeo, mentions that he was the first to visit Shahu and therefore is being rewarded. In his imprisonment Shahu had contacted several Maratha Sardars. He had written to them letters inviting them to come and help him in the task of rebuilding the shattered Maratha State, and to revive its glory. Anantrao Kadam Bande Parasoji Bhosale, Nemaji Shinde, Moghe, Haibatrao Nimbalkar and others joined Shahu. Shahu advanced to Ahmednagar. From here Shahu wrote to his aunt Tarabai and the ruling party at Satara about his arrival and invited from them

the proposals for the future government of Maratha state. Instead of proposals Tarabai, in the name of Shivaji II, declared Shahu as an impostor and ordered her generals to destroy wheresoever they should find him. As Shahu belonged to elder branch of the House of Shivaji, he had superior claim for Gadi.

Coronation of Shahu :

Shahu advanced to Khed. Dhanaji Jadhav refused to take arms against Shahu and joined him with large Maratha army. In the battle of Khed (12-10-1707) small army supporting Tarabai fled to Satara. Shahu marched on to Satara occupying on his way Poona, Jejuri, Shirwal, etc. Shankaraji Narayan of Bhor ended his life. Shahu obtained Rajgad, Torana, Rohida, Vichitragad, forts without striking a blow. Shahu reached Satara and occupied it on Saturday in the month of January, 1708. After a week's time Shahu crowned himself and appointed his new ministry. Dhanaji Jadhav was made Senapati, Gangadhar Pralhad Niraji was elevated to the post of Pratinidhi, Pingle was appointed as Peshwa, infant son of Shankaraji Narayan, was confirmed as Sachiv. Shinde, Bhosale, Nimbalkar and other Sardars received titles and dress. Balaji Vishwanath was appointed as Mutaliq. It is clear from the appointments made by Shahu mentioned above that Shahu had adopted a conciliatory policy towards old families of Maratha officers. This had a salutary effect upon the people.

Opposition to Shahu :

Yet, it required a period of nearly five years for Shahu to settle down. Shahu had to face difficulties, from different quarters; for example (a) Important Sardars like Ghorpade, Chavan, Dabhade and Thorat had not joined Shahu. (b) Chandrasen Jadhav went over to Tarabai (c) Lodi Khan of Chakan created some trouble in Poona District. (d) Kanhoji Angre, ~~at~~ on Tarabai's orders, drove Shahu's forces out of the Konkan forts of Rajmachi, Tung, Tikona, Ghangad, occupied Lohagad and arrested Bahirpant Pingle - Peshwa.

Balaji Vishwanath :

Yet, ultimate victory of Shahu was predicted even by the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa. Shahu had appointed Balaji Mahadeo as his ambassador at Goa; in 1708. Portuguese Viceroy at Goa, wrote to the king of Portugal on the 10th December 1708¹¹⁹ that 'in the conflict between the two, there is more possibility of king Shahu becoming victorious.' Another reason which helped Shahu to achieve ~~the~~ victory, was the quarrel between the two wives of Rajaram. Rajaram had two wives viz. Tarabai and Rajasbai. Rajasbai had a son named Sambhaji. Rajasbai and her son Sambhaji II, very soon succeeded in usurping power, putting Tarabai and her son

119. Portuguese Marathe Relations - Pisurlekar.

X / Shivaji II into prison. The appointment of Balaji Vishwanath as Peshwa ¹²⁰ by Shahu and Tarabai's imprisonment ~~considered with other~~, coincided with ^{each} other. From 1713 onwards Balaji Vishwanath played a key-role in shaping the destiny of Maharashtra. Khwafi Khan had described Balaji Vishwanath as one of the 'most intelligent generals of Raja Shahu'. He has been called 'the second founder of Empire' 2N. He was a man who had administrative, diplomatic and military capacity. It was he, who went to Delhi and obtained the Sanads of Chauth and Sardheshmukhi in the Six Imperial Subhas of Deccan. This Sanad became the foundation of Maratha Empire and a corridor through which the Marathas pushed into Northern India. What is usually described as Maratha Confederacy was the creation of the system which Balaji Vishwanath had laid down.

Background of Balaji Vishwanath :

The native place of Balaji Vishwanath was Shrivardhan in Konkan. Balaji's forefathers were hereditary Deshmukhs or revenue collectors of Mahal Danda Rajapuri and Shrivardhan. The family left Konkan and migrated to eastern part of Maharashtra above Sahyadri Ghats, because Siddis of Janjira started troubles to that area. Balaji was immediately employed in the services of Maratha State. He worked as Subhedar in Poona upto 1702 and in Aurangabad upto 1707.

A letter ¹²¹ written by Shrikarcharya Panditrao in 1699 mentions the title 'Sarsubhedar' clearly. Shrikaracharya in his letter has requested Balaji Vishwanath to continue the Sanads granted to two holy places viz. Pandaveshwar and Bhuleshwar, for the performance of daily Puja. Balaji Vishwanath was an able civil administrator. He also proved his capacity in military affairs. When Shahu returned to Maharashtra, Balaji Vishwanath became his right hand man. At his - Shahu's - coronation, in January 1708, Shahu conferred upon him the title of Senakarte (maker of the
2.11 army)

List of objectives :

In 1714 Shahu handed over a list of objectives to be achieved by the state to Balaji Vishwanath and directed him to make attempts to fulfil the objectives. One of the most important tasks was to secure the restoration of Yesubai - Shahu's mother - from the custody of the Mughals. The list
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contains the following objectives to be achieved.

(1) To acquire 'Swarajya' as it was existing at the time of the late Shivaji including Raygad and other forts

• (2) Places like Khatav, Akhuj, Kasegaon, Mangalwedhe, Miraj, Pedgaon, Junnar and surrounding forts, Chaul and surrounding forts; Sangola, Nazre, Chakan, Belgaum, Kalyan,

121. Itihas Sangraha.

122. Rajwade - Aitihāsik Prastawana.

Bhivandi and surrounding forts, to be acquired.

(3) Trimbak (near Nasik) should be demanded.

(4) States purchasing canons should be taxed 25 %
Chauthai.

(5) The kingdom of Chanda (near Nagpur) which has been captured by Manhoji Bhosale, should be included in Swarajya.

(6) In addition to the six Subhas of Deccan, territory as far as possible in the regions of Gujrath and Malwa, should be conquered.

(7) The territory belonging to Nabab Bahlo Khan should be transferred to Fattesingh baba.

(8) The release of Mother (Yesubai) and Madansing with all the retinue including Durgabai and other servants should be demanded from the Emperor at Delhi.

(9) As already written, the firman and sanads (of six subhas of Deccan) should be brought from the Emperor.

(10) Separate firmans for collecting chauth and Sardeshmukhi from Konkan including Rajapur, Swarajya and other territories as far as possible should be brought from the Emperor.

(11) For every Mahal one village should be granted as Inam to Sardeshmukh.

(12) The kingdom of Jinji should be included into Maratha Empire.

(13) If Jaysing Palekar desires to join our services then he should be asked to enter into our services.

Objectives Realised :

As directed by Shahu Chhatrapati, Balaji Vishwanath vigorously undertook to fulfil the objectives. The lesser objectives were realised in the first five years, i.e. from 1714 to 1718. At the end of the year 1718, Balaji Vishwanath went to Delhi with Husen Alli to realise two important objectives, viz. Sanads and release of Yesubai. Balaji Vishwanath was accompanied by Khanderao Dabhade Senapati ¹²³, Santaji Bhosale and a sufficient Maratha army. The Maratha army supported Sayyads who brought about the Palace Revolution. In February 1719, there came the tragic end of Emperor Farrukh-Siyar. The new Emperor nafi-ud Darajat ¹²⁴ granted whatever Balaji Vishwanath demanded. Yesubai, with her retinue, was released. Shahu was recognised as a ruler of Shivaji's home dominions, i.e. Swarajya, including the possessions in Karnatak, Bangalore, Tanjore, etc. Shahu was allowed to collect Chauth and Sardeshmukhi in the six Subhas ¹²⁵ of Deccan viz. Aurangabad, Berar, Bidar, Vijapur, Hyderabad, Khandesh. In return, Balaji Vishwanath, i.e. Marathas agreed to maintain 15,000 horse in the service of the Emperor and maintain order in

123. Diary of Shahu.

124. Treaties, Agreements and Sanads.

125. " " "

The F.N. does not mention this.

the Deccan. Balaji returned from Delhi in June 1719 and died on the 2nd April 1720. Shahu appointed his ¹²⁶ Bajirao on the 18th April, 1720 as next peshwa. Shahu handed over the same list ¹²⁷ of objectives to Bajirao, which he had handed over to Balaji Vishwanath in 1714.

Constitution of Maratha Empire :

The system which Balaji Vishwanath introduced became the basis of the Maratha Empire. From the principles underlined in this system, we can conclude that it established a Quasi-Federal State, with a view, that one day or other it might turned out to be a powerful Federal State ¹²⁸. The other principles can be enumerated as follows :

(1) Sovereignty of the Delhi Emperor was accepted over the territories excluding Swarajya. This sovereign authority was only nominal or legal and not real or de-facto, because the Emperor at Delhi had lost all real power. The Emperor was usually described as सर्वभौम or पृथ्वीपति ¹²⁹.

126. Diary of Shahu.

127. Rajwade Prastawana Khand.

128. See Appendix

129. पेशवे वंश

(2) The Chhatrapati at Satara possessed the legal sovereign authority over the territories of Swarajya and as a subordinate authority from the legal point of view only, to the Emperor at Delhi, over the territories outside Swarajya for collecting Chauth and Sardeshmukhi, according to the terms and conditions laid down by the Sanad.

(3) All the Maratha Sardars, including Peshwas, owed loyalty to the central government at Satara, personified by Chhatrapati, usually referred to as 'Swami'.

me | (4) All important policies were to be decided by the Chhatrapati and Peshwa. In the case of a conflict between the two, the opinion of the Chhatrapati was to prevail.

(5) The duty of the Sardars was to keep peace and tranquillity within the territory assigned to them and not to interfere into the neighbouring territories.

(6) Sardars had full internal civil and military jurisdiction over the territory possessed by them.

(7) The Sardars had to submit to the Central Government, i.e. the Chhatrapati, the account of the annual revenue collected by them within their territory.

ee | (8) Sardars were prohibited from entering into treaty agreement with any foreign power or to declare war with any foreign power. It was ^{the} central government, which

alone had the authority to enter into treaty agreement with any foreign power and had the authority to declare war.

(9) The Sardars were entitled to raise and maintain the army. Sardars must join the campaign as ordered by the Chhatrapati.

(10) The central government's share, i.e. Peshkash or the part of the revenue collected by Sardars; should be forwarded to it every year.

(11) The Sardarki or this Saranjami system was not hereditary. The Chhatrapati had absolute right to dismiss any Sardar, holding watan and to grant the same watan to any other individual of his choice.

(12) Sardars were entitled to use Honours and Titles conferred upon them by the Chhatrapati. But in no case, they should receive or use title from any other foreign state ^{without} the explicit permission of the Chhatrapati.

(13) Priority must be given to the dues of central government. The share of the central government should be kept aside first, from the total revenue collected.

(14) Sardars had the authority to decide the taxation policy, in the territory under their jurisdiction.

(15) Taxes were to be levied on all in-coming and

out-going goods.

(16) The Residuary powers belonged to Chhatrapati.
The Chhatrapati had a right to punish the guilty and offending Sardar who flouted the articles of this agreement.

Weakness of the Constitution :

From these sixteen principles or articles of Quasi-Federal State, it is ^{clear} that a legally strong central government with all the legal power in its hands was established at Satara. Its chief weakness lies in (a) want of central army (b) civil and military jurisdiction in the hands of Sardars in their territory. (c) Financial weakness of the central government emanating from the system of revenue collection introduced. For example, the collection in Gujrat were assigned to Dabhade, those in Berar and Gondavana to the Bhosales of Nagpur, of Satara region to the Pant Pratinidhi, of Khandesh, Baglan and central India to the Peshwa, of the basin of Godavari to Sarlashkar, of Konkan to Kanhoji Angre and of Karnatak to Fateh Singh Bhosale. It will be interesting to compare the situation of this Quasi-Federal State to the ^{then} existing situation of 13 colonies in America. It is to be noted that the Confederation of 13 American colonies which was formed on the 15th November 1777 was also a weak one. Hamilton wrote that 'military organisation, under such conditions, was clearly impossible.' According to Munroe "it was weak because it lacked four things which every strong national

X. An attempt to apply modern concepts

government must possess; ability to raise revenues by taxation, to borrow money, to regulate commerce and to provide adequately for the common defence by raising and supporting armies." Therefore, there is no point in blaming Marathas for the lack of imagination.

Purpose of Confederation :

During seventeenth century, the political thought in Maharashtra centred round one aim, i.e. the establishment of Maharashtra Dharma in Maharashtra. This aim was realised by Shivaji in 1674. After the death of Aurangzeb, when the Mughal power became weak, it was now possible for this nascent state, which was full of vigour to develop into a powerful empire. There was no question of establishing Maharashtra Dharma, outside Maharashtra, though it was a central core of Maratha administration in Maharashtra. Therefore, the principles of this ^{Quasi-federal state} Confederation were formed to serve the double purpose - (a) Continuation of the Maharashtra Dharma in Maharashtra, and (b) To ~~espouse~~ espouse the cause of Hinduism whenever and wherever possible; because Maharashtra Dharma was a part and parcel of Hindu Dharma. These sixteen principles quoted above gave Maratha Sardars the necessary legal authority to expand their territory and sway over other parts of India. The responsibility of establishing co-ordination among Maratha Sardars was entrusted to Peshwas. It became the bounded duty of the Peshwas to punish those Sardars, who disobeyed orders issued by

the central government and revolted against central government itself.

Sovereignty :

In order to prove the above mentioned principles of Quasi-Federal State, it is necessary to list historical documents to support the same. The Emperor at Delhi was legally sovereign, of India. The Emperor granted ¹³⁰ the Jahagiri of Konkan region to Shahu which never belonged to him (Emperor). Yet with the legal authority (Sanad granting Jahagiri) in hand, Shahu established his rule in this region. A letter ¹³¹ written by Pilaji Jadhav to his son Sambhaji refers to the Emperor as सावर्भौम i.e. sovereign. In this letter he states that 'Peshwa had adopted the policy of pooling together all the Maratha army. Peshwa wrote to him that he is going to Hindustan to avert the danger of aggression upon Delhi Emperor from the Emperor of Iran. In order to help him, armies from Malwa, Malharji Holkar, Ranoji Shinde, Pawar, etc. should be asked to proceed. The glory of our state lies in helping the Emperor of Delhi at this juncture. In order to help the sovereign (सावर्भौम) Peshwa i.e. Bajirao, is going to camp in the

130. Portuguese Marathe Relations - Pisurlekar. p. 9

131. Marathyanchya Itihasachi Sadhane, Vol. 6.

same province (Delhi). A letter ¹³² written to Chimaji Appa by Purandare refers to Delhi Emperor as sovereign (सावर्माय.). Purandare merely communicates Shahu's opinion in this letter to Chimaji Appa. Shahu states that Peshwa (Bajirao) had gone to Delhi. He (Bajirao) is likely to be called upon by the Emperor for policy discussion. Therefore, it is of no use that Sumant should see Nizam. The background of this letter is like this - Sumant was invited by Nizam for discussion. The question of invitation was being discussed in Shahu's Darbar. It was decided that Sumant should not see Nizam until Bajirao's return. This letter records how Shahu was afraid of giving orders on political complications in the absence of Bajirao. ^{that} The Emperor was accorded the highest rank everywhere, can be observed from the protocol followed. Even if a Firman was received by Peshwas, issued by ^{the} Emperor, at Poona, a ceremony called Firmanwadi was held and then the letter was opened. During the days of Nana Phadanwis, English at Bombay insisted upon holding similar Firmanwadi, because they were going to handover a letter written by the king of England and addressed to Peshwa. ^{9.11} Actually, the king of England was more powerful than the Emperor at Delhi. Yet, Nana Phadanwis flatly refused to follow the similar procedure of protocol in respect of the king of England. At last, B.E.I. Company yielded and the letter in question was personally handed -

over to ^{the} young Peshwa ^{at} in Shanwarwada.

De Facto Sovereignty :

A great controversy has arisen amongst the historians of Maratha period about the Sanads granted by ^{the} Emperor and the implications of the same over the sovereign authority of Marathas over their Swarajya. According to Sanad ¹³³ No. 4 by which Shahu agreed to pay Rs. Ten Laks as Peshkash or tribute, every year to the Emperor. This whole treaty of Chauthai, Sardeshmukhi and Swarajya has been described by late Shri G.S.Sardesai ¹³⁴ as 'an attempt to deceive each other.' By granting Chauthai and Sardeshmukhi to Marathas, it was interpreted that Emperor has taken the protection of the Marathas. Outwardly, it appeared that the Emperor was a sovereign authority and the Marathas were his vassal state. Just as the British East India Company had not lost its independence by receiving Divani in 1765, similarly Marathas had not lost their independence by receiving these Sanads in 1719. In practice, Balaji Vishwanath introduced the system which gave full scope for Maratha expansion. After nearly 80 years Wellesley introduced the same system, with slight modifications. Truly, Owen has described the system of Chauthai and Sardeshmukhi as 'Those imposts were a convenient pretext for indefinite fiscal

133. Treaties, Agreements and Sanads.

134. Marathi Riyasat - Sardesai, Part V.

2. N. exaction and political interference.' It is no wonder, therefore, that some scholars have described it as a great diplomatic triumph. There are others, who criticise this treaty on the ground that Moghal suzerainty had been accepted by the Marathas. Dr.V.G.Dighe has rightly replied to this view when he states ... 'This is an extreme view and loses sight of the fact that in politics, satisfactory solutions of vexed problems are often found in face-saving devices or fictions. To accept the fictions literally, to analyse them in a legalistic way without taking into account how they worked in actual practice is nearly casualty and evinces a frame of mind ill-becoming a dispassionate historian. A tributary state has no independent authority to make war or peace, has no claims on the sovereign. ^c Chauth and Sardeshmukhi over the six Subhas of Deccan were granted to the Marathas who went on exploiting their advantage till they demanded tribute from the whole of the Imperial domain. No man of common sense would look on this relation as one of subordination to Mughal crown. The Marathas were realists and were satisfied with the direction of policy leaving ostentations display to the effete successors of Aurangzeb.'¹³⁵ In short, we can conclude, that Marathas have not lost their sovereignty. They possessed 'de facto ' sovereignty not only over the territory of Swarajya but overall the territories from which they collected Chauth and Sardeshmukhi.

135. Dr.V.G.Dighe - General Volume - History.

The technical, legal sovereignty of the Mughals over Marathas was pinching - particularly to Shahu. As early as, 1724, he laid down the condition that 'he should be exempted from paying the tribute' if Wizam is to be suppressed.¹³⁶

Swami - Chhatrapati :

From the days of Shivaji to Rajaram, the subordinate Sardars had been loyal to the central authority, i.e. Chhatrapati. During the period 1708 to 1750 Shahu had been the central figure, to which Maratha Sardars owed their loyalty. A watan-patra granted to Parashuram Trimbak Pratinidhi in 1715 clearly shows the loyalty of Pratinidhi to Shahu.¹³⁷ In a letter¹³⁸ written to Sambhaji Angre in 1730 as a reply to his letter, the same loyalty to Shahu is expressed by Sekhoji Angre. A letter¹³⁹ written by Manaji Jadhav to Shahu expresses the feeling clearly that Sardars were loyal to Shahu, and not to Peshwas. Manaji Jadhav has protested against the behaviour of Chimaji Appa, to Shahu. He states that he (Manaji Jadhav) was ordered

also
my
own.

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136. Selections from Peshwa Daptar.
137. Diary of Shahu, Part I.
138. " "
139. Peshwe Daptar, Vol. 17.

by Pilaji Jadhav to visit Chimaji Appa; failing he (Manaji Jadhav) would be responsible for the consequences; to which he replied that this pressure tactics are of no use and he is the servant of Shahu and that he would prefer death to obey orders issued by anybody else. He (Manaji Jadhav) further requested Shahu to look into the matter and ~~punish~~ punish the guilty individual in question. The most glaring example of loyalty is that of Chitnis family. In a Sanad granted ¹⁴⁰ to Jivaji Khanderao Chitanwis, in 1734, by Shahu it is stated, Balaji Avaji the grand father of Jivaji has served Swami i.e. Shivaji and later on Sambhaji and Rajaram. The Sanad details the sufferings which Khando Ballal - father of Jivaji had undergone during the critical days of Swarajya. The Sanad further states, ' you (Jivaji) are also serving the Swami (Shahu) and are loyal to him. Therefore, this Sanad is granted to you.' Balaji Bajirao had expressed the same feeling after the death of Shahu, in a letter ¹⁴¹ written by him to Tarabai, the mother of Ramraja. In this letter he states that 'the king should not keep any doubt about his motives because there is nothing sacrosanct on earth than the feet of Swami. Late Chhatrapati Shahu had looked after him as his (Shahu's) son and had delegated the responsibilities of administration. He further states that he had served loyally Shahu and continues to serve you

140. Sanadapatre.

141. Marathyanchya Itihasachi Sadhane, Vol. 6

(New Chhatrapati Ram Raja) in the same spirit. Please have an audience to remove doubts from your mind.'

Policy Decisions :

All important policy decisions were taken by Chhatrapati and Peshwa. This was true in case of Shahu and the first three Peshwas, namely, Balaji Vishwanath, Bajirao and Nanasaheb. Barring a few occasions of conflicts the relations between the two, i.e. Chhatrapati ^{and Peshwa} were not only cordial but also homely, i.e. as members of the same family. Still there were a few occasions when Peshwas yielded to Shahu. 'He (Shahu) never allowed, writes Sardesai, ¹⁴² either Peshwas or anybody else to interfere in the affairs of his relatives.' Sardesai further states that it was the temperate nature of Shahu which created a favourable atmosphere among Marathas. A letter written by Purandare to Chimaji Appa 'records how Shahu was afraid of giving orders on political complications in the absence of Bajirao.' ¹⁴³ Yet, two important policies framed by Peshwas, if implemented could have far reaching political impacts upon Maratha Empire, could not be implemented because Shahu and Sambhaji of Kolhapur acted against it. The first was the policy in respect of Goa framed by Bajirao and

142. Marathi Riyasat, Vol. 5

143. Peshwe Daptar, Vol. 17. and Diary of Shahu.

another was the policy of Balaji Bajirao to unite two Maratha kingdoms, i.e. Satara and Kolhapur into one kingdom. Obviously, the policies, if implemented would have far reaching consequences. Bajirao was eager to conquer Goa and to rout Portuguese from the territories, as they were driven out from Wasai (Bassein) and Sashti, by Chimaji Appa. ¹⁴⁴ 'Chimaji Appa replied to Portuguese ambassador that he was equally eager as Bajirao was, to drive out Portuguese from India, but we had not done so only to oblige the English.' This news reached Portuguese through Dadajirao Bhave Nargundkar who advised Portuguese that they should fortify their forts etc. ¹⁴⁵ Even during the days of Balaji Bajirao plans were made to rout Portuguese power from Goa. In a letter ¹⁴⁶ dated 5-3-1747, written to Ramchandrababa, Balaji Bajirao had expressed his inability to do so, because of other difficulties which he had to face at that time. His attempts continued in the next year also, i.e. in 1748. However, Shahu desired that the port of Goa should remain in the hands of Portuguese. Two important personalities - Naroram Mantri and Ramkrishna Chimanaji - were inclined towards Portuguese. ¹⁴⁷ In June 1741, Shivajipant Deoji

144. Portuguese Marathe Relations - Pisurlekar.

145. " "

146. " "

147. " "

wrote to the Secretary to the Viceroy of Goa, what Shahu said about Goa. He states that 'Shahu said that Goa was an excellent port and it should not be attacked. By attacking it, it is not going to be profitable to him in any way. On the contrary, it is profitable to have it in the possession of Portuguese, because we are getting excellent goods from it.'

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Efforts to Unite Two States :

When Shahu was released, Maharashtra at that time was a house divided against itself. The territory of Swarajya was divided into two antagonistic sub states with Shahu at Satara and Shivaji II and his mother Tarabai at Kolhapur. Moreover, there were internal factions within each of this division. Rajaram had another wife, besides Tarabai named Rajasbai. She and her son Sambhaji II succeeded in usurping power and putting Tarabai and her son into prison. Now the conflict started between Sambhaji of Kolhapur and Shahu of Satara. Ultimately, both entered into ^a treaty agreement at Warna in 1731 by which it was agreed that Sambhaji should rule over the southern division of the Maratha kingdom - between Krishna and Tungabhadra river. In order to remove the conflict between the two states Balaji Bajirao, wisely entered into a secret treaty

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148. Portuguese Marathe Relations - Pisurlekar.

149. Treaties, Agreements and Sanads.

in 1740 with Sambhaji of Kolhapur. Since, Shahu had no son, it was accepted in this secret treaty, that after the death of Shahu, Sambhaji should become the Chhatrapati and thus ^{the} two states would be merged into one. But Shahu did not like this idea. On the death bed, he wrote to Balaji Bajirao that Sambhaji of Kolhapur should not be accepted as a king. ¹⁵⁰ So the adopted son of Shahu, i.e. Ram Raja became ^{the} Chhatrapati. Therefore, the two sub states continued to exist separately and continued the quarrel in the same spirit. However, immediately after the death of Shahu Balaji Bajirao and Sadashivrao Bhau wrote Kararnama (Undertaking) by which both agreed to serve the new Chhatrapati and to unify the two states. The document is a very important one, signifying the urge on the part of the Peshwas to unite into one, two Maratha states. In this Kararnama ¹⁵¹, it is stated by Balaji Bajirao and Sadashiv Chimnaji, that 'during the days of Shahu both Shahu and Sambhaji had signed the treaty of Warna. Shahu is no more and he had left no son. Therefore, this kingdom belongs to you (Sambhaji of Kolhapur) and now there should be only one Chhatrapati. While Shahu was alive, we both had been to you at Satara court, and had promised you, that after the death of Shahu, both kingdoms were yours, and that

150. Itihas Sangraha Book 7, Marathyanchnya Itihasachi
Sadhane Vol. 6

151, See Appendix

we shall serve you loyally and faithfully as we had served Shahu. We had taken a vow to that effect. We are now prepared to serve under you and behave according to your orders.'

Attempt Failed :

However, this attempt failed. Undaunted by the failure, Balaji ^{Bajirao} renewed his attempt to unify these two states in 1760. By this time, Sambhaji of Kolhapur had become old. He had no son. Balaji Bajirao, therefore, suggested that Sambhaji should adopt Ram Raja (Ruler of Satara) as his son. After the death of Sambhaji, Ram Raja would automatically become the ruler of both Satara and Kolhapur. But Sambhaji (of Kolhapur) decided otherwise. Prior to his death he decided to adopt a son belonging to Khanwatkar Bhosale family. Thus, the attempt of Balaji Bajirao to unify the two states failed again. Balaji Bajirao continued his attempts and suggested that the same son of Khanwatkar Bhosale family who Tarabai was going to adopt should be adopted by Ram Raja and thus it should pave the way for the unification of Satara and Kolhapur kingdoms in the near future. ¹⁵² But the death of Balaji Bajirao in 1761, put an end to all these attempts. This will prove beyond doubt that the policies of national importance framed

by Peshwas were not accepted by Chhatrapatis and the Chhatrapatis had the final say in this matter.

Maintenance of Peace and Tranquillity etc. :

During the 17th and the 18th centuries the sphere of state activity was very limited. The activities of the government centred round defence only from foreign enemies and security from turbulent elements within its territory. The smallest unit in the administration was village and Patil was the chief officer. His principal duty was to supervise cultivation and collect government assessment. He was also in charge of peace and order. Petty offences were tried by him, a bit serious by Panchayat and serious crimes were reported to the district officers. In addition to these duties, Patil was responsible for the defence of the village. Therefore watandars, Saranjandars and Sardars had the duty of collecting the revenue from their watan. The Sanads granted to various individuals for doing different jobs refer only to this aspect. The sanad granted by Mughal Emperor to Shahu ¹⁵³ mentions a few additional factors. On behalf of Shahu, Mahipat Anandrao agreed to 'keep ryots happy; to bring barren land under cultivation within a period of three years, will administer the state in such a manner that no criminal will ever dare to trouble the people.'

Usually, watans, inams etc. granted to people refer only to the rights of the receiver to collect different things from Ryot. For example, watan granted to Balambhat Vaidya in 1740 enumerates the following rights :

1. Rupee for every hundred rupees of the land revenue in cash.
1. Three Pailies for every khandi of grain of the land revenue in kind.
1. One Dhada for every khandi of groceries of the land revenue in kind.
1. One Ruka from the carrier of every bullock load on account of octroi.
1. Three Pailies of every khandi and ten sheers of every khandi brought by sea.
1. Three Pailies of salt from every salt manufactory.
1. Half a sheer of oil every month from every oil press.
1. Half a sheer of butter every year for every she-buffalo^w belonging to a cowherd.
1. One sheer of butter and one head screen for use in the rainy season every year from each village.
1. One pair of shoes every year from the shoe maker of each village.

Army :

It was the duty and responsibility of Sardars to raise the necessary army and to maintain it properly. They

had to obey the orders of Chhatrapati, failing which they were first reprimanded and later punished, usually by the Peshwas. On 15th February 1724 all 'the Sardars were directed to proceed against the province of Bhaganagar with a large army and were informed that the Sar Lashkar and Pradhan were ordered to join them.¹⁵⁴ In a letter written to Kanhoji Angre in 1726, Shahu informed him that the army of Shamal (Siddi) had assembled below the fort of Palgad and intended to attack it. He was, therefore, directed to send assistance to the fort.¹⁵⁵ On the 18th November, 1727, Sultanji Nimbalkar was directed¹⁵⁶ to send 2000 swars to the Huzur (i.e. Shahu). Deshmukhs of Paragana Laxmeshwar 'were asked to collect the men and to prevent the Nabab from entering their province, till the arrival of Bajirao.'¹⁵⁷ Bajirao and Senapati 'were directed to collect a large army and to carry out the object the Raja had in view.'¹⁵⁸ Anandrao Somawanshi Sar Lashkar was ordered by Shahu to accompany Bajirao Pradhan. He failed to do so.

154. Diary of Shahu.

155. " "

156. " "

157. " "

158. " "

He was, therefore, reprimanded for his neglect and was directed to join at once.¹⁵⁹ In the year 1734-35 there was a thick rumour that an army was coming from Delhi to the Deccan. Consequently, Shahu wrote to many Sardars that there was no knowing what contingency might arise and asked them to be near at hand with their forces.

Division of Finance :

The distribution of revenue between Sardars and central government was based upon an agreement entered into, by the respective parties. Important Sardars like Holkar, Shinde and Pawar were bound by the agreement. On page 152, Treaties, Agreements and Sanads, we come across the division of revenue collection of Northern Hindustan between the different parties.¹⁶⁰ The total revenue is to be divided in the following manner :

Total 100, out of it - percentage :

46 to central government; Rs. 53 As. 6 deducted from this Pawar's share Rs. 7 As. 6.

21 to Holkar; Rs. 23 As. 5 deducted Pawar's share Rs. 2 As. 5.

21 to Shinde; Rs. ~~32~~²³ As. 5 deducted Pawar's share Rs. 2 As. 5.

159. Diary of Shahu.

160. Treaties, Agreements and Sanads.

¹² 32	To Pawar from this year by Treaty -
	8 Khanderao bin Yeshwantrao Pawar
	4 Krishnaji and Jiwaji Pawar (half each)
---	---
100	12

An Agreement signed ¹⁶¹ with Khan Ajam clearly mentions the division of revenue. 'Out of the whole revenue of 4 Paraganas, namely Bhadalwad, Khelchipur, Loharwada, Alanpur, including octroi and other cesses that may be realised, one half should be paid to the Kamavisdar of Government and the other half should be paid to the Khan.... The Kamavisdar of the government and the Kamavisdar of the Khan should cooperate in putting down persons who may create disturbance in the province. The expenses of keeping up an army should be borne by both the parties.'

Tribute to Central Government :

Sardars and Saranjamdars had to pay yearly tribute to Raja Chhatrapati, i.e. central government. There are many letters available, admonishing Sardars for not sending yearly tribute. In a letter ¹⁶² written to Kanhoji Angre in 1725, Shahu had directed Kanhoji Angre 'to remit the amount of his tribute of Rs. 12,000 for the year Khamas together with the arrears of the previous year, at an early

161. Diary of Balaji Bajirao.

162. Diary of Shahu.

date.' Again in the year 1726 Shahu wrote a letter to Angre, directing him to send the arrears without delay. This letter mentions the Treaty ¹⁶³ signed by both parties i.e. Bajirao Pradhan and Angre. By this Treaty Angre was bound 'to pay Rs. 17,500 annually to Bajirao Pradhan. The amount was in arrears for two years. It was assigned to the expenses of Royal house-hold.' On the 19th January 1735 Shahu wrote to Raghujji Bhosale ¹⁶⁴ that 'the annual tribute due from him was in arrears.' Raghujji was frequently written to but without effect. Raghujji was now warned that if the amount for the current and the preceding years was not paid, the Raja Shahu would take severe steps and then it would go hard with him. In 1742-43, Raghujji Bhosale Sena Sahib Subha 'was asked to remit two laks of Rupees as agreed upon at Khande Rajuri' by Shahu. In December 1735 Shahu wrote ¹⁶⁵ to Shrimati Umabai Dabhade, directing her 'to remit the tribute due from her without delay ... '

Watan was not Absolute :

The watan, Saranjam etc. were not absolute. It was

163. Diary of Shahu.

164. " "

165. " "

subject to good behaviour, service of the holder to the Chhatrapati, and the pleasure of the Raja. In 1715 the 'Sar Deshmukhi Watan ¹⁶⁶ enjoyed by Parashuram Trimbak Pratinidhi was, for his unsatisfactory behaviour towards government, attached in 1711-12' was restored to him.

During the intervening period of 4 to 5 years it was handed over to Jyotyaji Kedarkar. On certain occasions, important, personalities like Peshwa and Senapati were also removed from their posts. Khanderao Dabhade was removed from the post of Sena Khas Khel and his place was given to Manasing More. In January 1717, Manasing More was removed and Dabhade was appointed as Senapati. ¹⁶⁷ Chhatrapati had the authority to order, for the part of Saranjami watan, the transfer of Saranjami to any individual of his choice, is proved by a letter written by Khanderao Dabhade Senapati to Shahu. This fact is mentioned in the reply which Shahu wrote to Dabhade. At the request of Shahu, Dabhade Senapati consented to surrender half of his Saranjami to Kanhoji Bhosale. ¹⁶⁸ In 1747, Shahu removed Balaji Bajirao, from the post of Peshwa. Within a few months the post of Peshwa was restored to him again. Prior to his removal from the post

166. Diary of Shahu.

167. " "

168. " "

of Peshwa, rumours spread in different directions. Balaji Bajirao in his letter to Govindrao Chitnis, refers to this rumour. Balaji Bajirao had asked Govindrao Chitnis to wait upon Swami, i.e. Shahu by all means and to communicate Shahu certain points of important policies. He fears that 'the news of his dismissal will reach Nabab (Nizam). The news of reappointment will also reach him (Nizam).' It will have bad consequences. ¹⁶⁹ In 1749-50 Shahu removed Apaji Somwanshi from the office of Sar Lashkar and conferred it on Nimbaji Naik Nimbalkar. The Saranjam of the office was therefore transferred to Nimbalkar. ¹⁷⁰ These few incidents show that watans, though usually hereditary, were not absolute.

Power to Punish Sardars :

Disobedience of Royal order was met with punishment. Upto the death of Shahu Chhatrapati, Peshwas carried out this responsibility, on behalf of Shahu. Important and powerful Sardars like Angre, Dabhade, Bhosale were also subjected to punishment. Before taking any penal action against any Sardar, Shahu generally wrote letters to those rebellious, disobedient Sardars, pointing out their mistake

169. Aitihāsik Patravyavahar.

170. Diary of Balaji Bajirao.

and giving a warning to them, that if they fail to obey the orders, they will have to face the consequences. In 1715-1716 Shahu wrote to Janoji Naik Nimbalkar that he (Shahu) has received the news of his (Nimbalkar's) attack upon Akluj. 'He (Nimbalkar) was reprimanded for his conduct and was directed to restore the cattle to the respective villages.'¹⁷¹

In May 1729 'Raghoji Kadamrao and Sawai Katsing Kadamrao were informed that the news has reached government that they have attacked the province of Malwa and levied the contribution ... They were rebuked for trespassing on the province of Bajirao Pandit and were directed to restore to him all the money they had collected. They were further directed to abstain from plundering the country in future and were told that Bajirao would otherwise retaliate by plundering their territory.'¹⁷²

In 1731, Shahu wrote to Kajashree Fond Sawant Bhosale Sardesai Prant Kudal, when he heard the news that Bhosale had attacked the territory of Sekhoji Angre. He (Bhosale) was rebuked for his conduct and was directed to desist from molesting Angre's territory.'¹⁷³ On the 8th November 1732 Shahu wrote to Anandrao Somawanshi Sar Lashkar, reminding him, his (Shahu's) order in which he (Somawanshi) 'was asked to accompany Bajirao Pradhan going to Nizam. He failed to do so. He was reprimanded for

171. Diary of Shahu.

172. " "

173, " "

his neglect and was directed to join Bajirao at once.' He was further told that if he fails in his duty, he will have to face all the consequences.¹⁷⁴ In August 1735, Shahu wrote letters to Udaji Pawar, Raghoji and Katsing Kadamrao, Malharji Holkar, that they should not disturb the territory Badwani, belonging to Rana Anupsing and Kuwar Pahadsing.¹⁷⁵ They were further told that Rana Anupsing and Kuwar Pahadsing were nominees of the government

Rise of Peshwa's Power :

From 1720 onwards, the duty of punishing disobedient and recalcitrant Sardars was naturally entrusted to Peshwas. This policy unintentionally made Peshwas very powerful. The other ministers at Satara gradually became unimportant. Another important factor which added to the power of Peshwa is the independence of administration at Poona. Therefore the centre of administration automatically shifted from Satara to Poona, it means in practice from Chhatrapati to Peshwa. The policy of Bajirao was followed by his son Balaji Bajirao. He started centralisation of authority from 1740 by limiting the authority of important Sardars. In 1744 he limited the power of Raghuji Bhosale, in 1746 made Babuji Naik Baramatikar insignificant, humbled

174. Diary of Shahu.

175. " "

Pratinidhi and Yamaji Sivdeo in 1750, Dabhade and Damaji Gaikwad in 1751 and Tarabai in 1753. This concentration of authority in the hands of Peshwas soon became intolerable not only to the old guards but also to the new Sardars like Shinde, Holkar, (Bunde), etc. This concentration of authority in the hands of Peshwa, was not the result of the quasi-federal constitution which the first Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath framed. Power should have centred round the Chhatrapati. Power enjoyed by Peshwas was de-facto and not 'de jure'.

Granting Titles etc. :

The Central Government, i.e. Chhatrapati, alone had the authority to confer titles and honours to individuals. In 1736 Shahu granted the title of 'Hindurai' (हिंदुराई) to Deoji Somawanshi for his long and faithful service. †
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The following titles appear in the Diaries of Peshwas.

Year	Title	Person.
1735.	Hindurai	Deoji Somawanshi.
1740.	"	Mahadeorao Somawanshi.
1754.	Himmat Bahadar.	Udaji Chavan.
1754.	Sansher Bahadar.	Damaji Gaikwad.
Before 1764	Vajarat Maha.	Manaji Angre.
1764.	Senapati.	Yeshwantrao Dabhade (Talegaon)

176. Diary of Balaji Bajirao.

Year	Title	Person.
1764	Sena Khaskhel	Trimbakrao Dabhade (Talegaon)
1764	Sena Saheb Subha	Raghoji Bhosale of Nagpur.
1757-59	Sena Dhurandhar.	Mudhoji Bhosale of Nagpur
1758	Dhurandhar Samsher Bahadur	Santaji Atole
1759	Maharao	Janoji Nimhalkar
1760-61	Himmat Bahadar	Khanderao Gaikwad
"	Kustumrao Samsher Bahadur	Mansing Kadu
"	Fattejang Bahadur	Subhanrao Mahanarva
"	Safejang Bahadur	Hanamantrao Atole
"	Sarlashkar	Nimbaji Naik
"	Sena Bara Hajari	Sultanji Yeshwantrao

Maharashtra Dharma :

The political philosophy of Maharashtra Dharma continued to guide the Maratha Empire which was expanding in different directions. The Swarajya - the territory of Maharashtra - was already governed by Chhatrapati. Since, the aim of establishing Maharashtra Dharma in Swarajya, was realised, naturally there are very few references to the ideal of Maharashtra Dharma during this period. The few references with their context are given below. In the year 1735 Shahu wrote a letter ¹⁷⁷ to

177. Diary of Shahu.

Rajashree Fond Savant Bhosale of Province Kudal. In this letter he reprimanded Savant 'for keeping in confinement the wife of a brahmin Gopal Ramrao and was told that such an act was against the principles of Maharashtra Dharma. He (Fond Savant) was directed to set the woman at liberty.' The concept that Swarajya (is) the abode of Brahmins and Gods, continued to dominate during this period. Rajeshree Khandoji Jagtap 'was directed not to molest the village of Revansiddha and was informed that much good would result from the protection of god and brahmins.'

In 1745 Shahu received a complaint from (Bama) Joshi bin Divakar Joshi that 'annoyance was caused to the religious asylums of Shrimant Parama Hansa Adwait Vedant Shri Poorna Prakash, founded on the banks of Godavari in the Paragana of Wankonda, Wanwell and Indur and at other places. Orders were issued (by Shahu) to all Sardars, Shiledars, Thanedars and Kamavisdars, to abstain from giving any annoyance to the asylums and to the disciples residing therein.

In 1744, Shahu issued an order 'directing district officers and the Brahmins of the Paragana Ghatberi to admit Tuljo Bhat Joshi of Mauje Deolgaon into the caste and dine with him.' The Brahmin in question was bewitched by a haired Gosavi and polluted. The Brahmin subsequently repented and ~~pay~~ prayed the Brahmins of Paithan to re-admit him into the

178. Diary of Shahu.

179. " "

caste. Brahmins granted his prayer and hence an order was issued.

Bassein and Goa :

In 1722, Pathares - residents in Paragana Salsette and Patil of Prant Bassein came to Satara to visit Peshwa Bajirao and his brother Chimnajipant Appa. They informed the Peshwas that the Portuguese had desecrated temples and other sacred places, had put down the Maharashtra Dharma and had polluted the Hindus. They requested the Peshwa to lead a campaign against the province, to conquer it and to establish the Hindu religion. ¹⁸⁰ This is the reason for the conflict between Portuguese and Marathas. On the 9th January 1722 Peshwa Bajirao and Portuguese signed a treaty but it was short-lived. Portuguese continued to harass Hindus. Bajirao wrote to Portuguese authorities on the 6th December 1723, [that if their intentions was to create trouble then inform ^{us} ~~them~~ accordingly. ^{we} They would communicate the same to their military.] ¹⁸¹ This theory is supported by another ^{letter} written by Damaji Gaikwad. He states that 'Portuguese had desecrated Hindu Dharma. Therefore Chimaji Appa opened a campaign against them and conquered a few places.' ¹⁸²

180. Diary of Balaji Bajirao

181. Portuguese Marathe Relations.

182. Peshwe Daptar 16.

The Bakhar of Sashti ¹⁸³ states that Bajirao opened a campaign against the Portuguese in Bassein in order to establish Maharashtra Dharma. While congratulating Chimaji Appa upon his successful campaign of Bassein, Malharrao writes that he was very glad to hear the news of the capture of Bassein in detail from the letters. The purpose of the incarnation of ^{the} Swami is to establish Gods and

¹⁸⁴ Brahmins. Amritrao Dinkar writes to Chimaji Appa that the Swami will establish Hindu Rajya. ¹⁸⁵ In the National Library at Paris there is one hand written Bakhar (Chronique de Shivadji MS 661) by Balaji Ganesh. One sentence from this Bakhar reads like this : In the capture of Bassein, Chimaji Appa had established a religious Hindu Rajya, based upon Hindu religion. ¹⁸⁶

While negotiating with ^{the} Portuguese, ^{the} Marathas always insisted upon the following points - (a) Hindus should not be subjected to ~~in~~quisition. (b) Portuguese should not collect Shendikar (^{शेंडीकर}) - a sort of Zizia - from Hindus. (c) Hindus must enjoy complete religious freedom. On the 30th January 1740 Bajirao wrote a letter to the Governor of Bombay, who was working as an intermediary,

183. Portuguese Marathe Relations.

184. Peshwe Daptar 16.

185. " "

186. Portuguese Marathe Relations.

enlisting twelve points of demands, to be granted by Portuguese authorities. Out of these one refers to the observation of Maharashtra Dharma in Sashti and Bardesh by those people who believe in it. Another refers to the same thing i.e. Maharashtra Dharma in Goa. Bajirao has demanded complete freedom from religious torture for Hindus in Goa. ¹⁸⁷ This policy of Marathas towards Portuguese

bore fruits. Portuguese thought it expedient to change their policy of religious persecution. They thought that if Hindus were given religious freedom, they will not cooperate with Marathas. ¹⁸⁸ Because Portuguese experienced, the help which Hindus from their territory i.e. Bassein and Goa, had given to Chimaji Appa and Bajirao during their campaign against Portuguese.

Other Traditions :

The episode - the return of the daughter-in-law of Subhedar of Kalyan by Shivaji is well known to all the students of History. Similar incident occurred during Shahu's regime. In April, 1736 Shahu issued an order to Shrimati Umabai Dabhade and Baburao Dabhade Sena Khaskhel to set at liberty, the daughter of Abdulla Khan, Diwan of Nabab. The daughter of Abdulla Khan was arrested by

P. shah.

187. Portuguese Marathe Relations.

188. " "

Baburao Dabhade, while she was on her way from Surat to Aurangabad and was kept in confinement. The N Nabab and Abdulla Khan wrote to Shahu in this respect. Shahu, therefore, ordered her release and asked Dabhade to safely escort her to Aurangabad with her property. ¹⁸⁹ In 1755 Shahu wrote letters to Rajeshree Raghaji Bhosale, Raghunath Bhat Patwardhan, asking them to send the two captives to the Huzur. The two captives - employees of Kanhoji Bhosale were kept as prisoners of war. Shahu reprimanded Raghaji Bhosale and Patwardhan for this treatment given to ^{be} two captives, reminding them that throughout the whole kingdom soldiers captured in war were never kept as prisoners. ¹⁹⁰

Death of Shahu :

Shahu died on the 15th December 1749. He was the central figure of Maratha Empire for a period of roughly 42 years. After the death of Shahu, we witness the gradual disintegration of Maratha Quasi-Federal State. It was he who ultimately dictated the policy. He ~~has~~ stressed the unity of ^{the} Marathas. A letter written by Naroram to Bajirao on the 2nd December 1730, reflects the central thought of Shahu's mind. Naroram states (what Shahu had said) - 'Marathas of this State have gone to different directions. The impression, that we are going to drive out others,

189. Diary of Shahu.

190. Diary of Shahu.

who are left behind, is certainly not good. It is not my intention to state that your policy is unsound, but you should not be held responsible for ~~the~~ driving out Marathas from this state. Whatever is to be done or achieved, is to be done in such a manner that it will not hamper the administration of the State. Dabhades are going out and the enemies are coming nearer. Therefore, it is essential to be precautious for the protection of our state and our action should not go against the general will of the people.'¹⁹¹ Shahu's policy was not followed either by

Chhatrapati or by Peshwas. The principles which Balaji Vishwanath laid down were not scrupulously followed by Marathas. Later on in addition to these draw-backs, there was 'Panipat' which came as a stunning blow to Maratha State. From 1750 onwards there was gradual disintegration of Maratha Empire. The causes etc. of this disintegration of the Quasi-Federal State are written in the next chapter.

Chapter VII

DISINTEGRATION OF QUASI-FEDERAL STATE :

The period under review i.e. from 1750 to 1795 -1818 can be divided into following parts : (a) From the death of Shahu to the death of Nanasaheb i.e. 1750⁴⁹ - 1761 (b) Restoration i.e. 1761 to 1772 (c) 1772 to 1795 i.e. from the death of Madhavrao to Battle of Kharda, and lastly (d) From 1795 to 1818.

The death of Shahu :

The death of Shahu was a blow to the Maratha State and to the principles underlying the Quasi-Federal State. Shahu was the central figure in Maratha Empire. He belonged to the very family of Shivaji and therefore he was respected by the majority of the members of the Maharashtrian society. From 1750, no Chhatrapati commanded such a respect - neither from the Peshwas nor from the people - as Shahu did.

Ram Raja and other Chhatrapatis^{was} succeeded to the throne at Satara, were insignificant. [^] real power shifted from Chhatrapati to the Peshwas. This transfer of power took place gradually. The silent revolution of this transfer of power culminating in the supremacy of Peshwas was going on even during the days of Shahu. Shahu was able to ^{control} combat

^{as} his ministers, while his adopted successors were controlled ^{by} by the Peshwas. The office of Peshwa became hereditary. ^{Shahu} It was contrary to the principles laid down by Shivaji.

Prof R.P.Patwardhan rightly observes in his introduction to the Rise of the Maratha Power (By Late Justice M.G. Ranade) : 'what with Shivaji was exceptional, and prompted by very special circumstances, became a matter of everyday occurrence. Officers came to be hereditary, and watan and jagirs came to be bestowed on a lavish scale ... Ranade recognises that the departure from Shivaji's principles 'was forced upon the Government of Shahu by the events that has preceded his accession to power.'

Marathas : Supreme Arbiter of Delhi :

Bajirao I, had dominated Delhi. His son Nansahaheb continued the same policy of Expansion of Maratha Empire in the North. Nansahaheb marched northwards in 1741; in 1744 he went to Bundel Khand and collected Chauth from Agra, Allahabad, Patna and Bengal Provinces. In 1748 Nansahaheb visited North again. Abdali had invaded Punjab in the early months of 1748. In 1750, he collected revenue from the Subhedars of four districts of Punjab - Sialkot, Pasrur, Gujrat and Aurangabad. In 1752 Abdali again invaded Punjab and seized the Subhas of Lahore and Multan. In April, Marathas i.e. 'Shinde and Holkar concluded a defence pact with Nabab by which the defence of the Mughal Empire against external foes and internal enemies was entrusted to the Peshwa. For his armed support the Peshwa was to receive fifty lakhs of rupees in cash out of which thirty lakhs was the price for keeping Abdali out. The

Chauth of the Punjab and Sind was likewise ceded to the Peshwa for military expenses. The pact thus put the entire resources of the Mughal empire at the disposal of the Peshwa in return for which he pledged himself to meet aggression at any point. The Maratha objective of establishing sovereignty over the whole ^{of} North India seemed to have realised. This pact put heavy responsibilities on the Peshwa. Shinde, Holkar and Raghoba (brother of Peshwa) were the three important personalities who handled the affairs in the North. In 1754, they deposed the Delhi Emperor ~~Sh~~ Ahmad Shah and Alamgir II was made Emperor. This revolution proved the ability of the Marathas to become the supreme arbiters of the Mughal Empire.

Abdali :

When the main Maratha army returned to Deccan in 1755-56 Delhi felled a prey to the Ahmad Shah Abdali, when Muslims and Hindus, rich and poor, were subjected to all kinds of inhuman torture to make them divulge their secret hoards and deliver them to the conqueror. Mansions of noblemen were dug up for treasure. Mathura and Brindaban two holy places of Hindus, were plundered, thousands were massacred, idols were broken and temples set on fire. In May 1757 Marathas entered Doab and came to Delhi in August. Nagib Khan left Delhi, and Marathas again entered Delhi. A new treaty was concluded. In January 1758, Raghoba crossed Yamuna and invaded Punjab. Abdali's son was defeated

and Lahore was captured. Maratha army reached the banks of Indus. Raghoba reached Delhi on his return march in June and reached Poona in September 1758.

The defeat and expulsion of his son - Timur Shah who was viceroy of Punjab - in 1758 obviously enraged Ahmad Shah Abdali. He made huge preparations, crossed the Indus and attacked Lahore in 1759. Sabaji Shinde who was at Lahore retreated to Delhi. By the end of 1759 Abdali crossed Yamuna and joined Nagib Khan. In 1760, Abdali defeated Shinde. The news of Abdali's invasion reached Peshwa at Ahmednagar. Peshwa's army, under Sadashivrao set out on the 16th March 1760. On the 2nd August, Sadashivrao entered Delhi. On the 16th October Sadashivrao marched northward and occupied Kunjapura. The great battle of Panipat took place on the 14th January, in which the Marathas were defeated.

Peshwa and the Sardars :

It is usually said that the battle of Panipat is the great dividing line of Maratha History. It is important from our point of view ^{also} ~~alone~~, because it changed the relationship between Peshwa and the Maratha Sardars. Thus the execution of the important principle of Quasi-Federal State viz. on behalf of Chhatrapati, Peshwas were to suppress the rebellious Sardars, who defied the central government - was to be abandoned. It was a disastrous blow to the prestige of Peshwa, who had become the one unifying

influence in Maratha Government after the death of Shahu. Chhatrapati at Satara was nowhere in the picture either before the battle of Panipat or after the battle of Panipat. Important decisions used to be taken by the Peshwa and his Sardars in the place of Chhatrapati and Peshwas. This action of the part of Peshwa again flouted the principle of Quasi-Federal State. Of course, Peshwas could not be blamed for this, because Ram Raja was incapable of giving any advice. Incapacity to render advice, to control Sardars etc. on the part of Chhatrapati was an important political factor which brought about the end of Maratha Empire.

Chhatrapati and Peshwa :

During the period 1750 to 1760, the Maratha empire was territorially expanding. The seeds of disruption were also sowed at this time. Peshwa suspected the activities of Ram Raja. A letter ¹⁹² written by Ram Raja in 1751 to Balaji Bajirao as a reply to his (Balaji Bajirao's) letter states - Your (Balaji's) letter shows that you suspect that Yashwantrao Dabhade Senapati Sena Khas Khel, who has fled from Poona, may have come to Satara, and that he may by a personal interview, so far interest us in his behalf as to induce us to withdraw from you the grant of half the Guzrath, which has already been made, or to interfere with

192. Diary of Shahu.

the terms of any agreement that he may have entered into. We wish to inform you that the Senapati has not come to the Huzur ... Rest assured that you stand in our good graces.' Two letters dated 18-1-1753 and 25-1-1753 addressed to Udaji Chavan and Shivaji Khandekar respectively reflect the situation. A letter ¹⁹³ to Udaji Chavan states 'You had the audacity to levy contributions at your pleasure from the Khasgi village and to engage in a general quarrel against Miraj. Whose servant do you call yourself and whose territory do you ~~plii~~ pillage ? How in the face of these acts can you expect a continuance of the Saranjam ? Do whatever you think best.' Shivaji Khandekar ¹⁹⁴ was directed to induce Himmat Bahadar, who had laid seige to Mouje Soni, to go back. Maths, temples and Deosthans which were protected from the days of Shivaji were looted by the Sardars. In 1752 the religious monastery of Shri Nagnath Deo at Manur was attacked and plundered by Daryabai Nimbalkar ¹⁹⁵. The aim of establishing Swarajya was to make it an abode of Gods and Brahmins (देव ब्राह्मणांचे राज्य). Yet a letter written in 1752 refers to the oppression, of brahmins. It is stated that Brahmin population of the Konkan is oppressed by the Angre and the Watandars have

193. Diary of Shahu.

194. " "

195. " "

left the province. ¹⁹⁶ The Paragana of Bassein was under the management of the Khasgi Department. Raghoji Bhosale in 1752, turned out the government officers of the paragana and brought it under his jurisdiction. This incident shows how important Sardars like Raghoji Bhosale could flout the terms and conditions of the treaty. The singleness of purpose which is essential to achieve some political end in view, which was existing from the days of Shivaji to Shahu, was lost. Everybody suspected the real intention of the other. Therefore, there is no wonder, that Marathas lost the battle of Panipat. The Chhatrapati suspected the Peshwa. In a letter to Shivaji Salokhe, Ram Raja writes that 'Pradhan Pandit (Peshwa) was going to his (Raja's) territory. Therefore, he was directed to be on his guard and to protect the government forts. ¹⁹⁷ There are many instances when the Khasgi territory belonging to Chhatrapati was looted. For example, Yemaji Pant's son had plundered some villages in Baramati. Malharji Holkar was requested to recover the thanas in Mhasawad in Prant Sultanpur which was molested by Bandes. Kanhoji Mohite in 1752, unauthorizedly, captured the Thana of Shirwadi ¹⁹⁸ and plundered corn and other articles belonging to government.

196. Diary of Shahu

197. " "

198. " "

Maratha Sardars attacked the villages, looted the property belonging to the other Maratha Sardars. Letters to Anandrao Krishna, Yesubai Dafle, Bachabai Ghatge, Pandit Pratinidhi etc. reveal this fact. A letter, written in 1753, shows that even Peshwa, demanded the surrender of a fort belonging to Chhatrapati. It is stated that 'Pandit Pradhan and Pandit Pratinidhi were pressing Kanhoji Shirke to surrender Gunawantgadh. They were informed that the fort belonged to the government and that they had no reason to ask for its surrender.¹⁹⁹ In a letter to Peshwa, in 1753, (when his army was about to raid march through Akkalkhop, a village in charge of Khasgi Department) Chhatrapati has directed him not to molest the village in any way.' These letters and many others reveal the deteriorating situation in the Maratha Quasi-Federal State round about 1750-1755. Marathas were able to hold these^{se} away upon a large territory, because other powers were even more deteriorated than the Maratha power.

Position of Chhatrapati :

The most important constitutional change took place in the year 1752. It has been already noted that the Emperor at Delhi was called 'Sovereign' or दिल्लीपति, पृथ्वीपति etc. After the death of Shahu, the position of the Emperor

199. Diary of Shahu.

at Delhi continued in the same manner, while the position of Chhatrapati, deteriorated to such an extent that the Royal Seal of Chhatrapati, bearing the name of Ram Raja was not used ²⁰⁰ for a period of nearly three years. Even after the death of Shahu, his Royal Seal was used on the letters dated 10th January 1750, 29th September 1751, 12th April 1752, 15th October 1752. The Sanad which Balaji Vishwanath brought from Delhi in 1719 was granted to Shahu Chhatrapati while the Sanad granted by the Mughal Emperor in June 1752 ²⁰¹ bears the name of Balaji Bajirao Peshwa. This Sanad is very important from the following points of view : (1) It flouted the principle of Quasi-Federal State laid down by Balaji Vishwanath, (2) It made the position of Chhatrapati, constitutionally insignificant. (3) This was the first important treaty which Malharrao Holkar and Jayajirao Shinde - two important Sardars of Peshwa - signed on behalf of Balaji Bajirao. (4) The next step naturally followed - when Peshwas entered into treaty - agreement with Emperors at Delhi without consulting the Chhatrapati in 1752; the Sardars of Peshwas also entered into treaty - agreement with different foreign powers bypassing the authority of the Peshwa. Peshwas reaped the same harvest which they themselves had sown. Peshwas thus usurped the authority of Chhatrapati.

200. Rajwade - Prastavana Khand.

201. Marathyanchya Itihasachi Sadhane, Vol. I.

Reaction - North Vs South :

As a result of this Sanad, granted to Balaji Bajiro by the Emperor in 1752 there was a strong reaction against the Marathas. Vazir, the Jats and Rajput Princes attempted to drive out Marathas from the North. In a letter written to Balaji Bajirao Peshwa on 13th December 1752 Antaji Manakeshwar communicated the court intrigues in the capital carried on by the Vazir Nabab Saftarjang with the Jats and Madhosing, to drive out the Marathas out of Malwa. He reports that the Emperor had conferred the robes of 'Baxigiri' upon Imandanmulukh, son of Nabab Gajalikhan. He was conferred the title 'Nizam-ulmulk' and the 'Sanad of Deccan'. Emperor embraced him when Antaji Manakeshwar protested against the granting of 'Sanad of Deccan' to Imandanmulukh. Emperor called upon him and tried to convince him by sweet words. Antaji Manakeshwar had revealed the double nature of the Emperor. On one hand the Emperor states that the provinces of Agra and Ajmer belong to Peshwa; on the other hand, he encourages Salabatjang to open a campaign against Marathas after collecting necessary forces. In his letters to Salabatjang, the Emperor has repeatedly stated that when the battle against Marathas starts, we, with Jats and other kings, will come into Malwa. Antaji Manakeshwar further states that, he had intercepted few letters written by Salabatjang and addressed to Vazir. In it Salabatjang had stated that 'they are not going to heed the authority of the

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Marathas.' A report from Antaji Manakeshwar, addressed to Bhausahab on the 24th January, 1753, clearly reflects the political developments that were taking place in the North. Antjaji Manakeshwar states, :²⁰³ After the return of the Sardars (i.e. Shinde and Holkar) to Desh (i.e. to Maharashtra) Surajmal Jat visited Raje Mudhosingh and Raje Bakhatsingh. From there he (Surajmal) went to Delhi and signed an agreement with Vazir stating that Nabab Bahadur had handed over the Empire to Marathas. The Peshwa and the Emperor had become brothers after performing the ritual of exchange of head-gears. In such a situation where exists your post of Vazir (Vazir) ? The Emperor had handed over two Subhas namely Agra and Ajmer, to the Marathas, which belonged to us. Now the forces of Marathas with their Sardars are engaged in the South. Let us now silence the Nabab Bahadur, take the possession of Emperor at Agra, collect the necessary kings and armies, and put an end to the rule of the Deccanis. I (Surajmal) will incur the necessary expenditure required by you and the Emperor.

Alliance Against Marathas :

In the month of April, 1753, Antaji Manakeshwar wrote to the Peshwa that 'the strong force alone has saved

202. Peshwa Daptar, Part 21.

203. " "

the Marathas. The Emperor agreed to assign Ajmer and Agra to the Marathas. The Nizam is to administer the Deccan Subhas with the advice and under the supervision of the Peshwa.' How crooked and treacherous the Emperor was can be seen from the letter written by Purushottam Mahadeo to Krishnaraoji, on the 17th July, 1754. The Emperor ordered Raghunathrao (brother of Peshwa) to punish the rebellious Jat Surajmal. Accordingly Raghunathrao attacked the stronghold of Surajmal Jat, the Kumbheri. 'The Emperor changed his mind and prepared to join Surajmal in destroying his southern allies i.e. Marathas. Getting wind of the treachery Holkar swooped down upon Sinkandra, surprised the Imperial army and encircled the Emperor. One Azizuddin was seated on the Imperial masnad and Gazi-uddin' son, a steadfast ally was appointed as Vazir, on the condition of paying the Marathas 82,1/2 lakhs of rupees.'²⁰⁴ On the 20th October, 1755, Govind Ballal, reports the activities of Madhosing of Jaynagar. Madhosing, murdered the mamlatdars and despatched his emissaries at Delhi stating that 'he (Madhosing) had killed Marathas. Now came out for defeating Marathas. He would join the Emperor.' Madhosing was prepared to incur the expenditure for driving out Marathas. Govind Ballal further states, that the danger is looming over their heads because Jats, Madhosing, Vazir and Rohillas

are not standing united. Afterwards the Emperor and his artillery would come out to assist them. Peace and tranquillity can be maintained here provided a large army with powerful Sardars is despatched here by the Swami, i.e. Peshwa.²⁰⁵ Antaji Manakeshwar informs Sadashivrao Bhausahab 'that not a single rupee has been recovered out of seven lakhs in the last five months. The aim of Surajmal Jat is to unite all Rajputs, take out the prince (from the Marathas) and to drive out Marathas from India.²⁰⁶ In February 1757 Raja Keshavrao wrote to Nanasaheb Peshwa, that 'Rohillas and Pathans were openly expressing their loyalty to Abdali The Rajput kings of Ambar and Jodhpur call themselves the servants of Abdali and it is they who have invited Abdali requesting him to relieve them from the clutches of the Marathas. They have promised to serve him. Abdali is prepared to do a favour but he fears Maharashtra.²⁰⁷' Raja Keshavrao again wrote to Nanasaheb on the 30th April 1757 about the situation in the North. He states that 'Pathans are dominating the entire territory above Narmada. God should not bestow kingdom upon them. He (Pathan, i.e. Abdali) hates Hindus like anything.'²⁰⁸ Raja Keshavrao

205. Peshwe Daptar, Part 21.

206. " "

207. " "

208. " "

had correctly suggested that Pathans and Rohillas should be separately defeated. If both are allowed to unite, then it will be very difficult to defeat them. Later events have proved the correctness of Raja Keshavrao's suggestion beyond doubt. On the 1st March, Raja Keshavrao again wrote to Nanasaheb about the activities of the Surajmal Jat. He states that the emissaries from Abdali had been to Raja Madhosing of Jaypur and Surajmal Jat, with a suggestion that we together should drive out Maratha Sardars from Hindustan. Marathas are creating a lot of trouble to you (Surajmal) also. Surajmal Jat replied that 'You (Abdali) should first settle down permanently over the Patshahi of Delhi and defeat the Marathas. I will send my traditional tribute to you.'²⁰⁹ He further communicated that Abdali had called the Emperor who is at present at Patna, back to Delhi. Raja Keshavrao again wrote to Nanasaheb on the 10th March, 1760, about the developments in the North. He states that 'on his arrival in India, Ahmad Shah Abdali effected a union with the kohilla forces and has invited other potentates - the Jats, the Rajputs under Madhosing, and Shiya - to fight under his flag against the Marathas. The Rajputs though afraid to open hostilities with the Marathas could not ignore the powerful Abdali and opened negotiations

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with him. On 14th March 1760, Raja Keshavrao wrote to Peshwa giving a vivid picture of the terror and awe Abdali inspired in the hearts of all. He states that Malharrao's efforts to defeat Abdali with his usual guerilla tactics have proved useless as the Abdali is a master of [?] He further states that, we do not know what Abdali will do. The Emperor is in Patna, whether Abdali will bring him and enthrone him at Delhi is not known. But what is the use of it ? He himself might become an Emperor. Rohillas are saying that the rule of the Mughal Emperor has ended. In practice Pathans have become Emperor at Delhi. Pathans hate Marathas and Maharashtra and they fear Maharashtra also.
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Abdali's intention is to reach south. But as long as the Sardars of Peshwa are here he will not go to south. If the Sardars are defeated then Abdali may go to the South.

Great Sanad of 1752 :

Thus, this great sanad of 1752 created a stormy reaction in the North of India against the Marathas and ultimately led Peshwas to the battle of Panipat. By this agreement Peshwa, through shinde and Holkar 'agreed to serve the Emperor loyally and faithfully'. Moreover, they agreed to help the emperor in putting down his enemies -

210. Peshwe Daptar, Part 21.

211. " "

- the enemy may be Abdali or any other king or any petty or big Jamindar. In short, whosoever disobeys the order of Emperor shall be brought before the Emperor for inflicting punishment.' Peshwa will ~~by~~^{try} his level best do anything by which the territorial integrity of the Mughal Empire will be protected and the welfare of the Emperor shall be taken care of. For this purpose Peshwas have received Rs. Thirty lakhs out of Rs. Fifty lakhs for the purpose of defeating Abdali and moreover they have received a great grant of collecting Chauth from the territories - Multan, Punjab, Thathha, Bhakhar etc. for the maintenance of the army. Peshwa undertook to establish peace and order in the different Subhas under the Imperial territory. If anybody has taken over the province or territory belonging to subordinate Rajas or Sardars of the Empire, Peshwa and his Sardars shall reconquer that province. We (i.e. Peshwa and Sardars) will cede one-half of the province thus conquered to the Imperial government and shall retain the other half for the maintenance of our army. If the Emperor agrees to our advice in respect of the defeat of the Abdali etc. we ourselves shall perform that duty of defeating the enemies. If however, the Emperor himself decides to undertake that task, we shall accompany him and do our best in the battle. If ~~amirs~~^{amirs} of the government are able to fulfil the task in question, the amir, as advised by us should be given the task for completion; or we shall undertake the task after seeking their advice.'

Position of Emperor :

By this treaty, the Emperor of Delhi practically became the prisoner of Marathas. His sovereignty remained only on paper and only for ceremonial purpose. In practice Marathas got the authority to do anything and everything in Northern India. On the one hand this Sanad of 1752 enhanced the prestige and power of the Marathas in India; on the other hand it created bitterness ~~was~~ among the other subordinate powers of the Empire, and antagonised them. Moreover, the responsibility that emanated from this Sanad upon the shoulders of the Marathas, was simply stupendous. The defeat of the Marathas at Panipat was the defeat of the authority of Peshwa. Peshwas became powerless after the battle of Panipat, though for a short period, Madhavrao Peshwa, was able to establish his hold upon the empire.

Topsyturvy Situation :

During the Peshwaship of the first three Peshwas, i.e. Balaji Vishwanath, Bajirao and Balaji Bajirao, Peshwas on behalf of Chhatrapati were able to subdue the Sardars who revolted against the central authority. The situation thoroughly changed after the battle of Panipat. Important Sardars like Holkar Malharrao and Shinde Mahadji came to the rescue of the Peshwas. Another important reason for

the weakness of the Peshwas was the division between the house of the Peshwas. Madhavrao succeeded to the Peshwaship after the death of Nanasaheb in June, 1761; but he was so powerless that he had to surrender himself completely to his uncle Raghoba. In 1762 Malharrao Holkar was requested to mediate between the two parties, i.e. Madhavrao and Raghoba. Accordingly, he came to Poona, For the time being it was decided that the 'state should be governed by Madhavrao and should be administered by Trimbakrao Mama. All should obey the orders of the both.' Madhavrao gave his consent willingly.²¹² This agreement was, however, was shortlived. The clash between the two parties took place on 12th November 1762. Madhavrao on his own accord called upon Raghoba on 13th November 1762 at Pargaon near Ghodnadi. Malharrao Holkar²¹³ again worked as an intermediary. After saluting each other, Madhavrao 'took the shoes of Raghobadada upon his head.' Madhavrao entreated Dadasaheb. The agreement took place between the two with Malharrao as witness.' The intermittent^{an} quarrel between the two, weakened the power of Peshwa. From Madhavrao onwards, Peshwas had to depend upon their own subordinate Sardars. The personal leadership of the Peshwa which Bajirao and Balaji Bajirao had, was lost. When Sardars refused to obey the orders of Peshwas, Peshwas were militarily helpless to punish them. When Raghoba

212. Marathi Kiyasat, Part IV.

213. Peshwe Daptar.

marched against Ahalyabai Holkar at Indore in 1767, many Sardars from the Peshwas army defeated. Raghoba ordered Mahadji Shinde to march against Ahalyabai Holkar at Indore. He replied, 'I am a servant of Peshwas and I am prepared to do any duty entrusted to me, yet I am not prepared to despatch my army for this purpose. ²¹⁴ Gaikwad of Baroda and Bhosale of Nagpur openly joined Ahalyabai Holkar. Raghoba became helpless and he could do nothing against Ahalyabai.

Mercinery Army :

Panipat, internal division of Peshwa family and their feud and the death of the national army are the three important reasons for the downfall of the authority of the Peshwas. Mercineries were enrolled for the services of the State. In the year 1763 'Siwachand, Pensingh, Mohansing Hiranman and Bhopat requested that if permission were given to them to plunder and spoil in foreign territories and to reside without molestation in the Peshwa's camp, they would collect some Lugare Beldar families for this purpose and prayed that a kaul to that effect might be issued.' Their prayer was granted on the following conditions : (a) that they would pay to government Rs. 5 for each tent. (b) that they would give up to government any elephants, balanquins, drums or ⁺ flags obtained by them in their raids. ²¹⁵ In the

214. Marathi Riyasat.

215. Diary of Thorale Madhavrao.

very year 'Trimbakrao Dhamdhere was permitted to keep in his camp 50 Pindhari families and was informed that in case more Pindharis were admitted a tax called Palpatti would be levied at the rate of rs. 3 per tent or according to the loot taken.²¹⁶ It clearly shows that Peshwas have not learnt any lesson from Panipat - the dangers of employing Bungas, Gadadis and Pindharis. Again in the year 1770 'Mirakhan and Hasankhan Multani alias Pindhari asked permission to reside in the Peshwa's camp with their followers, saying that they would earn their own livelihood and pay the usual tent-tax. Their prayer was granted and they were directed to reside near the encampment of the horse under Ganesh Gangadhar.²¹⁷ Employment of foreign mercenaries was not merely a blunder from military point of view, but it was the gravest blunder from the political point of view also. The loyalty of the Maratha army, in the days of Shivaji down to the Shahu's, towards their Chhatrapati or to the Peshwa was based upon strong national, religious bond. Gardis or Pindharis cannot have the same spirit which Marathas had towards their Motherland or their Watan. Therefore, it is no wonder that Narayanrao Peshwa was murdered by Gardis.

216. Diary of Thorale Madhavrao Peshwa.

217. " "

Effect of Employing Mercineries :

Nobody realised that the employment of foreign mercineries is against the principle of Maharashtra Dharma. In the year 1770 'Orders were issued to Jamatdar Sumersingh Ali Mardhankhan and Shersingh Sikh to recruit 800 soldéers required by the government on pay varying from Rs. 12 to 16 a month. Shersingh was told to get 200 pure Sikhs. ²¹⁸ In the same year orders were issued to Apaji Ganesh - the officer of Ahmedabad to enlist 400 Arabs, 100 Habashis and 1000 Siddis on salaries Rs. 15 or 16 a month. ²¹⁹ How unsound is the policy of recruiting Arabs and Habashis and Siddis can be well understood when we learn from the very historical documents that they have created trouble in the territories of Marathas. For example, in the year 1763, orders were issued to Ramchandra Krishna to garrison the forts of Songiri and Poperi, because the Habashis were causing disturbance in the taluka of Awachitgad. ²²⁰ A sentence from the Peshwa Daptar, Vol. 12 states that 'Arabs have become more boisterous. In the current Darbar there is no power other than the power of the Arabs.' ²²¹ It is

218. Diary of Thorale Mdhavrao Peshwa.

219. " "

220. " "

221. Peshwa Daptar, Vol. 12.

very sad to read that Sumersingh Gardi, who murdered Narayanrao Peshwa on the 28th May 1773, was given every sort of material help to perform his marriage ceremony in the year 1772 and he was paid Rs. 3576 for the year 1772-73. An order to that effect was issued to Antaji Trimbak Khav²²² mavidar of Paragana Chandwad. The misbehaviour of the Gardis was wellknown, even prior to the battle of Panipat. A number of complaints were lodged against Gardis to the Peshwa. Yet it appears that Peshwas have not taken the necessary precaution against the Gardis. A letter by an unknown writer clearly depicts the situation created by the Gardis, in pit^{ch}ing camp. The writer requests Peshwa that Gardis should be instructed to observe the usual practice.²²³ The writer of this letter appears to be a Sardar. He complains that 'Gardis are camping too near our camp, and are not following the tradition laid down by the Peshwa. We suffered much congestion for the last four days. If permission is granted to us, we will camp at a distance of two miles away from the main camp.' From there we will come to serve when ordered. Narsingrao was camping at his site by creating flags and tents. Gardis uprooted the tents and flags belonging to Narsingrao. Narsingrao left the site and camped at a distance of three miles away. There was no

222. Diary of Thorale Madhavrao Peshwa.

223. Peshwa Daptar, Vol. 23.

site for Rajashree Sadashiv Ramchandra to camp. He has also gone away.

On 7th December 1772 an order was issued to recruit more Gardis into the service of Peshwa. 'The sanction appears to be given by Narayanrao against who they ultimately acted.'^{224, 224A}

Events :

From 1761 to June 1772, nearly twelve years were lost in the battle against Haider, Nizam. It is not necessary for us to go into the details of these wars. Haider and Nizam tried to exploit the political vacuum created by the defeat of the Marathas at Panipat. The internal conflict between Raghoba and Madhavrao gave an additional opportunity to the enemies of Maratha. Madhavrao required nearly eight valuable years to stabilise himself. After the battle of ~~Godab~~^{Ahodab}, Raghoba was arrested and kept in confinement in Poona, in 1769. He was released in March 1772, but has been re-arrested in October 1772 while he was running away. On 18th November 1772 Madhavrao died at Theur, near Poona.

Friendship with Nizam :

After the battle of Rakshasbhuvan, on 10th August 1763, in which Nizam was defeated by the Marathas, a treaty

224.A Peshwa Daptar, Vol. 39. h ?

9. | On 7th Sept. 1769 an attempt to assassinate Madhavrao was made by one Gardi probably at the behest of Raghoba

224 - Marathi Riyasat, Vol. IV. सार्व ५११

was signed between the two parties at Aurangabad on 25th September 1763. An era of friendship between Peshwas and Nizam started and continued upto 1795. Madhavrao followed a very practical policy towards Nizam. He promised Nizam (Nabab) that, henceforward Marathas will not attempt to exterminate Nizam. ²²⁵ 'There should be no enmity between us. Whatever territory belongs to you, you will protect it and whatever territory belongs to us, we will rule over it. Nobody should cause any trouble to another and nobody should invade the territory belonging to another. All the conflicts that will emerge in future should be settled by peaceful negotiations between the two. There is no necessity of waging a war to solve the problems.'

Relation with Haider : Effect :

Haider was of course a powerful enemy of Marathas. In all, four campaigns on the part of the Marathas were essential to subdue Haider, starting from March 1762 and ending in 1772. Both the parties were tired of the continuous campaigns. On 21st June, 1772 both parties signed a treaty at Kikari by which (a) Haider agreed to pay Rs. 50 lakhs, (b) The Maratha territory occupied by Haider was returned to the Marathas, (c) Haider agreed not to invade the territory belonging to Marathas. From the financial point of view, war with Haider was an expensive one.

However, this war is very important from the political point of view. The defeat of Nabab (Nizam) and Haider by the Marathas proved beyond doubt that Maratha State is still alive even after the defeat at Panipati and it is sufficiently powerful to protect its own territory.

Activities in the North :

Though Madhavrao Peshwa was fully engrossed in the affairs of Karnatak i.e. Haider; Nizam and haghoba he paid attention to the activities in the North also. From 1762 to 1770 he was unable to march towards north personally because of his activities in south and from 1770 onwards because of his illness he could not undertake any campaign So the political affairs in the North were practically entrusted to Shindes and Holkars. It required a lot of time for Mahadji Shinde to assume power and to establish himself firmly. Madhavrao only gave written directions to Shinde Holkar and other Sardars in the North. A Sanad granted to Kadarji Shinde and Mahadji Shinde in the year 1762-63 states that 'an agreement entered into with the Peshwa by Gulraj and Anandram, Ambassadors of Abdali, it was stipulated by the latter, that the Emperor and Azful Ujara would assist in establishing the authority of the Peshwa over certain Paraganas which were under the sway of the later Nanasahab

and Bhausahab. Kedarji Shinde and Mahadji Shinde were directed that if the stipulation was fulfilled, a Jahagir of Rs. 40,000 should be granted in the Antarvedi to the ambassadors in question as settled.²²⁶ On 12th August 1762 Madhavrao wrote to Baburao ~~Konher~~ that 'it is good that you are at present near Sujauddaula. Whatever posts we have lost should be conquered. Necessary letters to the kings and Sardars will be despatched.²²⁷ The first thing which Madhavrao had done, was to effect a settlement between Shinde and Holkar, by which both joined hands to re-establish Maratha power in the North.²²⁸

Restoration of the Emperor :

According to the great Sanad or agreement between the Emperor and Marathas of 1752, it was the responsibility of the Marathas to protect the Mughal Emperor and to defeat his enemies. On the very next day of the battle of Panipat, i.e. on 15th January 1761, the Mughal Emperor Sah Alam was defeated by the British, five miles west of Patna. This defeat created a very critical situation for the Emperor. On one hand, the Marathas were defeated at Panipat, on the other hand he failed to establish his rule in the eastern

226. Diary of Thorale Madhavrao Peshwa.

227. Rajwade - Khand 10-4.

228. " 14-16

territories of the Empire. Therefore he could not do anything. He was patiently waiting for a power which would enable him to return to Delhi. Neither the Marathas nor the British were in a position to do that. With the result Emperor had to spend nearly twelve years in wilderness.

Terms for Restoration :

Attempts by Madharao Holkar to defeat the British Forces and to take the possession of Emperor failed in 1765. Holkar's forces were defeated. Holkar retreated to Gwalior. The reason for the defeat of this war is vividly described in two sentences.²²⁹ It states that the 'British artillery is very powerful and therefore soldiers were reluctant to fight. Therefore they retreated. Malharao had arrived at Kalpi. He is depressed.' Mahadji Shinde was observing all these events. He could not do anything because he himself was not yet settled. On 10th August 1765 he wrote²³⁰ to Poona - 'I am going to join H Holkar. Holkar at present is at Datia. We have decided to come together and to achieve some important political aims.' Raghobadada had been to North, but returned to South, without achieving anything. On the contrary, he complicated certain matters. Marathas required nearly five years to subdue Rohillas, Jaths and Rajputs. Delhi was captured by Marathas on 10th February 1771.

229. See Appendix

230. " "

On 12th February 1771 a treaty was signed between the Emperor and Marathas. The demands of the Marathas and the reply to them, given by the Emperor is as follows - (a) The Emperor should pay Rs. Twentyfive lakhs to Marathas as soon as Marathas hand over the capital (i.e. Delhi) and the Fort to the Emperor. The Emperor replied that he was prepared to pay Rs. Ten lakhs within eight days, (b) The Emperor should pay to the Marathas Rs. fifteen lakhs as soon as the Emperor reaches Delhi. The Emperor replied that he will pay provided he reaches Delhi. If he fails to pay then, the same amount should be collected from the provincial revenue, (c) The territories belonging to Marathas prior to 1761 should be kept with the Marathas and all other traditions shall be continued. The Emperor replied, 'Yes'. (d) Except the appointment of the Vazir, all other appointments of the Imperial services should be made by Marathas according to their pleasure. Emperor replied yes.²³¹ After this treaty, the Emperor started from Allahabad to Delhi on 29th March, 1771 and reached Delhi on 25th December 1771 (according to new caleddar on 6th January 1772.) Madhavrao Peshwa heartily congratulated his sardars. He wrote a cautionary note to them about the British. He states : Do not allow British into Delhi. Once they enter, then it will be very difficult to drive them out; of all the foreigners British have become very powerful. Their influence has

spread from Calcutta to Masalipattam and Surat. ²³²

Expansion of Maratha Authority :

The political thought of the Marathas from 1752 to 1772 was concentrated upon only one important factor or policy viz. the expansion of Maratha authority over other parts of India. The treaty of 1752 between the Emperor and the Marathas gave the necessary constitutional authority to Marathas by which they established their authority from Punjab in the North to Cuttock in the East and down in the South upto Tungabhadra river. The defeat at Panipat had not deterred them. The same thought governed their minds from 1761 to 1772. Two important letters reflect the policy of the Marathas. Ramchandra Sadashiv ²³³ communicates the news of the capture of Delhi, by Visajipant and Mahadji Shinde. He attributes this success to Swami i.e. Peshwa. He further states that by the good grace of the Swami, his loyal sardars will be able to restore the Mughal Emperor to his throne and will carry out the administration in such a manner that it will be profitable for our government. He states that all Marathas Sardars are governed by one principle and will work in unison.' The unknown author of another letter ²³⁴ communicated the influence of Mahadji Shinde and the Peshwa himself in the political affairs of the North. He states that 'nobody is going to act contrary to your orders. Your influence in the political affairs is simply tremendous and that of Sardar Mahadji Shinde is also

233. Peshwa Daptar, Part 29.

good. There is absolutely no worry. Nobody is going to speak anything unless and until ordered by you, We have no other goal except the service of the Swami.'

Objectives of Madhavrao :

Madhavrao Peshwa was suffering from intestinal T.B. In 1769 he asked his younger brother Narayanrao to participate actively in the administration. Because of his ill-health, Madhavrao had to return to Poona from Miraj, from the Karnatak Campaign in December 1770. To a certain extent it appears from certain actions on the part of Madhavrao that he had lost his balance of mind. On 10th September 1772 he prepared a list of nine articles²³⁵ in which objectives to be achieved, were included. He ordered his administrators to sign that demand. Out of these nine articles only three refer to the public administration, one refers to Naghoba and the rest five refer to certain religious acts. The important articles are - (1) State loan should be repaid (2) In Desh and Konkan, the ryot has become unhappy. Attempts should be made by which subjects will be happy. (3) It was the desire of our father i.e.

233. Peshwa Daptar, Part 29.

234. " Part 29.

235. " Part 39.

Nanasaheb, that the Holy cities of Prayag and Kashi should be under our jurisdiction. The present moment is opportune for it. Attempts should be made by which these two Holy places will be brought under our jurisdiction. (4) Raghobadada should be given a Jagir. On 18th November 1772 Madhavrao Peshwa died.

Reasons for the Decline of Authority :

Ill-health, want of military leadership like Bajirao - grand father of Madhavrao - territorial encroachment by Nizam and Haider upon the Maratha territory and trouble created by Raghoba were the four important factors, responsible for the steady decline of Peshwa's authority over the powerful Sardars like, Shinde, Holkar, Bhosale, etc. The credit for the northern affairs during this period i.e. from 1761 to 1772 should go to Mahadji Shinde. It appears that the treaty signed between Marathas and Emperor on the 12th February 1771, was not approved by Madhavrao. For, while congratulating his Sardars for restoring the Emperor on the throne of Delhi, he asked them : ²³⁶ " But what territory and amount the emperor had given to you ? Three annual military camps are over and the fourth camp is forth-coming. The interests of the Emperor have been served, but what about our interest ? You should have acquired the territory and amount in proportion to the

damage done to our army. I am sure that you might ^{have} taken possession of Kashi Prayag (the two Holy places) from the Emperor." It is obvious that this treaty had not fulfilled the expectations of Madhavrao Peshwa, which are reflected in this letter. No new territory was acquired, nor the amount received. Holy places like Kashi - Prayag were not in the possession of Marathas. This proves two important points in respect of the break-down of the Quasi-Federal Constitution. Firstly, Sardars like Shinde Holkar etc. began to enter into treaty agreement without reference to the central authority of Peshwas. Secondly, this was the beginning of the independence of the Sardars in their dealings and policies which were often marked divergence of the dealings and policies of the central government. Thirdly, Peshwa had lost military capacity to punish offending Sardars, however unimportant and powerless they might have been.

Other Powers - Peace and Order :

During the reign of Madhavrao, all the other traditions, based upon the Quasi-Federal constitution were observed. The responsibility of maintaining peace and order was continued to be bestowed upon the Sardars. In the year 1763-64 a Sanad was granted to Hanamantrao Babaji and Bapuji Mahadeo ²³⁷ on the conditions that they will

maintain peace and order. Moreover, they were to surrender detailed accounts and to remit the revenue to government deducting therefrom the expenses of the troops. A Sanad granted to Rajaram Govind ²³⁸ in the same year refers to the same task. Anadrao Dhulap of Vijaydurg was ordered 'to obtain either by force or by amicable settlement from the Firangis the fort of Mardangad, taken by them in the preceeding year and to manage the territory under the protection of the fort. ²³⁹

Raising an Army :

Raising of the army was entirely left to the Sardars, as usual. A Sanad granted to Visaji Krishna in the year 1766-67 refers to the raising of the new army. ²⁴⁰ In the year 1770-1771, 'Trimbak Narayan, officer of Taluka Ahmedabad, asked permission to the expenditure of Rs. 10,000 and to the entertainment of additional force with the capture of the fort Khambayat. The permission was granted. ²⁴¹ Upto 1772 Peshwa ^{Ma} Madhavrao occasionally, continued to punish guilty Sardars. In the year 1766-67, 'The office of Sumant was taken away from Madhavrao Krishna and conferred on

238. Diary of Thorale Madhavrao Peshwa.

239. " "

240. " "

241. " "

Krishnaji Mahipatrao. The latter having failed to pay²⁴² the nazar agreed upon, his saranjam was attached.' In similar manner, watans and inams of Trimbakrao Dabhade were attached in the year 1763-64, because he had gone over to the Mughals.²⁴³ In 1765-66, 43 Mahals, were ordered to be attached and the work was entrusted to Antaji Mahadeo.²⁴⁴ In the year 1767-68 'the saranjam of Tukoji Holkar, consisting of the villages in the Paragana of Gandapur and others, which were under attachment, were ordered to be restored to him.'²⁴⁵

Example of Relationship :

The relationship between central government (i.e. Peshwas) and Sardars can be best understood by citing the example of Rajashree Vitthal Shivdeo. He was conferred the title of Umde-Tul-Mulukha-Bahadar. In the year 1762-63 he was given the following saranjam - (a) Rs. 50,000 for personal expenses, per year. (b) Rs. 15,00,000 for keeping up a detachment of 5000 horse. The detachment was liable to be inspected by the huzur, (i.e. Peshwa) and was to be on duty throughout the year. The amount sanctioned was to cover all expenses including those incurred in replacing

242. Diary of Thorale Madhavrao Peshwa.

243. " "

244. " "

245. " "

horses killed in action etc. (c) Rs. 10,000 in connection with the fort of Rajdehar which was entrusted to the saranjamdar. The saranjamdar was directed to render detailed accounts of the territory assigned to him in saranjam, to continue the alienation of land and cash existing therein to make inquiries about its revenues and try to increase the revenue as far as possible. With regard to the keeping of the detachment, the instructions were that the horses and men to be entertained should be fit and strong, each horse being of a value of Rs. 300 or 400 and that they should be produced for inspection, whenever required by the huzur. If it is observed that the number of horses and 'swars' is less, then the proportionate amount should be returned to the government.²⁴⁶ In the year 1762-63, a Sanad²⁴⁷ was granted to Trimbakrao Shivdeo. Trimbakrao Shivdeo asked for the repayment of the loan advanced by him to government. The paragana of Kalabag and the government share in paragana Patan Keshavrayache, were made over to him, to be taken back when the loan was paid off. He was directed to submit detailed accounts of the territory to government.

Punishment to Sardars :

In the year 1763-64, the 'saranjam of Durjansing of

246. Diary of Thorale Madhavrao Peshwe.

247.

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Mandvi was ordered to be attached and Udho Vishweshwar was appointed to manage the Sansthan ... Durjansing was informed that the Sansthan would be restored after arrears of nazar due from him were paid.²⁴⁸ The sardars who failed to do their duty either military or otherwise were punished by the Peshwas. In the year 1772-73, Shri Chimnaji Dalpatrao, of Santhan Peth was punished. Chimnaji Dalpatrao had agreed to serve government when required. He, however, failed to comply with the orders of the government directing him to accompany Vishaji Keshav in Karnatak campaign of the preceeding year. He also failed to give half his Santhan to his brother Parvatsing. He was, therefore, directed to surrender his fort of Khairai together with certain villages in paragana Hazrill, yielding a revenue sufficient for the maintenance of the fort and to allow Pandurang Krishna to divide the remaining Santhan between himself and his brother.²⁴⁹

Distance - a Major Factor :

'Distance' was the most important factor which governed the obedience on the part of the Sardars to the central government. Even in the days of Balaji Bajirao there were many complaints against the Sardars like Malharrao Holkar, Antaji Manakeshwar, Laxman Shankar, Bapuji Mahadeo, Damodar Mahadeo, Govindpant Bundeale and after 1774 even of

248. Diary of Thorale Madhavrao Peshwa.

249. " "

N- Mahadji Shinde. All these Sardars were the creation of the Peshwas. A quarrel started between Shinde and Holkar in 1754 which continued forever. In this very year, Malharrao Holkar advised Dattaji and Janakoji Shinde not to obey the orders of Peshwa and saying that if Peshwas become too powerful, 'they (Peshwas) will order us to clean their clothes.' In the year 1757 Peshwa despatched two Darakhdars - Yerande and Kanitkar, to inquire into the internal affairs of Govindpant Bundele. These two Darakh-²⁵⁰dars have listed nine complaints against Govindpant Bundele. The important complaints are '(a) last year's balance is not included into new year's opening balance. (b) Extravagant military expenditure. (c) The paraganas where little army is required are handed over to Shinde and the paraganas which require a very large army to maintain are kept with the central government. (d) Presents and Nazranas are accepted secretly. (e) Statement of Mahals is not shown to us. (f) because of the fear complex not a single ryot or Jamindar could see us. (g) Kharbharis exact any amount they like.' This very individual Govindpant Bundele, never carried out the orders sincerely, issued to him by Sadashivrao Bhau. Sadashivrao Bhau²⁵¹ sarcastically wrote to him on 4th November 1760, 'that

250. Marathyanchya Itihasachi Sadhane, Vol. I.

251. " "

you merely promised to undertake the work but actually you do not do anything.' Again on 15th November 1760, Sadashivrao wrote to Govindpant Bundele that 'you have not done a single task which was ordered to you.' It is a well known fact that Malharrao Holkar left the battle of Panipat with 15,000 soldiers. Neither Abdali, nor Nazib Khan, nor any other sardar had done any harm to Malharrao suggests his understanding with the enemies of the Peshwas. The most important factor from our point of view is, that the Sardars who disobeyed the orders of the central government were far away ususally in the north - from the seat of the central government i.e. Poona.

Internal Conflict :

After the death of Madhavrao, his younger brother Narayanrao became Peshwa in 1772. The conflict with Raghoba continued. This conflict ended in the murder of Narayanrao by Gardis, in the presence of Raghoba. Raghoba presented Jagirs and rewards to the murderers. For a few months, Raghoba managed the affairs of the Maratha kingdom. It is to be remembered that the ceremonial robes of Peshwaship were not given to Raghoba by the Chhatrapati of Satara. Raghoba undertook expeditions against Nizam and Haider Ali in order to divert the attention of the people. On 18th April 1774 a posthumous son was born to Gangabai at Purandar, widow of murdered Narayanrao. The opponents of Raghoba sought this opportunity. Under one pretext or another,

important sardar left the campaign which Raghoba had undertaken. They came to Poona and proclaimed the new child as Peshwa Savai Madhavrao. Ceremonial^{al} robes were received at Purandar, after twelve days. ²⁵² ¶ The Barbhais declared Raghoba as a murderer and usurper and called upon all the individuals to withhold cooperation with him. Raghoba soon became a fugitive and in a desperate moment turned to the English of Bombay for armed aid to recover his Peshwaship. The Bombay government was too eager to help him and thus to interfere in the internal affairs of the Marathas. Thus began the Anglo Maratha conflict which ended in 1818.

End of the Real Authority :

The authority and power of the Peshwa ended with the death of Madhavrao. All the Peshwas who succeeded, were powerless. They became the tool in the hands of either their chief secretary (Karbhari like Nana Phadanwis) or the powerful sardars. The minority of the Peshwa from 1774 onwards and the difficulties which central government faced, encouraged the sardars - big and small - to effect greater freedom. Thus the Quasi-Federal Constitution of Maratha State underwent radical changes in practice. Sardars began to look after their saranjam as independent kingdoms owing only nominal allegiance and merely expressing it occasionally

to the Peshwa. Sardars and Saranjamdars, who were a part and parcel of a single structure of this Quasi-federal state, became in practice separate entities and each began to drift from the centre as he thought best. As we have already noted above, the important reason for this sorry state of affairs was the lack of de facto authority at Poona. The battle of Panipat was a serious blow to the Peshwa's unifying authority. 'after 1782, though the Peshwas ceremonial precedence over his feudatories continued as before, he had little control over their internal affairs. His authority came to be limited to the provinces directly held by him. The feudatories carried out his mandate or defied them as it suited their interests. The feudal tendency among the Marathas that had raised its head after Shivaji's death gathered momentum making the structure weak and vulnerable.'²⁵³

Unrealised Objectives :

There are very few references to Maharashtra Dharma or Hindu Dharma during this period. Excluding a few districts, Maharashtra proper was under the direct rule of Peshwas. Brahmins from different parts of India used to come to Poona, for grants, Daxina etc. As the size of Maratha Empire, increased reaching the banks of the holy

253. Maharashtra State Gazetteer - History - Maratha period - page 97. contributed by Dr. V.G.Dighe.

rivers like Sindhu, Ganga and Yamuna, a yearning developed into the minds of the Peshwas, particularly Nanasaheb, that the two holy cities of Hindus namely Prayag and Kashi (Varanasi) should be in the hands of the Marathas. Balaji Bajirao had been to Prayag and Kashi, but he was not successful in bringing these two holy places into Maratha domain. On the 5th September 1758 Raja Keshavrao wrote to Nanasaheb Peshwa requesting him to bring the holy cities like Kurukshetra, Prayag, Varanasi and Gaya under the Maratha rule. In this letter he states 'No Brahmin so far had acquired fame as Nanasaheb had. Now you (Nanasaheb) have acquired additional territory upto Attock including Lahore. Now on the western side Multan and Kabul and on the eastern side Ayodhya, Prayag and Bengala (Bengal) only remain to be brought under your control. Much of this territory at present is under your control. In such a situation why should the cities like Kurukshetra, Prayag, Varanasi and Gaya should be under the Muslim rule ? As long as the protector of cows and Brahmins, like you, are at the helm of the affairs of the state, this universal dream should be realised. ²⁵⁴ On 29th September 1759, Antaji Manakeshwar, wrote to Raghoba the plan of action in the eastern region of India. He states that unless we three namely, the Emperor, Vazir and myself - proceed in that direction, the goal of bringing Kashi Prayag etc. will not

be fulfilled; according to the desire of Nanasaheb.²⁵⁵
He further states that it is not sufficient merely to post Sardars at these holy places. Raja Keshavrao also states that this object will require a period of one year to realise. This letter (i.e. No. 254) expresses the ultimate goal of the Maratha rule to bring the territory from Kabul to Bengal under one flag. The Ancient Empires of Hindus possessed the territory from Kabul in the west to Bengal in the east. Shivaji had been duly crowned according to the ancient Hindu traditions. From Chhatrapati to Samrat (Emperor), was the goal to be achieved. On the occasion, Balaji Bajiro wrote to Pilaji Jadhav that 'we are the true disciples of Shivaji Maharaj !²⁵⁶ He took pride in it. It is but natural, therefore, to expect Balaji Bajirao, trying his level best to extend the territory of Maratha Empire upto Kabul in the west and Bengal in the east. The existence of the large Maratha army in the North, in the year 1759 had the salutary effect upon the treatment given to the Hindu pilgrims by the Muslim rulers. One Trimbakrao from Prayag wrote to Nanasaheb, on 15th November 1759 that 'good treatment is being meted out to pilgrims by the new Suba. Pilgrims are not harassed as they used to be. They are lightly taxed. Any one who possesses the letters of the

255. Peshwa Daptar, Vol. 21.

256. Marathyanchnya Itihasachi Sadhane, Vol. VI.

government (Parawana etc.) is not given any trouble. Servants of the Suba do not show any disinterest regarding the pilgrims or their rituals. If the Maratha forces would come to this part, it is not very difficult²⁵⁷ to conquer territory upto Bengal.

Unfortunately, this dream of Balaji Bajirao was never realised. Marathas suffered a terrible defeat at Panipat. Madhavrao, Mahadji Shinde recovered the Maratha Empire and the prestige, but it was short-lived. Though, Mahadji was able to take the Mughal Emperor from Patna to Delhi and to restore him, he was unable to bring these two holy places, under the direct rule of the Marathas. Disunity among Marathas, killed the very life force of Maratha nationalism. Moreover, they have now to face an enemy equipped with modern weapons and a well disciplined army. It was a conflict of two cultures - east Vs west. From 1773 onwards the most important factor that dominated the political thought was to 'hold on' as long as possible, the existing regime against the onslaught new forces from the West.

Conflict with British :

Nana Phadnis at Poona and Mahadji Shinde in the North were the two dominating personalities which decided and

and executed the policy of Maratha State. The Barbhai conspiracy brought the conflict with English - the battle at Wadgaon, treaty of Purandhar; again the conflict between the two parties resulting into the treaty of Salbai, in 1782. It appears that the Barbhais tried to face the British in the traditional manner - granting of Sanads etc. In 1774-75 Sanads were granted to Appaji Hari, Ramaji Annaji,²⁵⁸ Appaji Ganesh of Ahmedabad and Naro Anandram of Surat. One Mehta Brajlal was granted a sanad because he offered to conquer from the English the Taluka of Broach together with the fort, on the conditions²⁵⁹ that (a) on completion of the conquest villages worth Rs. 16,000 would be given as Inam. (b) Rs. 1,000 to 1200 for campaign expenses. (c) Military saranjam (d) Assistance in securing his watan in Junagad. (e) Rs. 5,000 for distribution as reward. Similar orders were issued to Bahiro Raghunath, Baji Gangadhar, Naro Anandrao etc. how the spirit of nationalism and national army was gradually deminishing can be seen from the order issued to Visaji Keshav. He 'was directed to arrange for the re-taking of Sulsette after enlisting Siddis and other good soldiers from Surat and other places.' In the very year Vasudeo Anant was informed that the 'government had²⁶⁰ despatched armies, Gadadis and people.' For the -

258. Diary of Savai Madhavrao Peshwa, Part II.

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reconquest of Sashti. In the year 1774-75, orders were issued to Visaji Deshav in regard to the recovery of the Salsette taken by the English. (a) Full discretion was given to him to entertain such men as might be required. The expenses incurred on that account would be admitted without objection. (b) Permission was given to entertain three hundred sailors for four months at a cost of Rs. ten thousand. (c) Permission was given to spend the amount required to prepare boats for temporary use.²⁶¹

Salsette :

Yet Salsette remained in the hands of English. Raghoba was defeated on 17th February 1775 in the battle of Mahi by Harpant Phadke. He fled to Surat and concluded a treaty by which the English agreed to support his cause with a force of 2500 troops ~~which~~ with due proportion of artillery. Raghoba agreed to cede to the Company in perpetuity Bassein with its dependencies, the island of Salsette and other islands adjacent to Bombay, Jambusar and Oplad paraganas in Gujrat and the Peshwa's share of revenue of Ankaleshwar. For the expenses of the troops Raghoba was to pay 1,1/2 lakh of Rupees monthly and by way of security deposited with the Company Jewellery worth rupees six lakhs. Thus, for the first time the foreign hand entered into the Maratha empire and it gradually

swallowed the Maratha Empire. How shrewd Madhavrao Peshwa was, can be judged by the events which took place afterwards, when he advised Mahadji Shinde 'not to allow British into Delhi' in 1771. The allied forces - Raghoba and British - were trying to push in the direction of Poona. Meanwhile, the supreme government in Calcutta, disapproved the policy and measures of the Bombay Council in supporting Raghoba. They declared the war as "impolitic, dangerous, unauthorised and unjust." On 1st March, 1776 both the parties concluded an agreement by which British Alliance with Raghoba was dissolved. By this treaty the English gained their main objective - Salsette and the islands adjacent to Bombay. From this time onwards Nana Phadanwis followed a policy of keeping the British Company away from the Maratha Empire. He alone had understood the danger of accepting subsidiary alliance of the British Company. The seizure of Salsette, by the English on the 23rd December 1774, under the excuse that the rumours of Portuguese fleet was threatening Salsette, was an act of wanton aggression. Yet the Maratha power could not do anything for the recovery of its lost territory.

Renewed Activities - Grand Alliance :

For the renewal of activities ^{with} ~~which~~ Marathas, the British Company found an excuse that a French agent was at Poona. Setting aside the treaty of Purandhar, the Company's army marched in the direction of Poona on 25th November 1778.

The Company's army was totally defeated at Wadgaon. On 17th January a treaty was signed by which British Company accepted to surrender Raghoba, abandon Salsette and all territory acquired since 1772. But the Bombay government repudiated the treaty. Realising the danger from British Company, Nana Phadnis tried to form a grand coalition against English, almost of all Indian powers. As a result of this policy concessions were given to the Nizam, Haider etc. In the year 1776-77, the paragana of Gangapur was given in Jahagir to the Nabab i.e. Nizam. In 1777-78 the Chauthai Amal in Paraganas Nimal, Tembhurni, Rajur, Kusbet, Wole and Nakade was granted to Jabitjanga, a loyal servant of Nizam in consideration of his friendly attitude towards government. Again in the year 1779-80 the Jahagir Amal of Paragana Dhoki, was granted to Nizam Alli Khan Bahadur. In that very year Balaji Govind was directed to remove the attachment, placed by him on the Jahagir in Prant Kalpi bestowed on Nabab Gaziuddin Vazir.²⁶²

How the relations with Haider were improved, is reflected by the fact that in the year 1779-80 'Clothes worth Rs. 392 as Rs. 203 were received as presents from Sharafat Daula and Haider Naik respectively.²⁶³ In

262. Diary of Savai Madhavrao Peshwa, Part II

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1780-81, Krishnarao Narayanrao Joshi was sent to Nabab Haider Alli Khan, with Clothes as a present to Haider Alli. In 1782-83, Clothes worth Rs. 1250 were received as presents from Nabab Haider Alli Khan Bahadur.' It is clear that this friendship did not continue for long. There were many conflicts between Marathas and Tipu. (Haider died in 1782 December.) Tipu suspected that the English were becoming more friendly with the Marathas. In 1787 'a treaty was formerly entered into with Nabab Haider Alli Khan Bahadur through Balaji Janardan, Hari Ballal, Mahadjirao Scindia, Anandrao Bhikajirao Raste and Krishnarao Ballal.' After the treaty some misunderstanding arose between the two powers owing to the conduct of Kalo Bahirao of fort Nargund. Tipu Sultan now sent Badrddin Jamalkhan Bahadur and Alli Raja to Tukajirao Holkar and Gangadharrao Bhikajirao Raste to propose that the two governments should continue friendship on terms of original treaty. The original treaty (which was concluded in 1780) was accordingly ratified.²⁶⁴ In the year 1786-87 'a treaty of Alliance was concluded between the Peshwa, Nabab Nizam Alli Khan Bahadur and Nabab Tipu Sultan Bahadur, by which the powers bound themselves to live on terms of friendship with each other and to unite together to defend themselves against outsiders.²⁶⁵ According to this treaty, territory belonging to Tipu,

264. Diary of Savai Madhavrao Peshwa, Part II.

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which was taken by the Marathas was restored, his subjects under Peshwas' imprisonment released. On the other hand Tipoo surrendered Taluka Nargund, paid the tribute and arrears for four years.

British Diplomacy :

The tripartite alliance - mutual defensive alliance - was perhaps the best in the interest of three powers, namely Maratha, Nizam and Tipoo. But as soon as Lord Cornwallis had declared company's intention of eschewing all schemes of conquest or entanglements with the native rulers, the three parties forgot the sacred alliance and entered into traditional enmity against each other. These powers voluntarily entered into trap laid down by the British. Marathas and Nizam joined hands with British to crush Tipoo. Nana Phadnis, perhaps thought that Tipoo and British would exhaust themselves in mutual destruction and Marathas would become arbiters of future negotiations. Hostilities, therefore, were resumed.²⁶⁶ In 1791-92 the villages in paragana Haskot, which were in the possession of Tipoo Sultan Bahadur were attached. Similarly, Tarf Dhekankota, Ratangiri, the fort and taluka Devaraydurg and Paragana Tumkur were also attached. In the treaty concluded Marathas received Hons 13,06,666 and mahals. As a result of this treaty, forts and mahals taken by the Marathas were ordered to be restored to Tipoo Sultan.²⁶⁶ The treaty and the

and the actual campaign proved the guilt of Nana Phadnis beyond doubt. Instead of mutual destruction (Tipoo and English) British Company's power increased and the Tri-partite defensive alliance automatically came to an end. In the treaty concluded, the Marathas instead of being arbiters came to occupy a secondary place and lost the initiative to British.²⁶⁷

After the death of Madhavrao I in 1772, Peshwas lost their hold and initiative and the political power was transferred from the hands of Peshwa to the minister, i.e. Nana Phadnis. History repeated itself again. After the death of Shahu, Chhatrapatis lost all political power and became the prisoners of Peshwas. After 1774, Peshwas lost political power and became the prisoners of their sardars like Shinde Holkar, etc. The tide of the power changed in the direction of Sardars like Mahadji Shinde from 1782 onwards. Peshwas were neither able to control their sardars nor were they able to protect their territory - which was under their direct control. Mahadji Shinde worked as an intermediary²⁶⁸ between the two powers : Peshwas on one hand and British on the other. The treaty of Salbai, signed on 17th May 1782 is the best example in this respect. It provided for the withdrawal of the British support to Raghoba and restoration of all British conquest in Gujrat and Malwa subsequent to

267. P.R.C. Vol. p. 340. Shore's reflection on political state of India.

268. Diary of Savai Madhavrao Peshwa, Part II.

the treaty of Purandhar. Thus the British attempt to put Raghoba on the Peshwaship and through him to control the affairs of Maratha Empire were frustrated.

Trouble in the North :

Shinde was able to help Peshwa (i.e. Nana Phadnis) in 1781-82, but Peshwa was unable to help Mahadji Shinde in 1787. Mahadji Shinde was consolidating his power in the North. Shinde was invited by the Emperor Shaha Alam to undertake the regency of his house and to regulate the affairs of Mughal Empire. Shinde consequently met the Emperor on 15th November 1784 and assumed the robes ²⁶⁹ of his new office and became the power behind the Imperial Throne. This is again an instance of political importance. A subordinate legal authority (i.e. Shinde), receives the robes and title from foreign authority (i.e. Emperor) without the consent and permission from the central government (i.e. Peshwa.) at Poona. This shows the markedly changed relationship between the central government and sardars. It was not very easy for Shinde alone to manage the affairs at Delhi. The task before Mahadji was to defeat - (a) a number of turbulent Mughal chiefs, (b) Sikhs - who were ravaging the Imperial territory, and (c) the Rajput princes. Their hatred against Marathas and the demand of yearly tribute with dues, united them into a grand alliance and incited them to revolt against

Shinde. At the battle of Lalsot, against Rajputs, Shinde's army was defeated, in 1787. A letter written ²⁷⁰ by Mahadji Shinde to Peshwa, on 18th August 1787 reveals the critical situation which Mahadji Shinde had to face. In this letter Mahadji states : 'Rajputs have won the battle at Lalsot because our North Indian Battalions defected. You might have heard this news in the letters which I wrote to you. Our financial position has become stringent. Emperor has not been paid for the last nine months and therefore, he is pressing us for the money. If Emperor remains in our hands, then we can keep all the other things i.e. political power in our hands. If he comes out and does not remain under our control then it will open ample opportunities for other powers to interfere in the political affairs and all sorts of intrigues will follow. Moreover the Emperor is not firm, he is greedy. We have tried our level best to raise the necessary amount from the money lenders - but nobody is prepared to give us loan; because we have yet to repay the loan which we have taken long ago. Because of this helpless situation, we are requesting you to arrange for the amount. This will help us a lot. It will prove from the letters from different ambassadors at different courts that we are one and it will remove the misunderstanding that there is no unanimity ~~against~~ amongst Badshah, Peshwa and ourselves. It will prove that South rushes financial help and army, when there is trouble

in the North. It will also put down all the powers. If this is done, then the English and the Vazir will not dare to exploit the situation and interfere in the internal affairs of Mughals ... ' ' Instead of sending financial help and despatching army to the North, Nana Phadnis despatched Tukoji Holkar, who was jealous about Shinde's power. Instead of helping Shinde, Holkar encouraged his enemies. However, Shinde came out with flying colours, surmounting all the difficulties. He defeated the Rajput forces in two battles namely Patan (June 1790) and Merta (September 1790). Holkar, who openly joined the enemies was defeated at Lakheri in 1793 by Shinde's army.

Internal Conflict :

Shinde arrive at Poona in June 1792. Prior to his arrival, attempts were made by Nana Phadanwis to prohibit his entry into Deccan. There are many reasons for this which show the chaotic political situation in Poona. Mahadji Shinde was now the highest functionary of the Mughal Emperor (i.e. Vazir) and he had very powerful army with him. Nana Phadnis went to the extent of seeking help from the British which they wisely declined.²⁷¹ It appears that Shinde wanted to clarify certain matters. In a letter²⁷² written to Peshwa in December 1791, he refutes certain doubts about the maintenance of peace and tranquillity in the North. Mahadji Shinde states : "we (Mahadji Shinde) are in receipt of your

271. P.R.C. Vol. II.

272. Papers of Mahadji Shinde.

order, asking us not to come to the South because, after our departure to South, it will be very difficult to maintain peace and tranquillity in the North. Several problems and conflicts will crop up. If it is decided that peace and order can be maintained by keeping sufficient army, army will remain but peace and order will vanish. Uptill now we have defeated our enemy by conquering many important places and territories and have firmly established the rule of the Emperor. This will disappear from the place. We will have to make efforts again to re-establish Badshahi. Moreover, the loyalty of the North Indians is questionable. Our answer to all these doubts is that - " for the maintenance of peace and order we have kept a large number of army and number of loyal and trusted sardars. There is no power left which will dare rebel against our authority. We have not visited the Swami for a long time and therefore we have a desire to see him. We have to perform certain traditional rites of God in Desh. Sardars are here in the North, they will maintain peace and order. There was some ~~trouble~~ trouble from Ismailbeg because of the perfidy, which allowed him to go to Kanoda. However, he was subdued. Therefore, we do not visualise that anybody outsider will revolt against us. However, we are not sure about anybody from our own doing perfidious act."

Failures of Quasi-Federalism :

This letter, written by Mahadji Shinde to Peshwa

Savai Madhavrao, reveals the situation of the Maratha ^{state} Confederacy and the breakdown of the Constitution. The failures can be enumerated. (a) The central government failed to assist Mahadji Shinde, - a Sardar of Maratha Confederation - when he was carrying out his duty according to the treaty-agreement entered into by Peshwa on one hand i.e. Central government and the Mughal Emperor in 1752. (b) The Sardars like Tukoji Holkar who were despatched to the North by the central government, joined the opposite camp, i.e. the enemies of the central government. (c) The central government which was weak requested foreign power like English to help subdue its own sardar - the worst act from the constitutional point of view. (d) Mahadji Shinde came to the South irrespective of the order, which ordered him in specific terms, giving reasons that he should not come to the South. Mahadji Shinde could not be punished by the central government for his unconstitutional act. One can easily understand the vast difference between the relationship of Peshwa and his sardars during the regime of Bajirao I and Balaji Bajirao and that of Madhavrao and Savai Madhavrao - i.e. during the period 1720 to 1760 and from 1760 to 1790.

Firman banning cow-slaughter throughout India :

In June, 1792, (1792), in Poona, a great ceremonial Darbar was held. Mahadji Shinde delivered to the Peshwa the titles and honours brought for him from the Emperor and the Firman prohibiting cow-slaughter throughout India.

Theoretically at least, the aim of the Hindu religion and Maharashtra Dharma was realised by the issuance of this Firman. 'The office of the Nayabi - in 1792-93 with the dignity of Wakil Matalik and Anirum Umrao (Conferred on the Peshwa by the Emperor) was bestowed on Mahadji Shinde and presents of jewellery, clothes etc. were made to him. ²⁷³

The differences between the central government i.e. Peshwa, Nana Phadnis and the Mahadji Shinde were debated in the open Darbar, where charges and counter charges were levelled against each other. ²⁷⁴ Ultimately Shinde's 'accounts were signed by the Peshwa, acknowledging a balance of five crores of rupees, as ready cash could not be obtained from the Poona Ministry, Shinde accepted a transfer of Peshwa's share of the conquests in Hindustan. It was also agreed that Shinde should have the sole management of affairs and the Peshwa government should furnish him with such troops as he may require for his future operation.' This agreement reflects the topsyturvy situation in the constitution of the ^{quasi-federal state} ~~confederacy~~, in respect of the relationship between central government and Sardar.

Unfortunately, Shinde died of fever on 17th February 1794 at Wanavadi near Poona. He was succeeded by his nephew Daulat Rao, a boy of 14 years of age.

273. Diary of Savai Madhavrao Peshwa, Part II.

274. P.H.C. Vol. II.

Battle of Kharda :

This was the last occasion when all the chiefs of Maratha confederacy acted in unison under the authority of Peshwa. After the death of Mahadji in February 1794, there was no individual who can challenge the supremacy of Nana Phadnis. The tripartite agreement between Nizam, Haider (Tipoo) and Peshwa had become meaningless. Tipoo's power was broken in 1792. Nizam tried to exploit the differences between Nana Phadnis and Mahadji Shinde by entering into secret correspondence with Shinde and bribing him with money to fan his rivalry. Shinde, however, had not done anything to encourage Nizam. Since 1782, Nizam was leaning heavily on the English for their support. After the war of 1792 with Tipoo, there were talks of perpetuating the alliance, giving protection to Nizam, which would have given him an opportunity to save his independence from Marathas. Taking into consideration the British policy towards native states (which was in the interest of the Company), the broken power of Mysore state, the death of Mahadji Shinde, time was opportune for Peshwa (i.e. Nana Phadnis) to press his demands about long standing arrears.

Activities of Nizam and the behaviour of Azam-ul-Umra had alienated many powers. The result was that no power was prepared to help Nizam.

War and Treaty of Kharda :

On 26th December 1794, Peshwa started with his armies

in the direction of Nizam's territory. All the important sardars had joined the Peshwa. 'Daulatrao Shinde was sent with an army on a campaign and presents of clothes and jewellery were made to him.'²⁷⁵ 'The Peshwa visited Tukoji Holkar at his tent.'²⁷⁶ The battle between the two armies took place in the vicinity of Kharda. On 11th and 12th March, 1795 Nizam was completely defeated. He surrendered and submitted himself to a humiliating peace treaty. This treaty is important because some articles of this treaty reveal the objective, continuously cherished by the Chhatrapatis from Shivaji onwards and by the Peshwas. The peace treaty²⁷⁷ was concluded on 10th April, 1795. According to this treaty it was agreed that -

(a) The territory of Hindustan (North India) and south India is governed by the Emperor at Delhi. For the administration of this territory, he who possesses the authority (i.e. Peshwa) should govern the territory. In short every order of the Emperor must be carried out.

(b) In Deccan there should be no cow slaughter at all. Muslims should enjoy all the religious rights like Nimaz, Roja, Bangsalbat etc.

275. Diary of Savai Madhavrao Peshwa, Part II.

276. " "

277. Aitihāsik Patravyavahar.

(c) Hindus and Muslims are both the children of God. While the people of both religions are observing the canons of their respective religions, it will be unjust on the part of the Muslims to create trouble to Hindus. Uptill Now, Hindus have never considered Muslim Pirs and Paigambar as something alien to them. Therefore, no Muslim should create any trouble to Hindu religion. Both should observe their respective religions without any obstruction to each other.

Principles Underlying Treaty :

This important treaty reflects three important principles - (a) Legal sovereignty of the Mughal Emperor over all the powers of Hindustan. (b) Religious freedom to Hindus and Muslims alike, (c) Banning of cow slaughter - the cherished ideal of the Hindus.

Nizam ceded his territory worth 33 lakhs of Rupees annually and promised to pay Rs. 3 crores as war indemnity. Yet the 'victory of Kharda proved 'a dead sea fruit' as the terms of treaty were never fulfilled by the Nizam. The death of Savai Madhavrao Peshwa and the chaotic situation which followed ended ultimately in Peshwa signing the treaty of Bassein in 1802. The Maratha Quasi-federal State, really speaking ended in 1795. What remained afterwards was a caricature of plots and counter plots, looting and arson. Peshwa spent his time and property amongst dancers and singers and menial servants. What remains now is to narrate the

history in a few sentences. There was neither any ideal nor any political thought worth consideration. On 27th October 1795 Savai Madhavrao Peshwa died. His death brought the end of the regency of Nana Phadnis. The battle of Kharda was the last act in which Nana Phadnis's success can be seen. Nana Phadnis lost his power in 1796. He died in prison on 13th March 1800. Therefore, it will be correct to conclude that the battle of Kharda was fruitful only from the political point of view. From territorial and financial point of view, it was fruitless. Its significance lies only in bringing all the Maratha sardars, under one flag, for the last time in the history of Marathas.

From 1795 onwards, the period of confusion started. It will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Chapter VIII

THE PERIOD OF CONFUSION.

Queer Situation :

From the birth of Savai Madhavrao in 1774 to his death in 1795, Nana Phadnis had administered the Maratha State from Poona. Savai Madhavrao was guided and controlled by him. The mistake committed by Nana towards Peshwa was, that he did not allow Savai Madhavrao to participate in the administration. Theoretically, Peshwa had become now the central figure of Maratha Empire. All orders were issued under his name and Seal. Yet in practice, he could not enjoy freedom. This was a queer situation. Savai Madhavrao, in 1795 had attained twenty one years of age and naturally he was irritated at the restraints placed on him. He secretly entered into correspondence with Baji Rao^{II}, his only serving kith and kin, who was kept as a prisoner in Junnar. Savai Madhavrao and Bajirao^I, both were of the same age - Bajirao^I being younger by nearly nine months. Savai Madhavrao's letters were intercepted by Nana Phadnis and he was upbraided by Nana for the folly of communicating with 'enemies'. The result was that Savai Madhavrao developed a melancholic temper and in a mood of despondency threw himself down the balcony of his palace on 25th October 1795 and died 27th October 1795. The situation in 1750 and in 1795 is identical and a logical

step in the downward direction - only the individuals are different - The situation in which the Chhatrapati Ram Raja was placed by Nanasaheb Peshwa in 1750 and the situation in which Savai Madhavrao Peshwa was placed by Nana Phadnis are similar. In 1750, Peshwa usurped the authority of Chhatrapati, in 1795 (actually in 1774) Nana Phadnis usurped the authority of Peshwa.

Baji Rao:

After the death of Savai Madhavrao, an ironical situation developed. Bajirao - the son of Raghunathrao, who was charged as a murderer of Narayanrao Peshwa and who sought refuge with English Company - was the rightful successor of the Peshwaship. Nana Phadnis attempted to prevent Bajirao's succession but his attempts were foiled by popular sentiment and the hostility of Daulatrao Shinde towards him. The best course open to Nana Phadnis was to resign his post and keep himself away from power. But Nana Phadnis, who had enjoyed power for the last twenty years, was not prepared to relinquish it. In this attempt he was involved in a maze of intrigues and counter intrigues, conspiracies of different nature which ultimately created a chaotic and anarchical situation in Maharashtra and the Maratha Empire.

Conflicts :

The first idea which Nana Phadnis mooted was to

adopt a son, and to rule in his name. But this move was not popular and nobody supported it. Meanwhile Bajirao contacted Daulatrao Shinde and the English. Daulatrao and Bajirao entered into agreement. But before it could materialise, Bajirao was released by Nana. Bajirao's release without the help of Daulatrao created a gulf between the two. Shinde now decided to march to Poona. Nana Phadnis left Poona. Shinde demanded the stipulated amount from Bajirao, which he was unable to pay. Shinde, therefore, imprisoned Bajirao and with the help of Parashurambhau Patwardhan declared Chimnaji Appa, younger brother of Bajirao as Peshwa. But Parashurambhau Patwardhan was unable to meet the demands of Shinde. Bajirao, who had lost his Peshwanship, wrote to Nana Phadnis, who was at Mahad. From Mahad Nana Phadnis wrote letters to (i) Holkar, (ii) Bhosale, (iii) Raja of Kolhapur, (iv) British at Bombay, (v) Nizam and (vi) Tipoo Sultan. To whom letters were written is also an important fact from the political point of view. Out of these six, only two were sardars of original Quasi-federal Maratha state. The Raja of Kolhapur was a Maratha, but Kolhapur from 1700 onwards had always clashed with Satara. It was an independent state. British was a foreign power, Tipoo Sultan and Nizam were obviously enemies of Maratha state, who could not forget the treachery of the Marathas in 1792 and 1795, respectively. All were eager to help not for the common national cause, but for their own self interest. This clearly showed the changed nature of

the Maratha Empire. Idealism was lost and its place was taken by the lust for power and money. Nana wrote to Daulatrao Shinde. His attempts bore fruit. ~~He returned~~ He returned to Poona and assumed office in November 1795. Bajirao was released from Shinde's confinement and was duly invested with Peshwaship.

Differences between Nana and Bajirao - Chaos :

Differences between Nana Phadnis and Bajirao started immediately. Old hatred and jealousies were revived. Bajirao entered into secret pact with Daulatrao Shinde. Shinde's guards were posted around Shaniwarwada. To protect himself Nana Phadnis engaged Arab soldiers. Bajirao spent his life in parties, low favourites and sensuous gaiety. Taxes were imposed on ryots. Bajirao never attended to the affairs of state but spent his time among dancers, singers and menial servants. In 1797, Tukoji Holkar died and quarrel succession arose. Tukoji Holkar had four sons. Eldest Kashirao invited Daulatrao Shinde for help. A war between Holkar and Shinde started. Nana Phadnis had been to Shinde's camp, where he was treacherously arrested in December 1797. Shinde with the help of Sarjerao Ghatge plundered the house of Nana Phadnis and his followers. The Poona Residency of the English had recorded the situation. It states : "The city of Poona was a like a town taken by a storm; all night and the ensuing day there was firing, uproar, plunder and bloodshed. Ghatge seized merchants, bankers, money-

lenders, in fact whomsoever he suspected of wealth, tortured them and made them disgorge their wealth; several died on the rack and several committed suicide." (P.R.C.) At the same time the quarrel between the widows of Mahadji Shinde and Daulatrao started; by which the spirit of dissatisfaction was spread in the army. Daulatrao Shinde released Nana Phadnis, and Bajirao requested him to assume administration. He had to face difficulties on all sides. Satara Raja was fighting against Peshwa; Kolhapur Raja invaded the territory of Patwardhans and killed Parashurambhau Patwardhan in September 1799. The troops of Shinde, Holkar ravaged the whole Maharashtra. Sons of Maharashtra forgot the advice of Ramdas and Shivaji. Life and property of the Maharashtrians in their very motherland became insecure. In such anarchical situation Nana Phadnis died on 13th March 1800 - "with him departed all wisdom and moderation ~~and~~ of the Maratha Government." Now war between Shinde and Yeshwantrao Holkar started. Bajirao was unable to avert this war. In 1801, Shinde's army was defeated by Holkar at Ujjain but followed by a defeat of Holkar in the very year.- at Indore. War now crossed the river Narmada and entered into the South. Shinde finally left Poona. Bajirao was now free. Instead of following a rational policy, Bajirao now adopted a policy of revenge. A number of important people like Phadke, Chitnis, Raste, Patankar, Gadre, Waishampayan, Damle, Athavale, etc. were arrested. There were many revolts. Vithoji Holkar was captured and put to

death. Therefore, Yeshwantrao Holkar 'vowed vengeance on those whom he considered his brother's murderers.' He defeated the joint army of Shinde and Peshwa in October 1801. Bajirao Peshwa ~~had~~ fled to the British for protection. His action culminated into signing a treaty of Bassein.

Treaty of Bassein :

It was settled ²⁷⁸ that the English should ^{Keep} six battalions for service under government and that they (English) should be given a territory worth Rs. 26 lakhs in Gujrath and Marnatic as detailed in a separate memo in English language. Orders were issued to the officers of Gujrath and Karnatak to allow the English to occupy the territory specified in the memo " In 1803-04 'the fort and amal of Parnera in Gujrath were included in the territory worth Rs. 26 lakh assigned to them (English) in consideration of their placing six battalions at the disposal of the government. Orders were now issued for the surrender of the fort and mahal in question.' It was agreed (1803-1804) in the treaty of Bassein concluded in the preceeding year with the English, that the Peshwa should hand over a territory worth Rs. 26 lakhs to the English in consideration of the latter placing six battalions at his disposal. Paragana Urpada etc. in Gujrath and Prant Sawnur in Karnatak

worth in all Rs. 26 lakhs were accordingly made over to the English. A portion of this territory worth Rs. 19,16,000 was now with the consent of the English taken back by the government and in lieu thereof a portion of the territory in Bundelkhand surrendered by Ali Bahadur etc. worth Rs. 19,16,000 was given to them in saranjam. Additional territory in Bundelkhand was also given for the following reasons, worth Rs. 50,000 - (1) In consideration of the revenue realised from Paragana Urapad taken back by the government. (2) In consideration of the English keeping 1000 sawars for the service under the Peshwa. (3) In consideration of the English agreeing to pay the expenses of 5000 men entertained by the Peshwa for assisting the English till the close of the war. (The 15th article in the treaty of Bassein which stipulated that the Peshwa should send 10,000 sawars and 6000 soldiers for assistance to the English in times of war, was cancelled and he was now to furnish only 5000 sawars and 3000 soldiers.) (4) In consideration of the expenses required for restoring peace and order in Bundelkhand. The total value of the territory surrendered was Rs. 36,16,000.'

Independence lost :

With the treaty of Bassein, not only the Peshwa lost his independence but the independence of the Maratha State also. The English had struck at the roots of the Maratha

state. It was now a question of time only when the branches would fall. The Peshwa agreed that he would not employ any European into his service without the permission of the British government. Henceforward the six English battalions were going to maintain the power of the Peshwa to protect him against internal and external enemies. Obviously, English Company was going to exercise a strict control over the affairs of the Peshwa.

The same weapon, which Marathas had used to crush the powers in India from 1720 to 1795, was used by the British. Just as Marathas were collecting Chauth and Sardeshmukhi as agents of the Delhi Emperor, similarly, British now began to subdue other Maratha sardars in the name of Peshwa. Maratha sardars like Holkar, Bhosale and Shinde were not prepared to accept the treaty of Bassein. But in this situation also, they failed to effect a united stand against British. One after another, the armies of Holkar, Bhosale and Shinde were defeated by the English.

Bajirao and Company :

In the beginning, cordial relationship existed between English and Bajirao. Bajirao started enjoying life in vicious pleasures and religious observances. ²⁷⁹ In

1805-06 'Rs. 47005 are debited as private expenses of the Peshwa without details.' 'Lady Ramabai died ... the expenses on account of charities ... came to Rs. 1,27,285.' The food expenses at the Shukrawar Palace were formed for Rs. 60,000. In 1807-1808, the food expenses were formed for Rs. 29,000 a year. In 1807-1808 'there is a debit of 20 lakhs of rupees for the private expenses of the Peshwa.' In the same year 'Rs. 1,79,769 are debited in the name of the Peshwa, on account of his private expenses.' When a son was born to Peshwa, Rs. 1,78,641 were spent in charity.' The British Resident at Poona only took care to see that Peshwa did not involve himself in foreign intrigues. The British Resident tactfully avoided unpleasant discussion.

Different Interpretations :

The difference between the two was bound to arise because the interpretation of the treaty of Bassein. What Bajirao thought was, that he could establish his authority over his subordinate sardars with the help of six English battalions; while the British interpretation was totally different. They were not prepared to do what Peshwa would like them to do. In 1812, Elphinstone extended to Jagirdars of South, British guarantee of protection. This came as a surprise to Peshwa. Thus, the rift between the two started. Gangadhar Shastri was murdered on 20th July 1815; British Resident demanded punishment to the authors and instigators of the crime. Trimbakji Dengle who was arrested and kept

in prison, escaped from prison on 12th September 1816. Peshwa prepared for war. British delivered ultimatum, insisting on the immediate surrender of Trimbakji Dengele. Elphinstone demanded the three forts - Sinhagad, Purandar and Rayagad - which were surrendered. Peshwa agreed to recall his agents from foreign courts including those of the former Maratha sardars. For maintaining additional troops, Peshwa agreed to pay Rs. 34 lakhs and abandoned all claims over territories beyond Narmada.

End of the Maratha Rule :

Peshwa's army under Bapu Gokhale, burnt down the British Residency at Poona and attacked the small British force on 5th November 1817. In February 1818, Bapu Gokhale was killed in the battle of Ashti. The Raja of Satara was freed. Bajirao surrendered on 3rd June 1818. The Peshwa-ship was abolished and the territory was taken under the British administration. Thus ended the glorious tradition created by Balaji Vishwanath and Bajirao. Maharashtra, i.e. Swarajya territory became a part of British dominion in India. The prediction of common man in 1800 came to be true. On 16th April 1800, Vitthalrao Goraksha Walawalikar, agent of Portuguese authority in Goa, wrote from Poona to Goa, vividly describing the situation existing in Poona at that time. In this letter he states : 'In this Darbar there is the dearth of money. Maratha sardars behave towards each other in enimical manner. By their lootings they have

devastated this territory. Though theoretically they have accepted the sovereign power of the Peshwa, Sardars obey the orders of Peshwa if they think that they all are in their interest. Officers of this (Poona) government and Shinde are always complaining because of the non-receipt of their salaries. The British Resident at Poona spends a lot of amount and pays big nazaranas to the Peshwa. The people here are generally saying that very soon the British are going to obtain this territory.' ²⁸⁰ The Peshwa and the sardars of the Maratha state failed to visualise what common man in Poona had visualised. The political prediction of ²⁸¹ the common man came to be true. A letter written by an unknown author in February 1802 states that the 'State is encircled from all sides by English. English at Surat entered the territory of Gaikwad of Baroda on the ground of rendering help and now everywhere in India they have entered. Let us see what will happen in future.' Future was already sealed. With the treaty of Bassein in 1802 and war in 1818 with English Maratha rule came to an end.

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Chapter IX

Miscellaneous
BOOKS AND ~~STORY~~ THOUGHTS

'Adnyapatra' and 'Narayan Vyavahar Shiksha' are the two important books which were written during this period. These books are usually described as 'books on political science.' Therefore, in this chapter an attempt is made to examine these two books and the political thought contained in them. However, it should be kindly noted that detailed and exhaustive notes on these books are not attempted. It will be a matter sufficient for a new book.

Adnyapatra :

Out of the two, Adnyapatra is obviously a more important book. It is also known as Amatyachi Rajniti or Maratheshahitil Rajniti meaning 'Political Thought of Amatya' (a minister) or 'Political Thought during the Maratha Regime.' The book is written in a traditional manner, that means it gives orders or directions for a prince about the administration of the state. This book can be properly called as a 'book of administration' because it rarely deals with what we can call as an abstract political thought. This Adnyapatra was written by Ramchandra pant Amatya at the instance of Raja Sambhaji of Kolhapur in 1715. In the first two chapters Amatya has traced the history from the time of Shivaji down to Rajaram. In the

last part of the second chapter, Amatya had given the purpose for writing this Adnyapatra. He states that this Adnyapatra is written for the princes who have to shoulder the responsibility of the state. For this they should be learned, should be able to govern the state according²⁸² to religious principles. From third chapter onwards, it deals with the proper subject. Amatya states the 'The theory of Divine Origin of Kings and states the aim of the State as protection of people.' In order to achieve the aim of the state, he refers to the qualities which are essential for a prince. The Prince should see that people are behaving according to their respective religion. He should punish the guilty and the criminals as per rules of sacred religion. Physically handicapped should be protected.

There are directions given in this book about the personal safety of the King. Directions are given about the recruitment of the persons, who are to be employed in the services of the king. The most important direction is the continuous modernisation of armament.²⁸³ The king should guard himself from eulogists. Because love of one's own eulogy from eulogists is a vice.²⁸⁴

282. Adnyapatra.

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Important direction about other aspects of the state are as follows :

(A) Finance : Treasury is the life-spring of the state ²⁸⁵. The Prince should always make attempts by which the treasury is increased. Because with the help of money, contingent events can be averted. All the employees should be regularly paid. If any one of them had done any special work, he should be awarded, but his salary should not be increased. Encouragement to traders and protection to them, should be given.

(B) Military : Prince should personally know the art of war. If he fails in this aspect, he will have to depend upon the lower staff. In such situation Sardars will not do the work properly. The military is the most important organ of the government. ²⁸⁶

(C) Ministry : Without ministers, ²⁸⁷ it will be impossible for a king to administer the state. Therefore, ministers are essential for the state. For the efficient administration of the state, powerful and capable ministers are essential. (Amatyā goes on describing the importance of the ministers) and the qualities which

285. आसामय

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are essential for them. Amatya deals with the relationship between Prince and Ministers. He states that ministers should not be insulted. Even if a minister has committed a mistake, the king should not speak about it in public. King should be very careful about the self-respect of the minister. Amatya then describes the functions and behaviour of the ministers. Concentration of all administrative power in the hands of one minister is a very dangerous thing because it breeds hatred among co-equals. Therefore, the king should avoid the concentration of authority because it destroys the administration.

(D) Trade and Commerce : Flourishy Trade and Commerce make the state prosperous and happy. Protection should be given to traders. Traders should not be insulted. They should be provided proper place, market etc. for their business. Attempts should be made by which the traders will feel happy and contented.

There are a few foreign traders like Portuguese, English, French and Dutch. But they are different from other traders. Because every trader of this nature, has its own state behind him. They are here because their

288. आशापत्र

289. "

290. "

respective states had encouraged them to come here. Their intention is to enter into this territory, to increase their trade and to establish their faith. They are haughty- once they are entrenched, it is very difficult to dislodge them. Therefore, ample precaution should be taken regarding these foreign traders.

(E) Watans : Patil, Deshkulkarni and Deshmukhs etc. are the watandars of the state. They enjoy autonomy. Watandars are not ordinary or insignificant people. They are the enemies of the state, because they are not loyal to the Swami, i.e. king of the state. They are not satisfied with what they have. They are greedy. Whenever a foreign aggression takes place, these watandars enter into peace agreement with the aggressor for the protection of their watan. On their own accord they wait on the aggressor, convey him the loopholes of this state and the other and allow the aggressor to enter into the state. Therefore, these watandars should be bound both by friendship and fear of punishment. They should be allowed to enjoy their watan, but they should not be allowed to govern the people.

(F) Writtis and Inams : Writtis should be continued. Writtis should neither be confiscated nor should be transferred. If anybody had failed to perform his writti, he should be punished.

New writtis should not be given. Similarly, new Inams should not be given. Distribution of land as a religious act is good, but there should be a limit.

(G) Forts of Different Type : The directions given for the forts of ^{different} types are really meant for the defence of the state. Without defence, state will be meaningless and it will always be exposed to foreign aggression. Boundaries of the state should be well protected. During the period of Amatya, forts occupies a very vital position from the defence point of view. Therefore, Amatya goes into the details of the maintenance, organisation, construction and protection of the forts.

Amatya says that the navy is an important organ of the state. ²⁹¹ A state which possesses navy, controls the sea also. Amatya has realised the importance of navy. He goes on giving direction to the organisation, maintenance, construction of navy. He refers to the relations with trading ships also. He further refers to naval battle and naval camp.

Thus, Adnyapatra is a best guide on administration of a state for a young prince, fit to govern a medieaval

kingdom. There is very little abstract thought which can be properly described as a political thought.

Narayanvyavahar Shiksha :

This book was prepared by Nana Phadnis for Savai Madhavrao Peshwa, in 1789. It is said that Savai Madhavrao used to listen to this vyavahar shiksha early in the morning every day. This is work of collection, divided into three parts. This book contains very little political thought. One does not know the necessity of such a collection, when there was already a best book written by Amatya. We do not know whether Savai Madhavrao had read 'Adnyapatra' by Amatya.

Stray Thoughts :

Shahu and Peshwas have realised the danger in concentrating dual authority in the hands of the same person in the administrative organisation. The dual authority - civil and military - in the hands of the same person had created a difficulty. Conflicts emanated from it. Therefore it was stressed that division of the work and authority is essential. Shahu agreed to this, after carefully listening to the arguments.
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In a letter ²⁹³ written by Madhavrao Anant Vedanti in 1783 to Peshwa, there are a few thoughts mentioned. Vedanti states that you should be proud of Hindu religion. Interest of the state should always be protected. Morality is the basis of the state. Power of punishment in the hands of king should not be always used and without any ~~result~~ ^{result} it should not be used. The state is lost where the morality is lost.

Ramdas :

Ample material is available on Ramdas in Marathi literature. 'Political Thought of Ramdas' is a special subject for study. Here we have merely enumerated a few thoughts from Ramdas. In the writings of Saint Ramdas, there are a few political thoughts. Ramdas had expressed his views in respect of power, unity, hierarchy, means and ends etc. According to him power is essential for a state. He, ²⁹⁴ who rules without power is a fool. Unity is essential for the state because it makes state strong. In his writings Ramdas had used the word 'Dharma - Sthapana' (धर्म-स्थापना) to denote his concept of socio-politico-religious revolution. His political outlook is very pragmatic.

293. Marathyanchoy Itihasachi Sadhane, Vol. 6

294. Samagra Grantha of Ramdas.

He has enumerated qualities which are essential in a leader. He says, a leader's tongue - i.e. speech - should always be sweet because it is the source of friendship; the leader should be beneficent, peoples' pleasure should be his pleasure, and their sorrow his sorrow. The leader should first learn and then teach. He should secretly organise big rallies. The leader should keep the key points in his hands and set the rest done by others. Ramdas states that the aim of the state should be the happiness of all. The concept of an ideal state, ^{is revealed} in the word 'Ram Rajya' and the very word 'Ram Rajya' had been coined by Ramdas; this word has also been used by Gandhiji. Ramdas, however, believes that means are inherently neither good nor bad. It is the end that makes them good or bad. He believes in the principle of 'tit for tat'. Ramdas probably anticipated the modern technique of mass rousing and organised background activity which are essential for a successful revolution. Maharashtra was fortunate in the 17th century to be guided by the personalities of Ramdas and Shivaji. Unfortunately, there was nobody in the 18th century, who can be compared with Ramdas, to guide the Quasi-federal Maratha state. Had there been a personality like Ramdas, particularly in the last quarter of the 18th century in Maharashtra, the course of the Indian history would have been probably different

Rajakaran : (राजकारण)

In the writings of Ramdas, in the Bakhars, in the correspondence - both official and non-official, there occurs this Marathi word 'Rajakaran' which today means 'Politics'. While giving priority orders in respect of duties, Ramdas had given first priority to 'Harikatha Nirupana' (हरिकथा निरूपण) i.e. the worship of the God and second priority to 'Rajakaran'. Broadly speaking, the word 'Rajakaran' is used by Ramdas to denote 'duties of individual towards state.' In the Bakhars and correspondence, it is usually used to denote 'some work' of government. For example - on 17th February 1715 Shahu orders that 'formerly the task of Chanda was assigned to Visaji Raghunath, now you are directed to fulfil that task'.²⁹⁵ It means 'any discussion' relating to governmental matters or settlement of any political affairs. For example, Nanasaheb Peshwa was at Satara in 1751 and he wanted to settle the matters with Tarabai. But she refused.²⁹⁶ The work of secret nature, diplomatic work, was also called as 'Rajakaran'.²⁹⁷ For example, Madhavrao Peshwa had used the word 'Rajakaran' in that context in 1762 - 63.

295. Shahu Daptar, Humal No. 49

296. Marathyanchnya Itihasachi Sadhane, Vol. 6

297. Diary of Thorale Madhavrao Peshwa, Part I.

Therefore, it will be clear from these examples, that the word 'Rajakaran' has not been used to denote any 'political thought' as such. By far the most it can be properly interpreted as 'work relating to government.'

Conclusion :

The fall of the Maratha Empire is not merely due to lack of character, capacity, organisation, personality; inferiority of discipline, war equipment, technique of warfare, command; etc. because all these factors were there, but it is due to the nature of the society and the political thought governing that society. Maratha society in the 17th and the 18th centuries was essentially a medieaval society, governed by medieaval political thought, i.e. firstly of feudalism, and later on nationalism having certain elements of feudalism. When it has to face a similar society and state, i.e. societies from North India and the Mughal state, it was successful, because the nature of the states and powers were also 'feudal'. But when Marathas, or for that matter any power in India, had to face English, means they had to face a dissimilar power - a power springing from rapidly industrialising society, governed by the modern political thought in the West. The political thought in Maharashtra, though ahead of other regions of India, was lagging behind from the Western political thought. The uniqueness of Maharashtra's political thought lies in its 'nationalism' which enabled it to free

itself from foreign domination in the 17th century and to expand in the 18th century, into all directions of India. However, the dynamism which was existing in the 17th century and in the first half of the 18th century, disappeared from the political field. The rise and fall of the Maratha State is due to the rise of the new political thought in Maharashtra in the 17th century, and its downfall is due to the total lack of any new political thought in the latter half of the 18th century. This is the conclusion which we can draw from the study of the 'Political Thought in Maharashtra' from 1600 - 1818.

POLITICAL THOUGHT IN MAHARASHTRA.

(1600 - 1818)

A P P E N D I X.

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2	11	Water's Yuan Chwang : 239
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4	13	तेथ यदुवंस विलास । सकळ कळा निवास । न्यायाते पोर्षी क्षितीस । श्री रामचंद्र ॥
5	16	राजे प्रष्ट यवन झाले । ठायी ठायी दोष घडले । मग अिही अवतार केले । कलिदोष हरावया ॥ नामदेव.
6	16	Dyaneshwari - Canto 18. ज्ञानेश्वरी - अध्याय १८
7	17	आणि म्लेच्छ तो असा । यवनाची सेवा करी अहर्णिता । तेणे पडे फासा । खोटेपणाच्या । म्या केली हराम- खोरी । आतां न मारावे तोटवेरी । असे बोळां घोत्रावीरी । विष्टाचि केली । ००

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- 8 18 Patrasarsangraha - Part I - page 7
पत्रसारसंग्रह - भाग १ - पृष्ठ ७ - पत्रे ३०, ३१, ३३,
४३. मोगलांचे फितरतीमध्ये कागद गुम झाले (जाले)
- 9 18 Patrasarsangraha
पत्रसारसंग्रह, पत्र ५०, (१४ जानेवारी १६११) ...
"तू गुन्हेंगार, तुज देहान्त प्रायश्चित्त द्यावे. परंतु
मुसलमानांची पातशाही व तूही मुसलमान याकरिता
क्षमा झाली."
- 10 18 "अिदिलशाही नामजादी पुणा येअनु वसली. पुणे
लुटून जाऊन तळक केले. कोट पाडिला."
- 11 18 फा.सा.खंड १ ले. ८१
- 12 19 "हे परमेश्वरा, हे म्हमुदा, ... कृपेसाठी तीस
व तीन देवळे मोडली."
- 13 19 "सालगुदस्ता मोगली गांव मारिला. गुरे ढोरे ...
तमाम नगरास आणिला ... माणसे लेकरे, बाजीला
से दीडसे बंदी राहिली कित्ते बंदीखानी मेळी."
- 14 19 Patrasarsangraha
पत्रसारसंग्रह - "सालगुदस्ता मोगल येअन तमाम
सिवार तसनस केला ... रयतेसी बहुत जलल केली ...
लोक परांगंदा जाले."
- 15 19 Patrasarsangraha
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ब्राह्मणासी बहू । छळियेले ॥
हिंदुधर्म जिंकुके । तितुके वर्जियेले ।
राजुळ विध्वंसिले । पंढरीचे ॥
केल्ले मशीद । महावदार मोडूनी ।
सातमास पूर्ण । झाले यासी ॥
मूर्ति सिंहासना - । हू नी अळ्यादिली ।
गुप्त हो ठेविली । बडव्यानी ॥

17 19 पुरातन स्थळ । अमुचे पंढरपुर ।
मोडुनी महावदार । मशीद केली ।
मोडून मशीद । देऊळ स्थापावे ।
पहिले होते बरवे । जसे तसे ॥

18 20 S.R.Sharma - The Founding of Maratha
Freedom - page 41.

19 21 S.R.Sharma - The Founding of Maratha
Freedom - page 43.

20 22 Grant Duff - History of the Marathas

Chapter THREE : Pre - Shivaji Period.

21 26 Compare the Policy adopted by the
Indian National Congress during
1885 - 1906.

Chapter Three (continued)

21 A 27

केळुस्कर - शिवाजी महाराजांचे चरित्र - पृ. १३ व १४
... तेथे त्यांनी (मालोजीने) पारघ करून दोन
डुकरे मास्तन ती दौलताबादेजवळच्या मशिदीत
टाकली.

'' ... बादशहाने मालोजीस व किठोजीस मोठ्या
स्नेहभावाने बोलावून प्रत्येकी बारा हजारांची
मनसब दिली व मालोजीस 'राजे' हा किताब देऊन
शिक्नेरी व चाकण हे किल्ले व त्या सभोवतालचा
मुख्य सरंजामादाखल दिला आणि पुणे व सुपे ह्या
परगण्यांची जहागीर करून दिली. हे वर्तमान सन
१६०४ च्या मार्च महिन्यात घडले.

मराठ्यांच्या इतिहासाची साधने - खंड ४ था
(३७-३८) व शिवदिग्विजय

'' ... सुद्ध मालोजीस पंच हजारी मनसबदारीची
वस्त्रे लग्नाच्या (जहाजीच्या) आधी त्याच
वर्षीच्या चैत्र व. ५ मी स (२५ मार्च १६०४) दिली
व फौजेच्या खवीकरिता त्याला काही ठाणी व
किल्ले नेमून दिले.

पत्रसारसंग्रह भाग १ (२९) पृ. ७ १०-८-१६०६

'' मालोजी आणि किठोजी भोसले यांस अंबर,
दे-हाडी, व कन्नरड हे तीन परगणे द्या जातेभाव
आणि लासूर, आधारसूल पोरले पिंपळवाडी गोडगौ
ही गांवे बाबा म्हसुलेसी दुबाला की जे.

Chapter Three (continued)

22 28 Sabhasad Bakhar. समासद बखर.
" म्हणून राजश्री मालोजी राजे यांनी तेथे जागा पाहून
तळे अंक थोर बांधिले. सर्वत्र लोकांस मुदक काय्यास
येथीं असो केले."

23 33 The Indian National Congress required
forty-four years (1885-1929) to adopt
a resolution demanding complete inde-
pendence (on the banks of Ravi river in
Punjab under the Presidentship of Jawa-
harlal Nehru in 1929).

24 35 In addition to this there were 35 poets
who were not very famous. Jayaram
Pindye had given the names of all these
poets.

Chapter Three

25 39 " He (Shahaji) was no doubt the
greatest Hindu General in those days
whose help could have saved Vijaynagar
for some more years ... If Shahaji had
left the cause of Bijapur and had taken
up that of Vijayanagar, the history of
the Karnatak could have taken a different
turn. The foundation of the Maratha
power in the South which he led by his
Bijapur service could as well have been

Chapter Three (continued)

- 25 39 lain by the Vijayanagar service (Vijayanagar Commemoration Volume) - *little of the article ?*
- D.B.Diksalkar.

Chapter FOUR : Towards National State

(A) 1645-1660

- 26 42 या मूढळाचे ठार्या । धर्म रती असा नाही ।
महाराष्ट्र धर्म राहिला काही । तुम्हा करिता ॥
'श्री रामदासांचे समग्र ग्रंथ' पृ. ६३० - शिवाजी
महाराजास पत्र, ओवी ९.
- 27 43 Dyaneshwari - Canto 18.
Dyaneshwar asks one pertinent question
to those who thought that vernacular
language i.e. Marathi is inferior to
Sanskrit as follows : संस्कृत भाषा देवे केली ।
प्राकृत काय चोरापासोनी झाली १ ॥
ज्ञानेश्वरी - अध्याय १५ आठरावा.
- 28 44 ब्राह्मण बुद्धीपासून चवले ... । कित्येक पिरासी
भजती । कित्येक तुरुक होता । आपुले जिळने ॥
राज्य नेले म्लेंच्छी क्षेत्री । गुरुत्व नेले कुपात्री ।
आपण अरत्री ना परत्री । काहीच नाही ॥ ब्राह्मणास
ग्रामणीने बुडविले ... अि.अि.
दशक १४, समास ७, ओव्या ३१-४०

Chapter four (continued)

29 47

''... सांप्रत जे किल्ले व मुख्य विजापुरकराकडील तुमचे हातीं होते ते पेशजीप्रमाणें होवून तुमचे मनोगतान्वये बंदर दामोढ व त्याखालील मुख्य तुम्हास दिल्ला असे ... हुजूर मेठीस यावे ... आणि आमचा लोभ पूर्ण जाहे, असे मानीत जाणे.

शिवाजीराजे यांचा क्कील सोनोजीपंत याने औरंगजेबास मेटून '' विजापुरकरांचे शिवाजीराजे यांनी घेतलेले किल्ले व दामोढ बंदर व त्याखालील मुख्य यावर मराठ्यांचा अंमल चालवा याबद्दल मान्यतापत्र घेतले.

'पत्रसारसंग्रह' भाग १, पत्र क्र. ७२४.

30 47

''... तुमची अर्जवास्त कृष्णाजी भास्कर पंडित याचे पत्रासुद्धा रघुनाथपंत क्कील याज बरोबर ... तुमच्या पेशजीच्या गोष्टी विसराक्याजोग्या नाहीत. तथापि, तुम्ही आपले कृतकृत्याचा पश्चात्ताप केला आणि हा दरबार उपेक्षेचा नाही जाणोन ... अिकडील दौस्ती विषयी कोशिस करीत जावी.

पत्रसारसंग्रह खंड १, पत्र क्र. ७२९.

31 47

'त्या प्रांतातील काही किल्ले शिवाजीने बळकाविले

Chapter four (continued)

- 31 47 आहते तेथून त्याला चालून द्या. त्याला नोकरीत ठेवण्याची तुमची अिच्छा असेल तर त्याला क्नीटकात जहागीर द्या. म्हणजे त्याचा अपसर्ग मोगली मुलुबास पोचणार नाही ... माझ्या नोकरीत घेणार नाही.
- पत्रसारसंग्रह - भाग १,
पत्र क्र. ७४४ (१६५७ - ५८)
- 32 48 '... ५ जून १६५९, आम्हास सिंहासनाधीश्वर केले... दक्षिणेकडील सुभ्याचे कामावर बुमदे तुलमुलुक अमीराल बुमराव याची योजना केली आहे ... तुम्हीही त्याचे सल्ले बागून ... पूर्वीचे बोलणे अंमलात आणावे ... तुम्हाकरिता येथून पोषाख पाठविला आहे, हा घ्यावा.'
- पत्रसारसंग्रह भाग १, पत्र क्र. ७७५.
- 33 48 'या शिवाजीला औरंगजेबाचा पाठिंबा आहे.'
- पत्रसारसंग्रह, भाग १ - पत्र क्र. ७९२
- 34 49 आदब सरकारकृत शिवाजी, आवृत्ति पहिली,
पृष्ठ ६९, पत्रसारसंग्रह, खंड ३ - २८०८, २६१६ अ.
- 35 49 पत्रसारसंग्रह, खंड ३, २६१६, फारसककृत औरंगजेबाचे वरित्र, पृष्ठ ३५४
- 36 49 सनदापत्रे - पृ. १४९-१५१, मा.अि.सं.मंडळ,
पत्रसारसंग्रह खंड ३ (२६२१)
- 37 53 "शाहा तुजला विजापुरी नेअून गर्दन मारतील."
- पत्रसारसंग्रह भाग १ (५०४)
- 38 54 पत्रसारसंग्रह भाग १ (५०४)

Chapter four (continued)

- 39 54 " सहासी बेमानगिरी तुम्ही व आम्ही करीत नाही. श्री रोहिरेस्वर तुमचे खोरियातील आदिकुलदेव तुमचा डोंगरमाथा फठारावर स्वयंम् आहे. त्याणी आम्हास यज्ञ दिले व पुढे तो सर्व मनोरथ हिंदवी स्वराज्य करून पुरविणार आहे."
- 40 54 'हे राज्य व्हावे हे श्री चे मनात फार आहे.'
पत्रसारसंग्रह भाग १
- 41 54 'आमचे अम्योदयार्थ सूर्य प्रित्यर्थ प्रति वर्षी अनुष्ठान उत्तरोत्तर करावे व मंत्र उपदेशही स्वामींचे वंशपरंपरेने आमचे वंशपरंपरेस करावा. स्वामींनी निरंतर देवापासी आमचे कल्याण अिच्छावे.
पत्रसारसंग्रह भाग १ (६३१)
- 42 54 पत्रसारसंग्रह भाग १ (७१८) 'पृष्ठ १५७
'महाराज धर्मपरायण पुण्यबुद्धि आहेती.'
- 43 55 मराठी दप्तर, रुमाल ३, ले. २१, अि.स. १६५५
" आ कौलनामा ... तरी तुम्हास साहेब घरिच्या ल्करासारिले जाण्ति ... कोणेही गोष्टीचा रू न धरणे. तुमचे हजार गुन्हे माफ्त आहेती. तुम्हासी आम्ही काहीही वाअीठ कर्तु करु तरी आम्हास म्हादेवाची आण असे, व आअीसाहेबाची आण असे... आमच्या अिमानावरी आपली मान ठेअुनु आम्हापासी येणे. कोणे गोष्टी किंता न करणे."
- 44 55 शिवचरित्र साहित्य खंड ५. ले. ७६२

Chapter four (continued)

44 55 " ... केदारजी नाजीक खोपडे देखमुख ... जे वस्ती अफझल साहेबांचा तफेंस आला होता ... गनिमास मिळाले ... गनिमाच्या अंमल बरतरफ जाला. या करिता तुम्ही शक अंसेसा धरून ता। मज्जुरास न येऊन आपल्या हक्काबद्दल गांवगनास अजार देत आहा. तरी यामध्ये तुम्ही आपला काये फायदा समजले आहा ! साहेबासी गैर रज्जू असावे आणि आपल्या हक्कास खल्ल करून घ्यावे हे अकल तुम्हास कोणे दिधली आहे ! ... काही शक न धरणे. "

45 56 शिवाजीने निजामलाही कोकणातील मुसलमानांना त्रास देऊन, लूट करून पातशाही मुलुखांतील कित्येक किल्ले हस्तगत केले आहेत. त्याचा नाश (दफा) व अचलबांगडी (रफा) करण्यासाठी अफझलखान यांस तिकडे सुभेदार नेमून पाठविले आहेत. त्याच्या ताबेदारीत राहून शिवाजीला नष्ट (मुन्-दफा) आणि अचवाटित (मुस्तासल) करावे. त्याचे लोक आणि जनावरे वगैरेस जाश्रय देवू नये. जेथे सापडतील तेथे त्यांची कत्तल करावी.

पत्रसारसंग्रह भाग १ (७७४) - दि.वि.काळे,
शिवाजीचरित्र - पृष्ठ ६७, कान्होजी जेधे याला पाठविले-
ल्या फर्मानातील मज्जूर. (१६ जून १६९९)
46 56 शिवाजीचरित्र (काळे) पृष्ठ ६७ ... 'तुमचा बाप व बिरादर दहावीस वरिसे शिवाजी मोसलेवे चाकरी करीताती.

47 57 Bel-Bhandar has the same religious sanctity among Marathas which the Holy Bible, Bhagwat-Geeta, or Koran

Chapter four (continued)

- 47 57 has among the Christians, Hindus, or Muslims, respectively. *as if the Marathas are outside the Hindu fold.*
- 48 59 गोवे दप्तर - भारतमित्र वर्ष ७ अंक १०, ६-१-१९५५ पत्रसारसंग्रह खंड ३ (२५९६) "चेअत्वे हिंदु लोक दरियामध्ये अंधोली करिताती व नारळ टाकताती व अदमी सोलतो करिताती ते करत न देणे म्हणोनु लिहिले ... हे सरहद्दी आमची (चेजुलवी) आहे." - सिनोर कपितात कोट रेवडे.
- 49 59 'शिवाजी व पोर्तुगीज यांचे प्रत्यही मांडण होते. ते त्याच्या जातीच्या अनाथ मुलांना रोमन कॅथॉलिक धर्माची दीक्षा देतात म्हणून तो त्यांचा फार व्देष करतो.'
- पत्रसारसंग्रह भाग २ (१७९८) मुंबई कंपनी आर्म ११४-४ पृष्ठ १६४.
- 50 60 पत्रसारसंग्रह भाग १ (८७४) 'पन्हाळ्याच्या वेळ्यात जाअून जिअंज्रांचा बावटा फडकावून गोळे गुडविल्या बदलचे हे प्रायश्चित आहे.
- 51 65 North Vietnam had adopted the same policy.
- 52 68 पत्रसारसंग्रह भाग १ (१०४२), १६६५
- "जर तुज्या तीक्ष्ण तरवारीत पार्णी असेल व घोड्यात दम असेल तर हिंदु धर्मीच्या शत्रूंवर हल्ला करत न अस्ता माचे जड मूळ खोदून टाक ... म्ठमर मुसलमानांनी आमच्या अवेढ्या देशावर प्रमुत्व गाज्वावे ही मोठ्या आश्चर्याची गोष्ट आहे. पण हे प्रमुत्व त्यांच्या

Chapter four (continued)

52 68 पराक्रमाचे फक्त नव्हे ... आम्ही लोकांनी यावेळी हिंदु, हिंदुस्तान व हिंदु धर्म यांच्या संरक्षणार्थ फार जोराचे प्रयत्न केले पाहिजेत ... सर्व दक्षिण देशांच्या पटावरून अस्लामचे नांव किंवा चिन्ह घेऊन टाकीन ... शाहिस्तेखानाच्या खिशातून मी जे पत्र काढून घेतले आहे ते गुप्त पत्र मी तुला दाखवीन.'

53 69 पत्रसारसंग्रह - १०६७, १०६८, भाग १.
शिवाजी -- औरंगजेब ---
"मी आपला गुन्हेगार व अपराधी आहे ... बादशाही शिक्का व पंजा ... फर्मान जयसिंग यांनी आम्हास कळविली ... पोषाल आला ... मूषण."
दिलीरखान -- शिवाजी - "... (आपल्या) राजनिष्ठेचा बादशहानी स्वीकार केला, सहा हजारांची मन्सब, दोन लाख रुपये व्हीस, आणि निघाण व नौबत घेण्याची परवानगी, तुमच्या पुत्रास देण्याचा हुकूम सोडला आहे ... संभाजीला जिकडे पाठवून द्या."

54 69 जयसिंगाचे जाफरखानास पत्र - बाय सर जदुनाथ सरकार, मांडारकर कॉमे, व्हॉ. पृष्ठ ३०६-३०७
"विजापूर, गोवळकोंडा आणि शिवाजी या तिघां विरुद्ध सर्व सामर्थ्य अेकवटून मी प्रयत्न केला आहे... शिवाजीने कसे तरी मला अेकदा मेटावयास यावे ... म्हणजे संधी साधून माझे हृषार लोक त्याचा नाश करतील. हा बादशहाचा वंदा लोकांच्या निंदा -

Chapter four (continued)

- 54 69 स्तुतीकडे न पाहता बादशाही कार्य फत्ते करण्या करिता काहीही करण्यास तयार आहे ... माझ्या मुलाला त्याची मुलगी करण्याचे (खोटें) बोलणे लावण्यास देखील."
- 55 70 पत्रसारसंग्रह भाग १ (१११०), सर जॉर्ज ऑक्झर्डेन सुरत ... अँग्लिश कॅन्सल १७-२-१६६६.
" ... मोगलांनी खंडणी मान्य करून विजापुरावर सैन्य पाठविले ... त्यांना मागे हटावे लागले. शिवाजीने मोगली सैन्य अदिलशहाच्या तोंडी दिले. त्यामुळे असे झाले."
- 56 71 "संभाजी राजे सह वर्तमान राजेश्री राजगडावर आले" मार्गशीर्ष शु० ५. 7.N.
- 57 72 रामदास, दासबोध - दशक ११, समास ५
"फड नासोच न द्यावा । पडिला प्रसंग सावरावा ।..
"करणे असला अपाय । तरी बोलोन दाखूं नय । ...
- 58 72 पत्रसारसंग्रह भाग १ (१२००) शिवाजीस औरंगजेबाचे पत्र, ... 'आमचा बहुत लोभ तुम्हावर आहे. याज्जरिता तुम्हास राजेपणाचा न्तिव दिला आहे.'
- 59 73 पत्रसारसंग्रह भाग १ - ११८७ ... 'औरंगजेबाने मुसलमानांना ज्फालीची पूर्ण माफी ... हिंदूवर पूर्ववत व ख्रिस्त्यांनी अर्ध्या भरावयाच्या आहेत.'

Chapter four (continued)

60 73 पत्रसारसंग्रह भाग १ (१२८१) २३ जानेवारी १६७०
मुंबई, गॅरी - लॉर्ड आर्लिंग्टन -
' औरंगजेबाने धर्म सुधारणेच्या अंघ अत्साहाने अनेक
हिंदु देवाळ्यांचा विध्वंस केला आणि पुष्कळांना
मुसलमान होण्यास भाग पाडिले असून शिवाजीने
त्याच्याशी परत युद्ध सुरू केले जाहे.'

61 73 Many instances of Aurangzeb's frenzy
can be cited - 'he issued orders to all
the governors of provinces to destroy
with a willing hand the schools and
temples of the infidels; and they were
strictly enjoined to put an entire stop
to the teaching and practicing of
idolatrous forms of worship.
... (In December 1669) this justice
loving monarch, the constant enemy of
tyrants, commanded the destruction of
the Hindu temples of Mathura ...
Jewelled idols taken from temples were
placed beneath the steps leading to the
Nabab Begum Sahib's Mosque.'

62 75 Sabhasad Bakhar.
सभासद बखर.

Chapter four (continued)

- 63 78 Shivdigvijay. शिवदिग्विजय -
बाळाजी आवजी महाराजास म्हणतो, " ... जो
छत्रसिंहासनाधीन राजा असतो त्यास जीश्वरसदृश लोक
मानितात ... काही क्षत्रियान्वय असला पाहिजे
तेव्हा राज्याभिषेकास अधिकार ... " १.
- 64 78 Sabhasad Bakhar समासद बखर - पृ. ६४-६६
... " मठ गोसावी यांचे मते मुसलमान बादशाहा
तक्ती बसवून, छत्र धरून, पातशाही करितात आणि
शिवाजी राजे याणीही चार पातशाही दवविल्या
आणि पाऊण लाख घोडा लष्कर गड कोट असे असता
त्यास तक्ती नाही, याकरिता म-हाठा राजा छत्रपति
व्हावा असे चिंतास आणिले, आणि (हे) राज्यास
ही मानिले. अवघे मातबर लोक बोलावून विचार
करिता सर्वांचे मनास आले. तेव्हा मठ गोसावी
म्हणू लागले की, तक्ती बसावे. तेव्हा राज्याच्या
वंशाचा शोध करिता राजे शुद्ध क्षत्री शिसोदे अतरे
कडून दक्षिणेस अेक घराणे आले तेच राज्याचे घराणे
असे शोधले ... क्षेत्री वृत्तबंध केला. शुद्ध क्षत्रिय आधी
केला ... पुढे तक्तास्तव व्हावे. तक्ती बसवून मणांचे
... सप्त महा नदीयांची अुदके ... थोर थोर नदिया
... समुद्र ... तीर्थक्षेत्र ... सुवर्णाचे कलश, तांबे केले
... आठ कलश ... यांची सर्वांची पूजा करून ...
अभिषेकास सुवर्ण चौकावर बसले. अष्ट प्रधान व थोर
थोर ब्राह्मणांनी स्थळोस्थळीची अुदके करून सुवर्ण
कलश पात्री अभिषेक केला ... नमस्कार करून सिंहा
सनावर बसले ... यथे प्रमाणे राजे सिंहासनावर

Chapter four (continued)

- 64 78 झाले. या युगी सर्व पृथ्वीवर म्लेंच्छ बादशाह, म-हाठ पातशाह येवढा छत्रपति झाला. ही गोष्ट काही सामान्य झाली नाही."
- 65 79 Note the procedure which Shivaji followed. This proves beyond doubt that he was not a despot or an autocrat.
- 66 81 Dyaneshwar ज्ञानेश्वर -
वायांचि व्याकुळ काळी । आपुला निजवर्मु तूं पाही ।
जे आचरिता बाघु नाही । कव्हणा काली ॥
... म्हणून तूं पाही । सत्रिया आणि काही ।
संग्रामावाचुनी नाही । अचित जाणे ॥
... अर सत्री वैश्य दोन्ही । ते ही ब्राह्मणाच्याचि
मानिवे मानी ।
जे ते वैदिक विधानीं । योग्य म्हणोनी ॥"
- 67 81 Tukaram तुकाराम -
जे या असुरांचा काळ । मक्तजन प्रतिपाळ ।
खेळे ही लागवी सकळ । तदाच्या माळ पायावरी ॥
चक्रपाणि गदाधरा । असुरमर्दना वीर्यवीरा ।
सकळ मुकुट मणि शूरा । अहो दातारा जगदातिया ॥
मक्ता राखे पायापाशी । दुर्जनासि संहारी ॥
दुर्जनाचा येणे करतनी संहार । पूर्ण अवतार रामकृष्ण ॥
- 68 82 "... या उपर देशांमध्ये ते ही बहुत यवन झाले.
राज्य अभिमान सोडला. सस्त्रे सोडली. कृषि धरिली
... बहुत आचारहीन झाले. बहुत मोत्र, प्रवर,

Chapter four (continued)

68 82 कुळस्वामीण, कुलगुरु, ठिकाणे सांगतां विसरु लागले.
जाणेन देवीने माराष्ट्र रत्नाया कारणे राजेश्री नायको
रावास स्वप्न दिळे. जर हा जातीमेळवा करावा.
श्रीदेवी आद्यशक्ति जगदंकिा महाराष्ट्र धर्म रक्षिका
तुम्हास प्रसन्न असो." J. 9.

69 82 Keshwacharya - Bakhar of Mahikavati.
"वेदशास्त्राचार आहे तो श्रेष्ठ व कुलाचार देशाचार
श्रेष्ठ तरी हा धर्म, सर्व धर्माचा जीव मूळ धर्म माराष्ट्र
-- केशवाचार्य - महिकावतीची बखर. J. 9

70 84 येथून वाढला धर्म । रमा धर्म समागमे ।
संतोष मांडला मोठा । आणंद मुक्ती ॥
बुडाला औरंग्या पापी । म्लेंच्छ संहार जाहला ।
मोडिली मांडिली क्षेत्रे । आणंद मुक्ती ॥
मनासी प्रचित आली । शब्दी विश्वास वाढला ।
कामना पुरती सर्वे । आणंद मुक्ती ॥

71 84 ... मन्वर कृपा करुन सनाथ केले. आज्ञा केली की,
तुमवा मुख्य धर्म राज्यसाधन करुन धर्मस्थापना, देवा
ब्राह्मणांची सेवा, प्रजेची पीडा दूर करुन, पाळण,
रक्षण करावे." चाफळ संस्थानाला दिलेली सनद,
शके १६०० (१६७८) J. N.

72 85 स्वस्ति श्री राज्याभिषेक शक ३ नलनाम संवत्सरे
माघ शुध ५ क्षेत्रीय कुलावतंस श्री राजा शिवाजी

Chapter four (continued)

72 85

छत्रपति स्वामी याणो समस्त ब्राह्मण वेदपाठी व गृहस्थान व क्षेत्रीय मंडळी व प्रमु गृहस्थान व वैश्य जाती व शूद्रादि लोकात तथा जमेदार व कतनदार व रयेत वगैरे सर्व जाती हिंदु महाराष्ट्रान तथा महालनि व देश व तालुके व प्रांत निहाय वगैरे यांस आशा केली असी जे हिंदु जातीत आनादी परंपरागत धर्मशास्त्राप्रमाणे धर्म चालत अस्ता अलीकडे काहीं दिवस येवनी आमल जाहल्यामुळे काहीं जातीतील लोकास बलात्कारे धरून प्रष्ट केले व कितेक जागीची दैवते जवरीने छिन्न भिन्न केली. हिंदु जातीत हाहाकार जाहला. गाय ब्राह्मणासह धर्म बुच्छद होण्याचा समय प्राप्त जाहला. त्याजवरून श्री श्रीश्वरीकृपेने आमचे हाते श्री सांबाजीने यवन वगैरे दुष्टास शासन करून पराभवाते नेले व राहिले ते शत्रू पाद्याक्रांत होतील. ... सर्व ग्रंथानुस्ते व जसे ज्याचे धर्म आताही चालत आले त्यास निरवेध चालावे अगर ज्या ज्या जातीस वेदकमीचा अधिकार अस्स येवनी जाहल्यामुळे आथवा ब्राह्मणांनी काहीं ऋषे बुध्दीने शास्त्रानुरूप कर्मे न चालविता मलीन जाहली असतील ती त्या जातीचे मंडळींनी पुरी पाहून ज्याची त्याची नीट वहिवाट चालविले. जे कोणी ऋषे बुध्दीने द्रव्ये लोभास्तव ब्राह्मण शास्त्रविरहित नवीन तंटे करून खल्ल करील येवीसी त्या जातीवाले यांनी सरकारात अर्ज करावा. म्हणजे शास्त्राचे सपते व रुढी परंपरा व ग्रंथ पाहून निरंतर निरमत्सरपणे धर्मस्थापना कोणाचा बुजूर न धरिता परनिष्ठ

Chapter four (continued)

- 72 85 जेव्हांचे तेव्हाच त्वरित बदाबस्त होतील. हल्ली यवन गुत्तर देशीहून येत आहे. तरी सर्व जातीने अेक दिल राहून कस्त मेहनत करून सेवा करून सत्र पराम्भाते न्यावा यात कल्याण तुमचे सरकारचे आश्वर करील. जाणे जे. ७. N.
(२० जानेवारी १६७७)
- 73 86 प्रतिपञ्चदशेव वर्धिष्णुर्विश्वविंदिता ।
शाहसुनोः शिवस्यैषा मुद्रामद्रायराजते ॥
- 74 87 Sanads and Letters - Wad - page 122.
१६. प्रधान व अितर मुक्की व लखरी अंमलदार यांचे काठ्याबद्दल कानुजाक्ते राज्याभिषेक शके १, (आनंद नाम संवत्सरे ज्येष्ठ व १३, त्रयोदशी भोम वासरे)
- 75 90 Sanads and Letters - Wad - page 122.
'... चिट्ठी वाचून कारस्त्रान्याचा खर्च करून नये ...'
- 76 91 Rajwade - Part VIII. राजवाडे खंड ८
ले. २८, दि.वि.काळे - छत्रपति शिवाजी महाराज. ११
- 77 93 शिवचरित्र सा. खंड, लेखक ५५,
'... अिमाने अित्तबारे साहेब काम करावे ...
त्येणे प्रमाणे येक भाजीच्या देठास तेही मन न दाखविता रास व दुस्तस वर्तणे ... स्येतीचा वाटा स्येतीस पावे आणि राजभाग आपणास येती ते करणे. स्येतीवरी काडीचे जाल व गैर केल्या साहेब तुज्वर राजी नाहीत येसे बरे समजणे.... त्या उपरि स्येतीस तवाना

Chapter four (continued)

- 77 93 करावे आणि कीर्त करवावी ... कीं कष्ट कस्तन
गावाचा गाव फिरावे ... पड जमीन लावून दस्त
जाजती कस्तन देतील ... गैरे कुसली मफलीस कुलास
माफ केली आहे, येसे समजावणे ... साहेब तुज्वरी
मेहेरवान होत ते करणे. '' ...
- 78 95 Patrasarsangraha, Part II.
पत्रसारसंग्रह खंड २, १८६३, राजापुर - सुरत पत्र
व्यवहार, अिंप्रज कंपनी पत्र २४-७-१६७६
शका शि.प्र.पु. २८
- 79 95 Sanads and Letters. वाड पृ. ११२.
... या प्रति विद्यार्थी शिवाजी राजे दंडवत ...''
- 80 96 Sanads and Letters वाड पृ. ११३.
''... यासी अज्ञाधारक शिवाजी ... स्वामीच्या
अनुष्ठानवळे आपण राज्यास अधिकारी झाले व सकळ
मनोरथ चिंतिले पावले. जैसा अनुभव आला म्हणून ...
वर्षासन ... राज्य स्वामीच्या प्रसादाचे आहे ...''
- 81 96 Sanads and Letters - page 166
१९-९-१६७६, रामदास स्वामीचे चरित्र बाय शंकर
श्रीकृष्ण देव.
- 82 96 Sanads and Letters - page 147
- 83 97 Portuguese Marathe Relations
पोर्तुगेज मराठे संबंध - प्रा.पिसुल्लैर पृष्ठ ७६

Chapter Four (continued)

- 84 97 Portuguese Marathe Relations
पोर्तुगेज मराठे संबंध - प्रा. पिसुलेकर, पृ. ७८
" ... फोंड्याच्या किल्ल्याची डागडुजी करण्यात येऊन मुख्य दरवाजावर गणेशपट्टी बसविण्यात आली. "
- 85 98 Patrasarsangraha, Part II, Itihas Manjiri
अतिहास मंजिरी पृष्ठ ९७, पत्रसारसंग्रह खंड २
(१९०१)
" राजेश्री मालोजीराजे घोरपडे ... आधी तो आपले जातीचे लोक मराठे याला हाती घसन सरदारकी करून घ्यावे (पोटे) भरितात ते पादशाही वजीर करावे ... म्हणून तुमचे बाप बाजी घोरपडे सरदारकी करून होते ते आणून पादशाहास भेटवून पादशाही वजीर केले ... हाली आदिलशाही बहलोल खान पठाणी घेतली. पादशाहा लहान ल्हान ... हे गोष्टी बरी नव्हे ! पठाण बळावला म्हणजे अंका अुपरी अंक कुली दक्षिण्यांची घरे बुडवील ... मेठीचे समझी पादशाही आदब आहे की, शिरभोळी धरावी, तसलीम करावी. परंतु आम्ही आपणावरी छत्र धरिले असे ही गोष्ट कुतुबशाहास मान्य होऊन शिरभोळी धरणे व तसलीम करणे हे माफ केले..... गळ्यास गळा लावून मेटले ... असा तह केला की ... आपली पादशाही जिक्की वाढवू ये तिक्की वाढविणे, पठाणाची नस्तनाबूद करणे, दक्षिणी पादशाही आम्हा दक्षिण्यांच्या हाती राहे तें करावे ... अुपरी आम्ही हाच विचार केला की, जे काही आपले जातीचे

Chapter Four (continued)

85 98

मराठे लोक आहेती ते आपले कटात घेऊन कुतुबशहासी त्यांची सज्जात करावी ... आपल्या जातीच्या मराठीया लोकांचे वरं करावे हे आपणास अुचित आहे ... फठाणापासोन निमोन मजल दर मजल भागा- नगरास आम्हापाशी येणे ... विजापूर फठाणाचे हातास मेले आता पादशाही के ची १ ... जरी फठाणाचीच चाकरी करोन राहो म्हणाल तरी फठाण काही तुम्हास थोर दौलत देणार नाही ... तुम्ही मराठे लोक आपले आहा. तुमचे गोमटे न्हावे म्हणून पळटच तुम्हास लिहिले असे ... कुतुबशहा व आम्ही व तमाम दखणी मिळोन चालोन घेऊन बुडवितच जाहो ... तुमचे गोमटे कराक्यास अंतर पडो न देऊन. बहुत काय लिहिणे . ”

86 100

Itihas Sangraha इतिहास संग्रह -

शिवाजीचे व्यंकोजीस पत्र, जानेवारी १६८०.

” स्त्रियासह चिरंजीव ... म्हाराज व्यंकोजी राजे यासी ... दिलेखान विजापुरची पातशाही कम्मुक्त देखोन जोरावरी घसन विजापूर घ्यावे या म्ताल्ये विजापुरावरी चाल केली ... मसजदखान यांनी आम्हास लिहिले की, गनिमे जोरावरी बहुत घरली आहे. अेऊन मदत केली पाहिजे... त्यावसन आम्ही तेच क्षणी स्वार होऊन ... पनाळियास आलो ... रणमस्तखान ... त्यासही मारीत गर्देस मेळवीत पिटीत औरंगाबाद पावेतो नेले ...

Chapter Four (continued)

86 100 दिलेलखानासही असे कळोन आले की, येथे राहिल्याने आपली झाडी कुल बुडवितील ... विजापुरीचे आरिष्ट दूर करून विजापूर रक्षिले ... मधे गनीम घालून जिंकडे गनीम जाय तिकडे जाऊन जागा जागा गनिमास गोषमाला देऊन तिकडूनही मास्तन काढिला ... गनिमास असे केले जे मागती विजापूरची वाट न धरावी ... हे सविस्तर वर्तमान तुम्हास कळावे म्हणून लिहिले असे ... मोतक्सुद.

Chapter FIVE : Struggle for Survival

Ref.No. Page No.

87 105 अतिहास मंजिरी - पृ. ११२-११३
' अखंड सावधान असावे । ... ॥
श्रेष्ठी जे जे मेळविले । त्यासाठी मांडत वसले ।
तरी मग जाणावे फावले । गलिमासी ॥
सकळ लोक अंक करावे । गलिम निवटुनी काढावे ॥
राज्यामध्ये सकळ लोक । सलगी देऊनी करावे सेवक ॥
आहे तितुके जतन करावे । पुढे अधिक मेळवावे ।
महाराष्ट्र राज्य करावे । जिंकडे तिकडे ॥

88 106 राजवाडे खंड ८, पृष्ठ ४० ,
'' ... देशमुख, देशपांडे, ज्योतिषी व अुपाध्ये ...
यासी ... गंगाधर रंगनाथ कुळकर्णी कसवे हरसूत
हा ब्राह्मण मोगलापासी सेवेसी होता. ... अस्तां

Chapter Five (continued)

- 88 106 मोगली यावरी बलात्कार करून बाटविला. प्रुष्ट करून ... बंदखानी ठेविला होता ... मन्त्र देऊन चाकर करून ठेविला. पाच वर्षे चाकरी करीत होता. अंतःकरणी अनुताप मानून आपले जातीत यावे यास्तव दौख्त संपत्ती सर्व टाकून ... स्वामी पाशी रायगडास येऊन ... अेक वर्ष ... प्रायश्चित्त मागत होता ... छत्रपति कृपाळू होऊन प्रायश्चित्त धाक्यासी आज्ञा दिल्ली. त्यामुपरि आम्ही ... यथाशास्त्र प्रायश्चित्त विध्युक्त प्रकारे केले ... आपले पंक्तीस मोजन देऊन यासी शुद्धिपत्र दिले. हा ब्राह्मण शुद्ध जाला, संव्यवहार्य जाहला. ”
शके १६०८, सोळा शते आठ क्षय संवत्सर चैत्र शुद्ध त्रिदश्या मंगळार हे विज्ञप्ति. या खाली २५ सहया. अि.स. १६८२
- 89 106 पिसुल्लेर - पोर्तुगेज मराठे संबंध पृ. ९९
- 90 106 पिसुल्लेर - पोर्तुगेज मराठे संबंध पृ. ९९
केशवप्रभूची अेक अट - ” कोंदणात पोर्तुगेजांचे राज्य झाल्यावर तेथील हिंदूंची देवालये मात्र त्यांनी मोडू नसे. ”
- 91 109 भारत अितिहास संशोधक मंडळ, त्रैमासिक, व. ९, अंक ४, पृष्ठ ६६.
” छ मा । अनाम देशमुख व देशपाडिये ... घाट पटी साताचापासून ... पावेतो व पुढे जेथपर्यन्त + + + स्वामीच्या पुण्यभावे करून देश व दुर्ग कबज होतील तेथपर्यन्त ... आमच्या स्वाधीन

Chapter Five (continued)

91 109 राज्यभार केलाच आहे ... रायेगडापासून कोकण पट्टीही स्वाधीन केली ... राजेश्री रामचंद्रपंतास ... कराडपासून पलीकडे वरघाट (रा) येगडा पासून अलीकडील कोकण + + गोकर्ण पावतो केली ... लस्कर दुतर्फा वाटून दिले, घनाजी जाधव आम्हा कडे ... संताजी घोरपडे यांणी रामचंद्रपंतांकडे आसावे ... ”

92 109 Rajwade, Khand 15.
राजवाडे खंड १५, अंख ३४७.
” स्वस्ती श्री राज्यामिपेक शके १६ ... असीयास हे म-हाट राज्य आहे तुम्ही लोक या राज्याची पोटा तिडीक धरिता ... जमाव करून सावधानपणे राहोन स्वामी कार्य जे दृष्टीस पडेल ते मनात आणून हस्तगत करून ठेवणे. हुजूर ल्होन पाठविणे. तेणे प्रमाणे हुजूरन विल्हे केली जातील... तरी तुम्ही आपली खातरनिशा राखोन स्वामीच्या पायासी अेकनिस्टता घरून स्वामीकार्य साध्य होअे ते गोष्टी करणे गनिमाच्या हिसाब काय आहे ? तुम्ही लोक जेव्हा मनावरी धरिता तेव्हा गनीम तो काय आहे ? गनीमसा तुम्ही लोकी केला आहे. ते तुम्हीच लोक या राज्याची पोटा तिडीक धरिता तेव्हा औरंग जेबाचा हिसाब धरित नाही अैसे बरे समजोन लिहिल्या प्रमाणे वर्तणूक करणे. औरंगजेबाने म-हाटे लोक आहेती त्यास मुसलमान करावे अैसे केले आहे ... अीश्वर करितो तरी फतेव आहे. लिहिले प्रमाणे हिमती घरणे.... ”

Chapter Five (continued)

- 93 110 पिसुल्लेर - पोर्तुगेज मराठे संबंद - पृ. १२९-३०
'... येथील कित्येक देसायी ' स्वामीचे राज्य
देव ब्राह्मणांचे विश्रामस्थान ' या तत्वाने मोहित
होऊन राजारामाच्या सैन्यात दाखल झाले.'
- 94 111 पिसुल्लेर - मराठे पोर्तुगेज-मराठे संबंद - ११
- 95 111 " आपण ताम्राकडे मन्सबा करीत होतो ते टाकून
या राज्यात आलो काये निमित्त्य की हे महाराष्ट्र
राज्य वृध्दीस पाववावे व आपले वतन सांभाळी
व्हावे म्हणोन सर्वस्वास त-हा दिली."
- 96 112 शिवचरित्र साहित्य खंड ५, पृ. १०-१२
" वजारत माव राजेश्री हणमंत घोरपडे ... तुमचे
विशद राजेश्री नागोजी माने येही विनंती केली की
तुमचा मुदा स्वामीच्या राज्यात याक्याचा आहे,
स्वामीने त्याज योग्य भाग्य दिधिल्या ... त्यावसन
तुमचा मनोदय कल्ला की, महाराष्ट्र धर्म पूर्ण रक्षावा
येसा (स) - कल्प (कल्प) स्वामींनी जाणून
अभयतास भाग्ये होन पा। ६,००००० दिव्हे आहे
बिा राजेश्री कृष्णाजी घोरपडे यास खा तुम्हास
भाग्य होन ५,०००००

Chapter Five (continued)

96 112

खा तुम्हास होन पा

६२५००	रायगड प्रात क्वज जाल्या जुपरि सरजाम
६२५००	विजापूर हस्तगत जाल्या नंतर धावे
६२५००	माणानगर घेतल्यास
६२५००	औरंगाबाद घेतल्यावर देणे
२५००००	दिली घेतलेवरी

५०००००	

माण्य पा होन १,०००००

राजश्री कृष्णाजी घोरपडे

१२५००	(रायग) ड प्रात क्वज (केल्यावरी)
१२५००	विजापूर हस्तगत झाल्यावर
१२५००	माणानगर घेतल्यावर
१२५००	औरंगाबाद घेतल्यावर
५००००	दिल्ली घेतलेवरी

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येणे प्रमाणे सहा लक्ष होन ... सरजाम करतन धाव -
यावाचा निश्चय केला आहे ... स्वामी तुमचे बहुत
प्रकारे चालवितील ... सुज्ञ असा."

97 113

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98 114

सनदा व पत्रे, पृ. १६८, ११

' ... तुम्ही ताम्राकडे होता. स्वामीचे राज्य
देवा ब्राह्मणांची भूमि. ... '

Chapter Five (continued)

99 115 मराठ्यांच्या इतिहासाची साधने, खंड १५
लेखांक २२, पृष्ठ ६२-६३ (मसूर - मद्य जगदळे)
'..... म्हादजी जगदळे हजर अखुनु चंजीचे मुक्कामी
... याने औरंगजेबास भेटोन आपले कतन मसुरेच्या
देशमुखीचा फर्मान करून घेतला. म्हणून याज्वरी
दोष ठेवावा तरी कतनाचा दामला म्हणून कारकीर्द
जाली ते कारकीर्दीचे कागदपत्र करून घेताती ते
रीतीने याणेही फर्मान घेतले. जैश्यास हा स्वामी
च्या पायापाशी आला या करिता स्वामीने याजला
मोगलास भेटला तो अन्याय क्षमा करून कतन मोकरार
करून दिले.'

100 115 शि.प्र.सरदेसाजी शि. अ. व १ अं. २ पान २९,
शिवाजीची राजनीति - मा.वा.मट. पृष्ठ १४५
'... तरी चंदीच्या प्रसंगे समजाविसी निमित्त
कतनाचे कागद ज्याणे जैसे मागितले त्यास तैसे दिले
काही प्रमाण नाही ... तुम्हास आज्ञापत्र सादर
होतील त्याप्रमाणे कर्तव्य करणे तोवर नूतन कतने
अंकांदर कोण्हास न चालविणे कैलासवासी स्वामीचे
वेळेस ज्याचे कतन चालिले असेल त्यास चालविणे...'

101 116 मराठ्यांच्या इतिहासाची साधने, खंड १५, लेखांक
२९७,
'... तेथे चौकशी न्हावी तर दूर देश त्यात

Chapter Five (continued)

- 101 116 मराठ्यांच्या इतिहासाची साधने, खंड १५
लेखांक २९७ .. राज्यक्रांतीचे दिवस राज्यास अपयोगी
जे जे लहून पाठवील त्यास तसे करून द्यावे असेही होत
होते''
- 102 117 सनदा व पत्रे, पृ. १६७, १० '' वेदमूर्तीने
सुमुहूर्त दिल्या ... यास्तव वेदमूर्ती योग्य असे
जाणोन ... सरजामी केली. ''
- 103 117 सनदा व पत्रे, पृ. १६८, १२
- 104 117 सनदा व पत्रे, पृ. १७३, १६
''... श्री देव वास्तव्य चिंचवड यांचे आशीर्वादे
महाराज राजश्री छत्रपती स्वामींची राज्याभिवृद्धी
जाहली. हे देव ब्राह्मणांचे आशीर्वादाचे राज्य.
याज्जरिता ... ''
- 105 117 सनदा व पत्रे - पृ. १८०, २६
' ... हे राज्य मराठे देवा ब्राह्मणांचे ... '
अ.स. १६९१.
- 106 117 मराठ्यांच्या इतिहासाची साधने, खंड १५,
लेखांक १६४, पृ. २०४ (निंब - सदानंद)
'' ... मवानगिरी गोसावी हे बहुत थोर अनुष्ठानी
यांच्या मठी अतीत अभ्यागतास अन्न अदक पडते धर्म
होतो म्हणून स्वामीने धर्मार्थ ... निंब ... हा गांव
... जिनाम दिल्या. ... हे गोसावी म्हणत लोक
यांचे सर्व प्रकारे समाधान रक्षिल्याने राजास कल्याण
आहे असे जाणोन स्वामीने सरदेशमुखी व देशमुखी व

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- 106 117 सरदेशकुलकरण व बाजे वतने कुल मना केले आहेती ...”
- 107 118 मराठ्यांच्या अतिहासाची साधने, खंड १५, ले. १६५
पृ. २०५
शंकरजी नारायण सचीव यास वरील गावास गुपद्रव
न देण्याबद्दल ताकीद.
- 108 118 मराठ्यांच्या अतिहासाची साधने खंड १५ ले. १६६
पृ. २०६
- 109 118 मराठ्यांच्या अतिहासाची साधने खंड १५ ले. १८१
पृ. २१७
- 110 119 आशापत्र - संपादक प्रा.ग.ह.खरे व प्रा.श्री.र.भिडे
पृष्ठ २७
” अतिव्हाही प्रसंगे श्रीकृपे सिध्द झाल्यावर यवना
क्रांत राज्य आक्रमे, यवनी मंडळ निर्यक्त करावे,
हा निगुढचौताभिप्राय प्रकट करून पूर्व पश्चिम दक्षिण
या प्रांती जी यवनस्तोमे बध्दमूल जाहली होती त्यावर
सेनासमुदाय करून मास्तन काढिली.”
- 111 120 राजवाडे खंड १५, पृ. २९४, ले. २८६.
' राजमान्य राज्ञी शंकराजी नारायण पंडित यासी
आशा ... ज्ञान तुम्ही जप्त केले ... हे वतन परत
देणे ... व पुढे नाना प्रकारच्या अडचणी तुम्हास अज्ञा
करणीच्या येतील कारण चिरंजीव काले करून तरी
श्री देसी आणिल ... यास स्वामी द्रोहाचेव करणे ...
तरी नीट चालीने वागणे. ”

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- 112 121 पोर्तुगेज - मराठे संबंध : पिसुर्कर, पृ. १०
- 113 122 ऐतिहासिक पत्रव्यवहार, पत्र क्र. २ पृ. २
" स्वस्ती श्री राज्याभिषेक अंके २८ ... मोरे यासी
आज्ञा ... तुम्ही व पांढरे ... औरंगजेबाची चौकी
होती ते मारिली ... औरंगजेब विशाळमहास बिलगला
या जकरिता त्याचे कबिला वाड मारून हमेशा गोटावर
हल्ले करावे तरीच तो बळकुल राहतो ... आपले
अवघे अंक दिले होऊन औरंगजेबास जडून राहणे. तुम्ही
स्वामीचे अकनिष्ठ सेवक मायेचे विश्वासून आहा तरीच
या प्रसंगी साहस करून ... औरंगजेब दिके होऊन
थोरच कार्य होऊ आले. ... औरंगजेब मनीम दगे
खोर आहे ... त्या तुम्ही बळकर फौजेनिशी या
तोंडे राहिले तरी त्याचे वस्तु चळवळ करित नाही ...
दूर प्रांते स्वारीस जाल तर हे तोंडे सहजच मोकळे
होतील ... समीपव राहोन स्वामी कुशल या जागा
रहात ते करणे. राज्य राखणे. बहुत काय लिहिणे
... "
- 114 123 स्थिरबुद्धी राजाराम, पृ. १२२
Composed round about 1705
दिल्ली झाली दीनवाणी । दिल्लीशाचे गेले पाणी ।
ताराबाजी रामराणी । मद्रकाली कोपली ।।
- 115 123 स्थिरबुद्धी राजाराम, पृ. ११८
" ... तुम्ही खेळणा किल्ला आमच्या स्वाधीन
करण्यास तयार आहा मात्र हा किल्ला घेतल्यावर
दुसरे जाणवी किल्ले न घेता आदनाहाने परत आपल्या
मुलुखात जावे.... त्यावरून कळविण्याचे ... तुमच्या

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- 115 123 जिवास घक्का न लाक्ता आमची फौज परत
जातील. ...''

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- 116 125 Letter to Parashuram - 27th May, 1702
- 117 125 Storia Do Mogot. By Manucci
Vol. IV. ph. 96-97
- 118 127 पुरंदरे दप्तर भाग १, ले. २३१, पृ. १६७,
'' स्वस्ती श्री राज्याभिषेक शके १४, सर्वजीत संवत्सरे
पौष्य शुध येकादसी सौम्य वासरे क्षेत्रीय कुलावर्तस श्री
राजा शाहू छत्रपति स्वामी याणी ... जे स्वामीचे
अगमन स्वदेशात जाले तेव्हा तुम्ही औघिया आगोधर
खानदेशामध्ये लाककानीचे मुक्कामी येऊन स्वामीचे
दर्शन केतले ... कृपालू होऊन पाा सुपे ... ये म्हालीची
सरदेशमुखीची मुताळी ...''
- 119 129 पोर्तुगेज मराठे संबंध - पिसुलेकर, पृ. १३७
'' ह्या युद्धात शाहू राजास न्य मिळण्याची अधिक
शक्यता आहे. ''

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- 120 130 झाहू महाराज यांची रोजनिशी - पृ. ४२
"पेशजी सेनाकर्ते म्हणोन हुदा होता तो दूर करून
पेशवाजी सांगितली. छ ९ जिल्काद सुरू सन अर्बी
अशर म या व अलफ म्हाल १६ किल्ले २ सरंजामास."
म्हणजे १७१३ अ.डी.
पृ. ४५ - (१०१) -
दिस्त राजश्री बाळाजी विख्वनाथ सेनाकर्ते यासी
लष्करचा जमाव करावयाची आज्ञा करून बेगमी
बद्दल सरंजाम दिला. (२०-८-१७११)
- 121 131 इतिहास संग्रह वर्ष ६, अंक १० । ११ । १२
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"श्री सकलमुणमंडित अखंडित लक्ष्मी अलंकृत राजमान्य
राजश्री बाळाजी विख्वनाथ, सरसुभेदार व कारकून,
प्रांत पुणे यांसी, : प्रति श्रीकराचार्य पंडितराव
आशीर्वाद राज्याभिषेक सके २५ ... श्रीपांडवेश्वर ...
श्रीमुलेश्वर ... देवस्थानांचे पेशजी सनदा आहेत ...
देवाची पूजा चाले ते भोळी करणे ... "
- 122 131 राजवाडे, ऐतिहासिक प्रस्तावना, पृ. ३४-३५
१ स्वराज्य थोरले कैलासवासी १ नबाब बल्लोलखाना
स्वामीचे वेळे प्रागे रायगड ची दौलत फतेसिंग
व बरकड कोट देखील करून बाबाचे नावे करून
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कलम.

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१ खटाव १ अकळूज १ कासेगांजुं
१ मंगळवेढे १ मिरज १ पेड
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१ चौल समत किल्ले १
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१ बेळगाजुं १ कल्याण भिवंडी
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१ त्रिंक्क मागोन घणे ...कलम

१ तोफा दर संस्थानी फेतील
त्यांची चौथाजी करतन घणे
... कलम

१ चांदाचे राज्य कान्होजी
भोसले यांनी साधिले आहे
ते स्वराज्यात करतन घणे
... कलम

१ सहा सुभे खेरीज गुजराथ
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... कलम

१ मानुश्री व मदनसिंग
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मागोन घणे ...कलम

१ पेशजी मतलब लिहून
दिल्ले आहेत. त्या
चे फर्मीन सनदा करत
न घेउन येणे ...कलम

१ कोकणपट्टी देखील
राजपुरी चौथ सर
देशमुखी, स्वराज्य
व वरकड साधेल त्या
चे फर्मीन पृथकाकारे
करतन घणे ...कलम

१ सरदेशमुखी जिनाम
दर महालास अक्क
गांव करतन घणे ...
कलम

१ चंदी प्रांती राज्य
गड कोट देखील
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१ जयसिंग पाल्केर
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- 123 133 शाहू महाराज यांची रोजनिशी - पृ. ७८
(156) A.D.1716-17 Khanderao Dabhade
Senakhaskhel was appointed Senapati in
place of Mansing More.
- 124 133 Treaties Agreements and Sanads - page 1
कैफियत :- "राजे शाहू यांच्या वकिलाजवळ हजरत
रफीअुद्दजात यांचे कारकीर्दीची फर्मांनाची नक्कल
आहे...."
- 125 133 Treaties Agreements and Sanads -
pages 1 - 9.
पृष्ठ ३.
पेशकशीची फर्द मंजूर होऊन दसक्त जाले की मुचक्रा
घेऊन सनद घावी. जावत्याप्रमाणे सरकारच्या पेशकशीचा
आकार.

दक्षण सुमे ६

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११५२३५०८ ॥ ३ ॥ सुमे वराड

७४९१८७९ ॥ १ ॥ सुमे बिदर

७८५०८५६० ॥ १ ॥ सुमे बिजापूर

६४८६७४८३ सुमे हैदराबाद

५७४९८१९ : ॥ सुमे खानदेश (: आढे)

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- 125 133 सरदेशमुखी दर श्रेकडा सपये १० अकूण १८०५१७३०
सपये. पेशक्य सरकार दर हजारी ६५१० अकूण
११७५१६७६२ सपये. पैकी शाहू राजे यांचे वकिलाने
कबूल केली ११७१९३९० ।।। सपये. खिल्ला सनद
जाल्ल्यावर चौथाओ बाकी किस्तबंदीने द्यावी. नगद
२९२९८४७ ।। = सपये. ८७८९५४३ : - सपये
- 126 134 शाहू महाराज यांची रोजनिशी, पृ. ४२-४३
'' < पेशनी बाळाजी विश्वनाथ मुख्य प्रधान होते
ते मृत्यू पावले सबब त्यांचे पुत्र बाजीराव बल्लाळ
यांस पेशवाजीचा धंदा सांगितला. ... ''
- 127 134 राजवाडे प्रस्तावना खंड पृष्ठ ३५
- 128 134 Why we have described this Maratha-
State as a Quasi-Federal State because
firstly, there was a clear cut division
of authority between the central govern-
ment on one hand and the constituent
units i.e. Sardars on the other. Second-
ly, this division of authoirity was
normally written by way of an agreement
or treaty between central government
and units. The highest judicial authority

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- 128 134 in cases of political matters was Chhatrapati, i.e. Shivaji from the years 1674 to 1680 and Shahu upto 1750. Later on this power was shifted to Peshwa.
- 129 134 पे.द. १३ पृष्ठ ३ पत्र ४ ३-९-१७२४
" श्रीमंत राजश्री पंत प्रधान स्वामीचे सेवेसी विन्ती. धारेचा किल्ला घेतला म्हणोन पृथ्वीपति सक्रोध होऊन ... "
- 130 139 पिसुळकर - पोर्तुगेज - मराठे संबंध.
- 131 139 मराठ्यांच्या इतिहासाची साधने, खंड ६ पृ.२३९
" ... आम्ही मजल दर मजल करीत हिंदुस्थानात जातो, अिराण पादशहा तोहमाशपुळिखा सार्वभौमावर आला आहे. त्याचे कुम्भेस जावयाकरिता माळव्या तील फैजा, मल्हारजी होळकर, राणोजी शिंदे, पवार जैसे पाठविणे ... पातळाहीची कुम्भ यासमर्ती केलियाने या राज्याचा लौकिक आहे ... राजश्री पंतप्रधान सार्वभौमाची कुम्भ करून, छावणीस त्या प्रसंती राहतील..."
- 132 140 पेंसले दफ्तर खंड १७, पृष्ठ १५७४
" ... राजश्री प्रधान पंत अुतर प्रांते गेले आहेत. ते तिकडे काये मनसबा करतील ... कदाचित राजश्री पंत प्रधान याची व सार्वभौमाची मेट जाहली तरी नबाब सुमंतासी काही सुधे भाषण करणार नाही..."

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- 133 141 Treaties Agreements and Sanads - page 4
" .. राजे शाहू यांची सरकारची पेशक्य रूपये दहा
लक्ष ... धावे असी कबूल केली, सबब कधीम राज्याचे
महाल राजे याज्जडे मुकरर केले असेत :- महाल
३७ सुमारें तपसील ... "
- 134 141 सरदेसाजी - मराठी रियासत भाग ५ पृ. १५८
" पण गुमयफती हा अक्रे फसवाफसवीचा प्रकार
होता ... "
- 135 142 Dr.V.G.Dighe, M.A.Ph.D.,
General Volume - History - part III
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Power : 1707 - 1720, page 45.
- 136 143 Selections from Peshwa-Daptar, pages
919-923
निजामाला दडपून टाकण्यासाठी शाहूने मोगल
बादशहाला घाटलेल्या अटी --
- 137 143 शाहू महाराज यांची रोजनिशी भाग १ पृ. ५५
" ... अशियास मशरर निल्हे स्वामीचे पुरातन
सेकक, या राज्यामध्ये सहसाहस बहूतच करून राज्य
अभिवृद्धीस पाविले. प्रस्तुत स्वामीची सेवा निष्ठा
पूर्वक करितात, ... "
- 138 143 शाहू महाराज यांची रोजनिशी, पृ. ६२
" राजर्षी संभाजी आंग्रे यांस पत्र जे, तुम्ही किर्ती
पत्र पाठविले ... त्या समागमे सेखोजी आंग्रे यांस

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- 138 143 आम्हास स्वामीच्या पायाविना दुसरे दैवत नाही,
दर्शनास यावे, हाच निजध्यास लागला आहे ...”
- 139 143 पेशवे दफ्तर खंड १७, पृ. १५५१ - ५२, १७-११-१७३१
” ... पिठाजी जाधव येथे राहिला. आम्हास
सांगोन पाठविले की, तुम्ही राजश्री चिमाजीपंतांच्या
भेटीस येणे ... कित्येक दजावाच्या गोष्टी आम्हासी
सांगितल्या. त्यास आपण जाऊ दिलहा की तुमचे
दवावणीने भेटीस येतो असे नाही. म्हाराजाचे
निज्ञान आपणापाशी आहे. मस्तन खस्त होऊन.
चाकर म्हाराजाचा आहे ... चिमाजी अध्याची भेटी
जाहली ... आम्हास बोले नये ते बोलले ...
आपण म्हाराजांचे पाये सोडून दुसर्याची चाकरी
करणार नाही ... हे गोष्टीचे पारपत्य म्हाराजांनी
केले पाहिजे ...”
- 140 144 सनदा पत्रे, पृ. २१८ अि.स. १७३४
” स्वस्ती श्री राज्याभिषेक शके ६१ ... तुमचे
आजे बाळाजी अक्की ... अुपयोगी पडले ... तुमचे
वडील खंडो बल्लाळ यांणी बहुत निष्ठेने वागून स्वामीस
गोव्याचे लढाईत शूरत्वे करून व समुद्राचे भरतीस
स्वामीचा घोडा पाण्यांत पोहणी लागला असता
घसन, जुडी टाकून घेऊन निघाले ... पुढे तुम्हीही

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- 140 144 स्वामीचे ठायी अेकनिष्ठता धरून ... आहा ...”
- 141 144 मराठ्यांच्या इतिहासाची साधने - खंड ६
” श्रीमंत महाराज मातृश्री आजीसाहेबांचे सेवेसी -
बाळाजी बाजीराव विशापन ... याजुपरी लटके
कुर्क सैन्य साहेबी किमपि चित्तात न आणावे. साहे
बांचे पायाखेरीज व मजी पेक्षा सेवकास काही अधिकेतर
नाही. कैलासवासी शाहू महाराजाही सेवकास
वाढविले राज्यकारभाराचा यत्नित्यार ठेवला ...
सेवकानेही निष्ठेने सेवा केली व करीत आहे ...
कृपापूर्वक सेवकाची विनंती श्रवण करावी ...”
- 142 145 मराठी रियासत खंड ५, पृ. ७५
” ... शिवाय आप्त स्वकीयांच्या बाबतीत त्याने
पैशव्यांची किंवा अितरांची मध्यस्ती किंवा ढवळाढवळ
कधी चालू दिली नाही. ...”
- 143 145 पेशवे दफ्तर खंड १७, पृ. १५७४ + शाहू महाराज
यांची रोजनिशी पृ. ४८
” राजश्री चिमणाजी बल्लाळ यासी पत्र जे, प्रस्तुत
छावणीचे दिवस सर्माप आले व पुढे चातुमीस्यामध्ये
कित्येक मन्सुब्रा करावा लागतो. याकरिता राजश्री
बाजीराव पंडित प्रधान यासही सन्निध यावयाची
आज्ञा केली आहे ... जुदाजी पवार यासही घेऊन
येणे ...”

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- 143 145 " A letter written by Shahu to Chimaji Appa refers to the practice of Shahu, consulting Peshwas during the Monsoon season. In this letter Chimaji was directed to come with his army to the Raja because the rains were at hand and several plans were to be arranged during the rainy season. He was informed that similar orders were issued to Bajirao Pradhan. He was further ordered to bring Udaji Pawar with him."
- 144 146 पोर्तुगेज मराठे संबंध , पृ. २०४
- 145 146 पोर्तुगेज मराठे संबंध - फिसुलेकर, पृ. २१२
- 146 146 पोर्तुगेज मराठे संबंध - फिसुलेकर, पृ. २२७
... " फिरंगी बेजिमान, त्याचे पारिपत्य करावे तरी ये समयी बनत नाही. " ५-३-१७४७,
" ... पंतप्रधान यास गोमंत्क घेऊन देऊ म्हणून कबलात केली आहे.... "
- 11-5-1748 letter written by Bhaskarrao Bhave son of Dadajirao Bhave Nargundakar
- 147 146 पोर्तुगेज मराठे संबंध - पृ. १९८
' छत्रपती शाहूला देखील गोवे बंदर फिरंग्याकडे राहावे असे मनःपूर्वक वाटत असे.'

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- 148 148 पोर्तुगेज मराठे संबंध - पिसुलेकर, पृ. ३३३-३४
" ... म्हाराज साहेब बोलले जे गोवे बंदर फार
अुत्तम नासू नये. बंदर नासलेमुले साहेबास फाजीदा
आहे अैसे नाही. फिरंगी यासच असलेमुले फाजीदाच
आहे आण बंदरी चीज वस्त मिलती म्हणोन
बोलले "
- 149 148 'Treaties Agreements and Sanads - page 43
" अहद श्रीकृष्णा धूम महाबळेश्वरपासून दक्षण तीर
तहद निवृत्तिसंगम पर्यन्त, कुल दुतर्फा मुळ दरोवस्त
देखील ठाणी व किल्ले तुम्हास दिल्ले असे. कलम १ "
- 150 148 अितिहास संग्रह पुस्तक ७, मराठयांच्या अितिहासाची
साधने खंड ६..
" श्री राजमान राा बालाजी प्रधान पंडित यास
आज्ञा ... कोलापूरचे न करने ... "
- 151 148 करवीर छत्रपति घराण्याच्या अितिहासाची साधने :
भाग १ - २, ले. १००, पृ. ७५-७६ पब्लिशड बाय
मा.वि.गुजर.
" स.नं. १, अ.नं. १८३ तालीक जानेवारी
१७५०
श्रीमन्महाराज राजश्री छत्रपती स्वामीचे शेवैसी बालाजी
बाजीराव व सदाशिव चिमणाजी याणी लेहून दिल्ली
करारनामा असा जे सातारियासी तीर्थस्वरुप शाहू
म्हाराज राज्य करीत होते त्याजमुले वारणाचा तह

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- 151 148 जाहला होता त्यास तीर्थस्वरूप शाहू महाराज
याणी कैलासवास केला त्याचे पोटी संतान नाही
तेव्हा ते राज्य स्वामीचे आणि येक छत्री सिका
महाराजाचा चालवा.
शाहू महाराज आसते समथी किले सातारेचे मुा
सेकानी किंती केली होती ... कैलासवास केल्या
नंतर दोन्ही राज्ये स्वामीची आणि आम्ही सेक
स्वामीचे ... येसी शफत दिल्ली होती त्याच
प्रमाणे दोन्ही राज्ये येक करून येक छत्री स्वामीच्या
सिका चालवा आणि आम्ही ... सेवा करून
असावे ...स्वामीचे आज्ञे प्रमाणे चालू."
- 152 149 राजवाडे प्रस्तावना खंड पृ. ४४
- 153 150 Treaties Agreements and Sanads - page 2
" ...महिफत अनंदराव क्लील राजे शाहू ...
रयतीस आपल्या कडोन राजी राखितील, व अजाड
गांवाची लावणी तीन सालात करोन असा बंदोबस्त
करितील जे दुष्टाचा अपद्रव होणार नाही ..."
- 154 152 शाहू महाराजांची रोजनिशी - पृ. ३.
" ... सरदारास राजपत्रे पाठविली की भारी
तोलदार फौज करून भागानगर प्रांती जाणे ...
सरलकर व बाजीराज प्रधान यांस तुम्हाकडे रवाना
केले आहे ..."

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- 155 152 शाहू महाराज यांची रोजनिशी - पृ. ७
- 156 152 शाहू महाराज यांची रोजनिशी - पृ. ९
- 157 152 शाहू महाराज यांची रोजनिशी - पृ. ११
- 158 152 शाहू महाराज यांची रोजनिशी - पृ. १३
" ... तुम्ही अभयता पोवती फौज करून स्वामी
कार्य करणे ... "
- 159 153 शाहू महाराज यांची रोजनिशी - पृ. २० - ८-११-
१७३२
" ... तुम्हास जाक्याची आज्ञा केली असता त्या
समागमे जाण्याचा विचार करित नाही. यावतून
काय म्हणावे ... तरी पत्रदर्शनी स्वार होऊन जाऊन
मशारनिलेस सामील होणे . ये गोष्टीस लजर कराल ..
तरी स्वामी नाखप हातील अस समजोन वर्तण्ण करण..
Treaties Agreements and Sanads -
- 160 153 अंतर हिंदुस्थानातील सरदारांचे वाटणीपत्र
.. रुपये १००
तपशील
४६ सरकार ५३ । न वजा पवारास दिल्ले
रुपये ७१ = बाकी
२१ होळकर २३१- वजा पवारास दिल्ले रु.२१-
बाकी
२१ शिंदे २३१- वजा पवारास दिल्ले रुपये २१-
बाकी
१२ पवारास साल मजकुरापासून करार करून दिल्ले
८ खंडेराव बिन यशवंतराव पवार
४ कृष्णाजी व जिवाजी पवार निमेनिम

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- 161 154 बाळाजी बाजीराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी. पृ. ४८-४९
- 162 154 शाहू महाराज यांची रोजनिशी पृ. ६०
- 163 155 शाहू महाराज यांची रोजनिशी पृ. ६०
" राजेश्री काऱ्हेजी आंग्रे सरखेल यांस पत्र जे,
तुम्हाकडे मक्ता दरसाल रुपये १७५०० राजश्री बाजी-
राव पंडित प्रधान यांकडे पावायाचा तह आहे ...
त्यापैकी अंक रुपयाही पावला नाही ... सन अर्बी,
सन खमसची बाकी राहिली आहे ... "
- 164 155 शाहू महाराज यांची रोजनिशी, पृ. ८१
" राजश्री रघोजी मोसले ... तुम्हास अैवजाविषयी
वरचेवरी आज्ञापत्रे पाठविली परंतु तुम्ही निकाल
करून पाठविला नाही, ... तरी साल मुदस्त व
साल मजकूरचे अैवजाचा निर्वीह करून शिंताघीने
पाठविणे. हे गोष्टी तुम्हापासून होत नाही तरी
स्वामी विचार करणे तो करतील. मग तुम्हास भारी
पडेल हे जाणून वर्तणूक करणे. ... "
- 165 155 शाहू महाराज यांची रोजनिशी, पृ. २६-२७
" ... तुम्हाकडील पैकीयास दिरण लागतो हे
गोष्टी कार्याची नाही. याजुपरी पैका झाडिया
निशी रवाना करणे ... "
- 166 156 शाहू महाराज यांची रोजनिशी, पृ. ५५
" मशारनिल्हे कडून स्वामी सेवेस अंतर पडले. हे
सबबे अनामत करून हुजूर ठेवून जोत्याजी केदारकर

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- 166 156 याचे स्वाधीन केले होते ...”
- 167 156 शाहू महाराज यांची रोजनिशी - पृ. ७८
” ... खंडेराव दाभाडे यास पेशजी सेनाखासखेलीचा
घंदा होता तो दूर करून हल्ली राजश्री मानसिंग
मेरे यास सेनापति होती ते दूर करून हल्ली यास
सेनापति सांगितली असे ...”
- 168 156 शाहू महाराज यांची रोजनिशी - पृ. ७८
” ... आपला पदरचा सरंजाम निमे राजश्री
काऱ्हेजी भोसले यास थाक्यास कबूल करून”
- 169 157 ऐतिहासिक पत्रव्यवहार - पृ. ४७ क्र. ६५
जानेवारी १७४७ ” ... महाराज निरोप देतात
हा लौकीक जनात जाहला. नबाबापाकेतो बातमी
जातील. फिरोज दिल्ली हे ही वर्तमान जातील...
महाराज घ्यानात न आणीत तर जीख्वरेच या दौळी
वर अितराजी केली अशी जाणावी”
- 170 157 बाळाजी बाजीराब पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी - पृ. १७१
” राजश्री स्वामींनी रा. आपाजी सोमवंशी
याज्जडून सरळकर दूर करून हल्ली रा निंबाजी
नाओक निंबाळकर यांना सरळकर सांगोन ... सरंजाम
दिलहा असे ...”
- 171 158 शाहू महाराज यांची रोजनिशी - पृ. ९९

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- 172 158 शाहू महाराज यांची रोजनिशी - पृ. १०२
- 173 158 शाहू महाराज यांची रोजनिशी - पृ. १०३
- 174 159 शाहू महाराज यांची रोजनिशी - पृ. २०
" तुम्हास राजश्री बाजीराज पंडित प्रधान या समागमे जाव्याची आज्ञा केली अस्ता तुम्ही आणखी अधोग घसन जात आहा म्हणून विदीत आले. तरी हे गोष्टी कार्याची आहे असे नाही. ... तरी पत्र दर्शनी स्वार होऊन जाऊन पंडित मशारनिव्हेस सामील होणे. ये गोष्टीस अजूर कराल तरी स्वामी नाखूष होतील असे समजोन वर्तणूक करणे ... "
- 175 159 शाहू महाराज यांची रोजनिशी - पृ. १६
- 176 160 बाळाजी बाजीरा पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी - पृ. १२१
१२३
- 177 161 शाहू महाराज यांची रोजनिशी - पृ. २१७
" ... ब्राह्मणाचा कविला अठकेत ठेवावा हा महाराष्ट्र धर्म नव्हे ... "
- 178 162 शाहू महाराज यांची रोजनिशी - पृ. १२०
" ... देवा ब्राह्मणाचे साहित्य केल्याने श्रेयस्कर आहे ... "
- 179 162 शाहू महाराज यांची रोजनिशी - पृ. २२१
" ... वेदमूर्ती बा.मा.जोशी ... स्वामीसंनिध विनंती केली की, श्रीमंत परमहंस अठ्ठेव वेदांत श्री पूर्णप्रकाश याचे मठ ... लष्करचा वगैरे अपसर्ग लागतो ... श्री थोर तपस्वी यांचे मठ व शिष्यसमुदाय

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- 179 162 निरुपद्रव रक्षिलिया श्रेयस्कर जाणेन हे आज्ञापत्र सादर केले असे. तर ते जागा मठ व शिष्यसमुदाय असेल त्यास काडीमात्र अुपसर्ग कोणी न देणे ...''
- 180 163 बाळाजी बाजीराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी - पृ. ५
'' ... तीर्थरुप रा बाजीराव व तीर्थरुप रा चिमणाजीपंत आपा याचे दर्शनास सातारियाचे मुक्का मी ... वसती प्रांत फिरंगियाकडे आहे. त्याणे देवस्थाने व तीर्थे यांचा व महाराष्ट्र धर्म याचा लोप केला. हिंदु लोक भ्रष्टवून क्षार केले ... त्या प्रांती साहेबी मसलत करून, प्रांत मजूर सर करून देवस्थापना करून, स्वधर्मस्थापना होय ते गोष्टी करावी ...''
- 181 163 पोर्तुगेज मराठे संबंध - पृ. १४१
'' ... बिघाड करावा हाच जर तुमचा म्कसूद असेल तरी तैसेच साफ कलमी लिहिणे म्हणजे लस्करात तेच लिहून पाठवू ...''
- 182 163 पेशवे दफ्तर १६, पृ. ५७
- 183 164 पोर्तुगेज मराठे संबंध - पृ. १६९
'' ... बाजीरावाने महाराष्ट्र धर्माची स्थापना करण्यासाठी वसती प्रांतावर स्वारी केली ...''
- 184 164 पेशवे दफ्तर १६, पृ. १३५
'' ... देवब्राह्मणांची संस्थापना कराव्यासाठीच स्वामीचा अक्तार आहे. ...''

Chapter Six (continued)

- 185 164 पेशवे दफ्तर १६, पृ. १३६
" ... हिंदु राज्याचे संस्थापन स्वामींचे हातून
होतील ... "
- 186 164 पोर्तुगेज मराठे संबंध - पृ. १६९
" ... आपासाहेबासी ... फिरंगण प्रांत हस्तगत
करून धर्म राज्य हिंदु स्थापना केली ... "
- 187 165 पोर्तुगेज मराठे संबंध - पृ. २०१
" ... साष्टी वारदेशात महाराष्ट्र धर्म ज्यांचा
ते करतील त्यास फिरंगियाने चालवावे देखील
गोवियात महाराष्ट्र धर्म चालवावा ... "
- 188 165 पोर्तुगेज मराठे संबंध - पृ. १६८
- 189 166 शाहू महाराज यांची रोजनिशी - पृ. ९१-९२
- 190 166 शाहू महाराज यांची रोजनिशी - पृ. १२३
" ... औशास लढाजी शिपाजी सापडला, त्यास
कैदेत ठेवणे हे राज्यात कोठेही झाले नाही ... "
- 191 167 पेशवे दफ्तर खंड १२ - पृ. १०९७
" ... राज्यातील म-हाटे चौघे चौकडे गेले,
राहिले त्यासही घालवितात हे निमित्त्य अुत्तम नव्हे
... तुम्ही विवारास कुकाल अैसे नाही, परंतु
राज्यातील म-हाटे हे घालवितात हे निमित्त्य न
ध्यावे. जे करणे ते राज्यकारभारास व्यत्यय न दिसे
ते केले पाहिजे. दाभाडे येथून बाहिर निघणार.
गनीम समीप येतो. याकरिता हरजेक प्रसंगास ब्रह्म

Chapter Six (continued)

191	167	सावधपणे आपला नग राहे, लौकीक विस्तार न दिसे ..."
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192	172	शाहू महाराज यांची रोजनिशी, पृ. ५१
193	173	शाहू महाराज यांची रोजनिशी, पृ. १०८ " ... तुम्ही खाजगीच्या मुलखात येऊन मन माने - सारखे रोखे करून रूपये घेतले आणि मिरजेची घसघस लावलीत हे अमर्याद गोष्ट केलीत. सेवक कोणाचे म्हणविता, मुलख कोणाचा मारिता, असे अमर्यादेने तुमचा सरंजाम कसा राहिल. याउपर अतम दिसले ते कर्म करणे ..."
194	173	शाहू महाराज यांची रोजनिशी, पृ. १०८
195	173	शाहू महाराज यांची रोजनिशी, पृ. १११
196	174	शाहू महाराज यांची रोजनिशी, पृ. ११२ " ... कोकणात ब्राह्मण रयतेस उपद्रव होत आहे. वतनदार परागंदा झाले आहेत ..."
197	174	शाहू महाराज यांची रोजनिशी, पृ. ११२

Chapter Seven (continued)

- 197 174 " ... तुम्ही आपला जमाव अंक दिल करून साहेबांचा किल्ला जतन करणे. राजश्री प्रधान पंडित ते प्रांते येत आहेत, खबरदार राहणे. तुम्हास वस्त्रे व चौकडा पाठविला घेणे ... "
- 198 174 शाहू महाराज यांची रोजनिशी, पृ. ११४
- 199 175 शाहू महाराज यांची रोजनिशी, पृ. ११९
" ... किल्ले मुणवंतगड येथे खाल्जेस्तन द्या म्हणून अुभयताही राजश्री कान्होजी शिरके याशी त्वष्ट लाविले याज करिता पत्रे जे, हुजूरचा किल्ला त्वष्ट लावण्यास प्रयोजन नाही म्हणून पत्र : -- " ...
- 200 176 राजवाडे प्रस्तावना खंड १ ला. पृ. ४४
- 201 176 मराठ्यांच्या इतिहासाची साधने - खंड १ ला पृ. १
" राजश्रीयाविराजित बाळाजी बाजीराव यांस दिलेल्या अुच्च फरमानाची नक्कल प्रस्तुत राजश्री मल्हारराव होळकर व पातसहाचे दोस्त आणि वीर शिरोमणी ज्याजीराव सिंदे यांच्याशी तह येणे प्रमाणे केला जातो की ... आम्ही आमरणात तुमची आज्ञा व सेवा व चाकरी व तुमच्या सत्रचे पारिपत्य करण्याचा मनापासून प्रयत्न करून -- मग तो सत्र अबदाली असो किंवा दुसरा कोणी राजा असो अथवा अखादा लहान मोठा नमीदार असो --

Chapter Seven (continued)

201 176 सारांश, जो कोणी सरकारचा हुकूम मोडील त्याला तंघी देखून हुजूरच्या पुढे आणू ... जेणे करून आप त्या अखंड राज्याचे व खुद्द हुजूरचे कल्याण होईल अशीच तजवीज करू ... पन्नास लक्ष रुपयांपैकी अबदालीच्या पारिपत्याकरिता तीस लक्ष रुपये आम्हास पावते झाले, व मुल्तान, पंजाब, थटा व मकर या सुभ्यांची व ... हिसार, संबळ, मुरादा बाद ... चौथ आमच्या सैन्याच्या खर्चाकरिता लावून दिली आहे ... व सुभ्यांच्या व फौजदा रंघ्या पक्का बंदोबस्त करू व पातशाही राजे रजवाड्यांच्या ताब्यांतील मुलुखापैकी जुना प्रांत कोणी बळकाविला असेल तो त्याच्या ताब्यातून काढून अर्धी सरकारात देऊ व अर्धी सैन्याचे खर्चाकरिता आम्ही आपलेखंडे ठेवू ... आणि अबदाली वगैरेचे पारिपत्य करण्याचे कामी आमचाच सल्ला हुजूर अक्कील तर ते काम आम्ही स्वतःच बजावू आणि ते काम करण्यास हुजूरची स्वारी स्वतःच जाणे जरूर पडेल तर आम्हीच आपल्या स्वारीबरोबर येऊ आणि जिवापाड मेहनत करू अथवा ते काम अमिरांच्या हातून होत असल्यास आम्ही विनंती करू त्या अमिरांनाच पाठवावे किंवा त्यांची सल्ला घेऊन ते काम आम्ही करू ... ”

202 178 पेशवे दफ्तर - भाग २१, पृ. ४२ - ४३

203 178 पेशवे दफ्तर - भाग २१, पृ. ४८ - ४९

” .. सरदार देशास गेल्यापासून सुरजमल जाठ

Chapter Seven (continued)

203 178 राजे माधोसिंग व राजे बल्लसिंग यासी जाऊन,
मेहन आपण दिल्लीस येऊन वजिराची मेठी घेऊन
करार केला की, नबाब बहादूर याने म-हाठियां
च्या घरात पातशाही घातली. पातशाहा व राजश्री
पंत प्रधान ~~सह~~ पगडी बदलोन भाऊ जाले. तेव्हा
तुमची वजारत कोठे राहिली ? आगरे, अजमेर दोन
सुमे दिले. तेव्हा आमची स्थळे कोठे राहिली ?
यासुपरि सरदारसुद्धा फौजा दक्षिणेत गुंतल्या आहेत
तो आपण नबाब बहादूर यास ठिकाणी लाऊन
पातशाहा आगरे यास घेऊन ... अुमयेता राजे वगैरे
... जमा करून जो खर्च तुम्हास व पातशाहास लागेल
तो देतो आणि दक्षिण्यांचा अंमल उठवून देऊ ..."

204 179 पेशवे दप्तर - खंड २१ - पृ. ६८-७०
" ... मुख्य जाठ कुमेरीस होता तेथे मोर्चेबंदी
करून असले. पातशाहानी कराराप्राप्त तोफ
खानियासुद्धा यावे तो न आले. जाठ व आपण
येऊ जाले जाटाचे साहित्यास्तव येजमानास
सह दिला ... तेव्हा येजमानही ... क्वच करून
वृंदावनी येमुना उत्तरोन पातशाहास खबर न देता
रातोरान्त घावले.... पातशाहा व वजीर ... पलोन
गेले ..."

205 180 पेशवे दप्तर खंड २१ पृ. ८१
" ... ज्ये नगरी माधोसिंग यांनी पामलेदार

Chapter Seven (continued)

205 180 जिन्हे मारिले आणि दिलीस क्लील पाठअन पातशाहा वजीर याजला किन्ती केली की, आपण मराठे याचा खून केला. तुम्ही बाहेर निघावे. आम्ही सामील होतो ... खर्च चालू . जाट, माधोसिंग, वजीर, रोहिले, च्यारी असामी येक जाहाले. पुढे तोफ खाना व पातशाहा बाहेर निघणार. अपद्रव दिसतो. स्वामींनी या प्रांते मातबर सरदार फैज पाठविली या बंदोबस्त राहिल ...”

206 180 पेशवे दफ्तर - खंड २१ - पृ. ९१
” ... सुरजमलाकडील नेमणुकेपैकी येक रजपया साता लाखात वसूल जाला नाही. पाच महिने ब्राह्मण वसले आहेत. त्याचा मत्त्व रजपूत आपण येक व्हावे शहाजादा बाहेर काढावा तमाम हिंदुस्थानातून म-हाटे बाहेर घाल्वावे ...”

207 180 पेशवे दफ्तर - खंड २१ - पृ. १२०
” ... मुरादाबाद, मुहारनपूर व संमल व बरेली व शहाजहापूर व लखनऊचे हदपरियेत तो रोहिले व फठाण ते तो अब्दालीचेव जाणावे . अंबेर व जोधपूरचेव राजे तो अब्दालीचे चाकर म्हणवित्यात व त्याहीच यास बोलाविले की आम्हास म-हाठि याचे हाते सोडवा. तुमची चाकरी करीत जाऊ.. परंतु त्यास महाराष्ट्राचे मये आहे ...”

Chapter Seven (continued)

- 208 180 पेशवे दप्तर - पृ. १३७ खंड २१
" ... फठाण व रोहिले सर्व येक जाले तरी फार श्रम देतील. अगोधरी पारपत्य करावे ... संपूर्ण दक्षणेपासून गुजरात, मालवा ... फठाणाने मरली आहे. जीश्वर न करो याचे राज्य हो. परम हिंदूंचे वदेशी आहेत ... "
- 209 181 पेशवे दप्तर खंड २१ पृ. १९९
" ... त्याचे क्लील जैपुरास राजा माधवसिंगा पासी व सुरजमला जाटापासी येअन पैगाम केला आहे ... आम्ही तुम्ही मिलोन म-हाटे सरदारास हिंदुस्थानातून दक्षणेत पा (ठ) अ तुम्हासही त्याचा अपसर्ग होत आहे ... तुम्ही दिलीत नीट पातशाही वरी कायेम व्हा व मम्हाटे सरदाराचे पारपत्य करा ... मी तुम्हास पैका देअीन ... "
- 210 182 पेशवे दप्तर खंड २१ पृ. २००-२०१
" ... अब्दाली मगरर ... अब्दालीची फौज मारीच जाली. त्याने नीट पैगाम राजे माधवसिंग व जाट व कुल राजे व शुजायदौलात माणसे लिहिली पाठविली की भेटीस या अमर फौज व पैका द्या. त्यास अिकडील सरदाराचे मये, तिम्हडे त्याचेही मये ... वरच्यावरी जाब्साल राखत आहेत ... "
- 211 182 पेशवे दप्तर खंड २१ पृ. २०२ - २०३
" ... मोगलांजी बुडालीसी जाणे येक पातशाहाजादा पठणियात आहे ... अब्दाली जरी त्यास आणून

Chapter Seven (continued)

- 211 182 बसवील तरी न कले. परंतु काये गरज ... आपणच का करीना. रोहिले म्हणताती की मोगलाची पातझाही दिल्लीतील गेली. पठाणाची कदीम पातझाही जाली व यास मोठा व्देश म्हाराष्ट्राचा आहे व मयेही हेच मानिताती.
- 212 185 अि.ले. ६६, मराठी रियासत भाग ४
" ... मामा व तुम्ही कारभार करा ... माधव राव धनी, त्रिंबकराव कारमारी सर्वांनी यांच्या विचाराने कतीवे ... होळकर म्हणाले, बहुत अुतम "
- 213 185 पेशवे दप्तर १९ पृ. १४-१५ मराठी रियासत - सरदेसाजी " ... अुमयतांच्या मेठी मल्हार राव होळकराने घडवून आणल्या. " माधवराव, रावसाहेब प्रथमतः दोनशे राबतान्सी येअून मेठले. मुजरे केले. दादासाहेबांचा जोडा अुक्लून डोअीवर घेतला, बहुतच अर्जमात जाले. तेणेकरून दादासाहेब मायावादात पडले. रायास आज्ञा केली की ... सर्व तुमचेच आहे. मजला काही लागत नाही ... दादांनी मुदे ल्हून दिले, त्यावर यांनी करारयाद ल्हून दिली. मल्हारराव दरम्यान होअून सल्ला ठरला.
- 214 186 मराठी रियासत पृ. १५२
" ... मी जातीने पेशव्यांची चाकरी पाहिजे ती करण्यास सिध्द आहे, पण या कामास मी आपली

Chapter Seven (continued)

- 214 186 फौज लावणार नाही. ”
- 215 186 थोरले माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी पृ. ३२४
व्हॉ.फर्स्ट.
- 216 187 थोरले माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी पृ. ३२५
व्हॉ.फर्स्ट
- 217 187 थोरले माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी पृ. ३३०
व्हॉ.फर्स्ट
” बाळाजी जनार्दन यांच्या रोजनीदीं पैकी
'मीराखान व हसनखान ... आपण जमाक्सुद्धा लख
रात येतो ... अर्ज केला ... लखरात याक्याची
आज्ञा केली असे ... ”
- 218 188 थोरले माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी पृ. ३३६
व्हॉ. १ बाळाजी जनार्दन यांच्या रोजनीदीं पैकी
” जमातदार दिम्त गाडदी व शीख यांचे नांवे
कौल की, सरकारात नवे लोकांचे प्रयोजन आहे याज
करिता तुम्हास माणूस आज्ञाक्यास आज्ञा केली असे
... १ सुमेरसिंग ... चारशे असामी गाडदी यांस
... कौल, १ मली मदान खान ... चारशे असामी
गाडदी ... वंदुकेशिवाय माणूस आणू नये ... कौल
... १ शेरसिंग ... नवे लोक येणे प्रमाणे ... २
जमातदार ... १९८ शिपायी ... ”
- 219 188 थोरले माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी, पृ. ३३७
व्हॉ.फर्स्ट बाळाजी जनार्दन यांच्या रोजनिशी पैकी
” आपाजी गणेश ... यांचे नांवे सनद की, सरकारात

Chapter Seven (continued)

- 219 188 लोकांचे प्रयोजन असे ... ^{४००} ~~कस्तुरी~~ आरब चांगले ...
१०० हबशी चांगले ... १००० सिद्दी निव्वळ ...
दुसरे जातीचे ठेवू नयेत ... ”
- 220 188 थोरले माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी पृ. ३५२
व्हॉ.फर्स्ट नारो आपाजीच्या रोजनीदीं पैकी
” ... औचितगड तालुक्यात हबशीयाने दंगा फार
करून जागा जागा धारे करून मुक्कास गुपद्रव
करितो, यास्तव किल्ले पोपेरी व किल्ले सोनगिरी
हे दोन किल्ले वसाहत करावयाविशी आज्ञा रामचंद्र
कृष्ण यास केली आहे ... ”
- 221 188 पेशवे दफ्तर खंड १२ पृ. ११६४
” ... आरब तो फारच सेर झाले आहेत. आज
ह्या दरबारी आरबांखेरीज काही नाही ... ”
- 222 189 थोरले माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी पृ. ७८
व्हॉ.फर्स्ट ” ... अंताजी त्रिंक्क कमाविसदार
परगणे चांदवड ... यास सनद की, सुमेरसिंग गाडदी
हे आपले लग्न करावयास परगणे मज्जुरी गेले आहेत
त्यास लग्नाचे साहित्य तुम्हाकडेन येणे प्रमाणे ...
तरी सदरहू लिहिले प्रमाणे पावते करणे ... ”
- 223 189 पेशवे दफ्तर भाग २३ पृ. ८३
सेक्सी विज्ञापना. अित्के दिवस गाडदी सरकाराचे
ढालापुढे राहात होते. चार दिवस आमचे मिसलेस
येऊन राहतात, त्याजमुळे आमचे गोटाचा फारच
गळंठा येतो. कजिया करावा तर सरकारचे चाकर.

Chapter Seven (continued)

223 189

गाडदी यांनी सरकारचे ढालापुढे राहावे. त्यांचे
अजबे बाजूस प्रयोजन काय ! चार दिवस दाटण
सोसली. लोकांचा राहाक्याचा गळंडा व्हूत
होतो. सेव्हास आशा होजील तरी कोसावर जाऊन
राहात जाऊ. आशा होजील ते समझी सेवेस येत
जाऊ. नरसिंगराव आपले मिसलेस ढाल राहुत्या
देऊन राहिले होते, त्यांच्या राहुत्या व ढाल
गाडदी यांनी अपडोन त्यांचे जाग्यावर राहिले.
ते दीडा कोसावर जाऊन राहिले. राजश्री सदाशिव
रामचंद्र यास जागाच राहिली नाही. ते ही लांब
मेले. सेवेसी कळावे हे विश्वापना.

224 A 190

Peshwa Daptar, Vol. 39.

On 7th September 1769 an attempt ~~was~~ to
assassinate Madhavrao was made by one
Gardi probably at the behest of Raghoba

पेशवे दप्तर भाग ३९ पृ. १४७

'' यादी जदीद गाडदी ठेवाक्याची आशा आली
त्या विसी कलमे ... गाडदी माणूस चांगले कसबी
... ठेवावे ... रुपये ...

सदरहू माणूस चांगले मुसलमान

आरब वगैरे चांगले आथावे तीनसे माणूस गाडदी
आणलियास दोन जमादार मर्द माणूस ...

224 190

मराठी रियासत भाग ४ कृ. पृ. १६३ ख. ले. ८११

Chapter Seven (continued)

- 225 191 मराठी रियासत भाग ४ पृ. १७४-१७५
" तुमचे आमचे वैर असू नये. तुमचा राज्यांश आहे त्या स्थितीत तुम्ही सांभाळावा, आमचा आम्ही सांभाळू. कोणी कोणास दुखू नये किंवा अतिक्रमण करू नये. तक्रारी जुपस्थित होतील त्या साम-वृत्तीने अक्केफांनी बोलून मागवाव्या. त्यासाठी वर्दळीस येण्याचे कारण नाही. "
- On 7th December 1772 an order was issued to recruit more Gardis into the service of the Peshwa. 'The sanction appears to be given by Narayanrao against who they ultimately acted.'
- 226 193 थोरले माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी - खंड १ पृ. १
" ... गुलराज व आनंदराम वकील दिस्त अबदाली हे हुजूर आले होते. त्यास यांचा करार मदार जाहला की, सरकारचा संबंध तीर्थरूप कैलासवासी नाना साहेब व भाऊसाहेब होते त्यांच्या वेळेस ज्याप्रमाणे अमल होतो त्याप्रमाणे परगण्यात अंमलजहानी व आसफल हुजुरा यांनी ताकीद करून देवावा ... "
- 227 193 राजवाडे खंड १० - ४
" ... प्रस्तुत तुम्ही सुजाजुदौल्याजवळ जाहा ते जगत केले. सरकारची ठाणी गेली आहेत ती हस्तगत करावी. राजवाड्यास साहित्यपत्र पाठविले जातील, "
- 228 193 राजवाडे खंड १४-१६
" ... महादजी सिंदे हिंदुस्थानात गेले, मल्हार

Chapter Seven (continued)

- 228 193 राव व ते अके झाले, तिकडे त्यांची जबरदस्ती पडावी या अद्वैते सरकार तिकडे गेले ...”
- 229 194 ” ... अंग्रजांपाशी तोफांचा मार फार. तेव्हा लोकांनी त्त न दिले. निघाले. म्हार बा कालपीवर आले. फार खटे आहेत ...”
खरे - ५७५
- 230 194 ” अतः पर होकरांकडे जात आहे. त्यांचा मुकाम दतियावर आहे. ते व आम्ही अकर होऊन मातवर कामे करावी, हाच अर्थ चिंतात घरला आहे.”
- 231 195 मराठी रियासत भाग ४, पृ. १३४
- 232 196 मराठी रियासत भाग ४ - पृ. १३५
” ... अंग्रजांचा प्रवेश दिल्लीत होऊ देऊ नये. प्रवेश जाल्या अकणार नाही, टोपीकरांत अंग्रज भारी जाले आहेत. कलकता, मच्छली बंदर, सुरत पावेतो आठोप त्यांचा जाला.”
- 233 196 पेशवे दफ्तर भाग २९ - २६६
” ... राजश्री विसाजीपंतदादा यांनी व श्रीमंत राजश्री महादजीबाबा शिंदे यांनी सारे सरदार मतात मेळून येक विचारे दिलीचा बंदोबस्त किल्ल्या सुध्दा केला म्हणोन कळले. तर ही म्हत्कृत्ये लावं दांचे सेवकाचे हाते घडावी हे फल स्वामीसेवेवर येकनिष्ट तिकडे आहे. पुढे पातवाही बंदोबस्त

Chapter Seven (continued)

- 233 196 होअून पातशाह स्थापून येक्या येकदा सूत्रे सारे मंडल वर्तवून सरकार किययात करणे या गोष्टी खावदाचे प्रतापे घडून यज्ञ येकनिष्ट सेवकाकडेच आहे
- 234 196 पेशवे दफ्तर - भाग २९ - २७०
" ... परंतु आपले आझेबेरीज कोणी नाही. हिंदुस्थानातही दबाब महाराजाचा भारीच आहे व सरदाराचीही दबाव चांगला आहे. कोणे विझीची फिकीर नाही ... तेथील ताकीद आल्याखेरीज येथे कोणी बोलणार नाही. स्वामीचा पायाशिवाय दुसरीकडे चित्त नाही ..."
- 235 197 पेशवे दफ्तर - ३९ : १३४
" ... दौलतीस कर्ज आहे ते वारावयाचे ... कोकणात व देशात रयतेस सुख नाही ... नीट प्रजा पालन करावे ... श्री काशी प्रयाग ही दोन स्थळे सरकारात यावी असा तीर्थरुपांचा हेतू होता. त्यास प्रस्तुत करण्याजोगे दिक्स आहेत. प्रयत्न करून दोनही स्थळे हस्तगत करावी. ... दादासाहेबास ... जागीर ... द्यावी ..."
- 236 198 मराठी रियासत - भाग ४ पृ. १३५
" ... परंतु पातशाहानी पैसा व मुलुख तुन्हास काय दिल्ली १ तीन छावण्या गुदरल्या, चौथी समीप आली. पातशाहाचे मत्तलब सिद्ध जाहले, परंतु तुमचे स्वहिताचा प्रकार कसा १ सरकारची

Chapter Seven (continued)

- 236 198 फौज खराब नाली त्याप्रमाणे पैसा व मुलुख तो साधलाच पाहिजे. प्रयाग काशीचे मालख तुम्ही साध्य करून घेतले असतील ...”
- 237 199 थोरले माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी - पृ.७-८
” हणमंतराव बाबाजी व बापूजी महादेव यांचे नांवे सनद ... ठाणे घेऊन बंदोबस्ती करणे ... गांवचा कच्चा वसूल सरकारास समजावावा. त्या पैकी शिबंदीबजा होऊन बाकी अंजन राहिल तो सरसाल पावता करावा.”
- 238 200 थोरले माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी - पृ.२२-२३
” राजाराम गोविंद यांचे नांवे सनद की ... अकूण चार किल्ले सरकारात घेतले, ते जागीर सुध्दा अमल तुम्हाकडे दिला असे, तरी अिमाने अितबारे वतौन अंमल चौकशीने करणे. सदरहू किल्ले हायचे जमाखर्चाचा बहेडा अलाहिदा करून दिला आहे, त्याप्रमाणे चौकशीने खर्च तेच करून किल्ले हायचा चौकी पाहणाचा वगैरे बंदोबस्त यथास्तित करणे ..”
- 239 200 थोरले माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी - पृ. २३
- 240 200 थोरले माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी - पृ.४३-४४
” विसाजी कृष्ण यांचे नांवे सनद की, तुम्हास सोरठ प्रांते रवाना केले, ... शिबंदी नवी वगैरे वरचेवर करणे. ठाणी व मुलुख घ्याल त्याचा बंदोबस्त हुजस्तन करून दिल्ली जातील ...”

Chapter Seven (continued)

- 240 200 (दादासाहेब यांच्या राजकीर्ती पैकी)
- 241 200 थोरले माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी - पृ. ४९
'' संवायतचे राजकारणाचा प्रकार ... शिवंदी जाजती ठेवणे लागते, ये विसींची आज्ञा करावी म्हणोन तुम्ही विनंतीपत्र लिहिले ... शिवंदी जाजती कार्याकरण लागेल ती चौकशीने ठेवणे ''
- 242 201 थोरले माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी पृ. १२३
- 243 201 थोरले माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी पृ. १२५
- 244 201 थोरले माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी पृ. १५०
- 245 201 थोरले माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी पृ. १७०
- 246 202 थोरले माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी पृ. १७७-७८
'' राजश्री राजे विठ्ठल शिवदेव गुमदेतुल मुख बहादर यांचे नावे सनद की, तुम्हास सालमज्जुरापा सून फौज ठेवण्यास आज्ञा केली आहे .. हजिरीस स्वार कमी झाले तरी त्याचा पैका सरकारात द्यावा, याप्रमाणे करार केला असे ... अखेर साली किल्ल्याचा हिशेब शिवंदीचा आदी करून सरकारात आणून समजावा ... ''
- 247 202 थोरले माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी पृ. १८६-८७
'' त्रिंकराव शिवदेव यांचे नावे सनद की ... आपले कर्ज सरकारात येणे आहे ... त्याज्वरून तुम्हास कर्जाबद्दल म्हाल नेमून दिले ... परगणे मज्जूर चा हिशेब अखेर साली सरकार हिशियाचा कच्चा

Chapter Seven (continued)

- 247 202 हुजूर आपून समजाविणे ... तुमचे कजीचा अँवज फिट्टे तौ पर्यन्त सरकारातून मजुरा दिला जागील कजीचा अँवज वारल्यावर म्हालचा अँवज सरकारात घेतला जागील ... ”
- 248 203 थोरले माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी पृ. २४७
- 249 203 थोरले माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी पृ. २८९
” ... चिमणाची ... आपण सरकारचे चाकरीस अंतर करणार नाही ... याप्रमाणे करार केला असता ... अँकैद करून चाकरीस ... न गेला ... या प्रमाणे गैर राहा वर्तणूक केली, सबब तुम्हाकडील किल्ले खैराजी हा किल्ला सरकारात ठेवावायाचा करार करून पांडुरंग कृष्ण यास पाठविले असेत ... ”
- 250 204 मराठ्यांच्या अतिहासाची साधने खंड १, १४१, राजवाडे प्रस्तावना पृ. ५४
- 251 204 मराठ्यांच्या अतिहासाची साधने खंड १, २६१ राजवाडे प्रस्तावना पृ. ४१
” ... कार्यावरी आले प्रमाणे जातो, अँसा गोष्टी रिकाम्या लिहिता. निदर्शनास त्यातील अँकही येत नाही. यामुळे तुमच्या कर्तृत्वाची तारीफ वाटते ते कोठपर्यन्त लिहावी । लिहिता लिहिता मागलो । हे तुमच्या कर्तृत्वास अँतम नाही. ... ”
- 252 206 पेशव्यांची वंशावळ, पृ. १८३, मराठ्यांच्या अतिहासाची साधने खंड ४
” ... माधवराव नारायण जन्म अँके १६९६ अ.

Chapter Seven (continued)

- 252 206 वैशाख शु. ७, बारासाचे दिवशी पेशवेपदाची वस्त्रे
अधीक वैशाख व ४ शके १६९६ साली पुरंदर किल्ल्यावर
आली. ”
- 253 207 Maharashtra-State Gazetteer - History
Maratha Period - page 97 Contributed
by Dr. V.G.Dighe.
- 254 208 पेशवे दफ्तर खंड २१ पृ. १७८-१७९
” ... असा प्रताप तो ब्राह्मणात कोणाचा येविला
नाही ... पूर्वील मुल्काबेरीज लाहोरचा सुधा अटक
पावेलो ... मुल्क या साठी महाराजाचा जाला.
आता पश्चिमेस मुल्कान काबल व पूर्वेस बंगाला व
आयोच्या प्रयाग राहिली. त्यात कित्के मुल्क
महाराजाखालीच आहे. कुसुमेत व प्रयाग व वारा
णसी व गया येथे येवनाचे नांव काशास १ महाराजा
सारखा गोब्राह्मण प्रतिपालक असता हा मनोरथ
संपूर्ण विश्वाचा झाला पाहिजे. अेका वरसाचे काम
असे ... ”
- 255 209 पेशवे दफ्तर खंड २१, पृ. १६२
” ... परंतु बंगालियाचे काम, कासी प्रयागचे
कामविना पातशाहा वजीर आम्ही तिघेच निराले
गेल्यावाचोन स्वामीच्या मनोदयानस्तप होत नाही... ”
- 256 209 मराठ्यांच्या अतिहाताची साधने, खंड ६, पृ. ३५६
अि.स. १७५२
” ... आम्ही गनीम लोक शिवाजी महाराजांचे
शिष्य आहोत । ... ”

Chapter Seven (continued)

- 257 210 पेशवे दफ्तर खंड २१, पृ. १९१
" ... मुकाम श्री प्रयाग ... यात्रेकरास पहिले
सारखा अपसर्ग नाही. माफीक मामुल म्हसूल घेतो.
व सरकारची लिहिली असली ज्याजपासी जासली
त्यास मुजाहीम होत नाही. सेवक यात्रेकरांचे कार्या
विषयी तिल्लुत्य अंतराये करीत नाही. ... या
प्रांती फौजा आल्या बंगाल्यापावेतो मुकू हस्तगत
होणे काही कठीन नाही ... "
- 258 211 सवाजी माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी, भाग २
अंक २ रा, पृ. १७ १, ४ व ५
" ... अपाजी हरि यांस साष्टीस जिंज्रांचे
पारपत्यास रवाना केले आहे. " " ... जिं-
ज्राने बिघाड करून साष्टीस मोर्चे लावले आहेत,
त्याचे पारपत्य करणे नसून, व सरकारात आरब,
सिद्दी मर्द माणूस यांची दरकार आहे ... "
- 259 211 सवाजी माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी, भाग २
अंक २, पृ. ७ " ... तेहता मजलाल याचे सांचे
सनद की, मडोच तालुका जिंज्राकडे आहे ... तुम्ही
मडोचचा किल्ला सरकारात फते करून दिल्यास
तुम्हास जिनाम जाहगीर घ्याव्याचा वगैरे करार
येथे प्रमाणे ... " १७७४ - १७७५
- 260 211 सवाजी माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी, भाग २
पृ. २० -- " ... साष्टीस जिंज्र येऊन लागला
आहे ... याज्जरिता हुजूरन फौज व गाडदी व

Chapter Seven (continued)

- 260 211 लोक खाना केलेव आहेत ...”
- 261 212 सवाजी माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी भाग २
पृ. २४
- 262 214 सवाजी माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी भाग २
पृ. २९०-२९२ ” ... परगणा गोंडापूर हा म्हाल
नबाब बहादुर याज्जडे जाहागीर दिल्ली’ ...
’ जाबीतजंग जफ्त दौलामुबारक मुल्क बहादुर यांचे
नावे सनद की, स नबाब निझामअल्लीखा बहादुर
यांचा व सरकारचा स्नेह अकृत्रिम त्यास तुम्ही
नबाबाचे अक्निष्ठ व सरकारचे लक्षात चालत आहा
हे जाणोन ... अकूण सहा म्हाल येथील स्वराज्याचा
अंमल चौथाजीचा ... अिनाम करून दिल्ली असे ..’
’.. सालमज्जुरी नबाब निझामअल्लीखा बहादुर यास
जाहागिरीचा अंमल दिला असे ...”
- 263 214 सवाजी माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी भाग २
263 214 पृ. ३२२ - ” ... कमावीस मेठ सनगे ... ३९२
बाबत शरफत दौला ... ३०२ बाबत नाजीक ...”
- 264 215 सवाजी माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी भाग २
पृ. ३२५ -- ” ... दोन्ही सरकारची दोस्ती
पेशजींचे तहनाम्याप्रमाणे चालावी म्हणोन बोलणे
जहाले ... पेशजीचा तहनामा शपतपूर्वक जहाला आहे,
तोच करार केला असे ...”

Chapter Seven (continued)

- 265 215 सवाजी माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी भाग २
पृ. ३२८ -- " सरकार व नवाब निझाम
अल्लीखान वहादर व नवाब टिपू सुल्तान वहादर
यांणी यावतचंद्रसूर्य जीश्वराचे अिच्छेकडून आपले आपले
सरकारचे दस्तुर प्रमाणे शपथपूर्वक अितिफाकाने राहून
करार मदारस अंतर न करिता दोन्ही कडून आपले
आपले रयासतीची बंदोबस्ती व खलखुलाचे रफाबिय
तीवर असावे, अगर चवथा कोणी मुखालिफ आपो
आप ती ही दौलतीतून अेका दौलतीवर चालून
आल्यास अितिफाकाने तिन्ही सरकार मिळोन
मुखालिफाची तंबी करावी ..."
- 266 216 सवाजी माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी भाग २
पृ. ३३४-३४३
- 267 217 P.R.C. Vol. p. 340, Shore's reflection
on Political State of India.
- 268 217 सवाजी माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी भाग २
पृ. ६५ -- " ... सरकारचा व जिंज व फि-
रंगी यांचा तह झाला ... महादजी शिंदे याचे
विद्यमाने तह जाला ..."
- 269 218 सवाजी माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी भाग २
पृ. ११२ -- " ... महादजी शिंदे याकडून
काशीद, पातशाका भेटी होऊन राजश्री राव यांचे
नांवे बक्षिगिरी करून घेतल्याची पत्रे घेऊन आले
सबब अिनाम ..."

Chapter Seven (continued)

- 269 218 Heward was given to the messengers who brought letters from Mahadji Shinde announcing him that he had obtained for the Peshwa the office of Baxigir.
- 270 219 महादजी शिंदे यांची कागदपत्रे नं. ५०१
" ... श्रीमंत राजश्री पंतप्रधान स्वामीचे सेवेसी ..
विनंती सेक्त महादजी शिंदे ... लढाजी रजपुतांनी मारली असता फलटणांनी हिंदुस्थाती यांनी फितुर केला ... श्रुत जालेच असेल ... ओढीमुले मोठा पेच घडला आहे. बादशहाचे नऊ महिने चढले आहेत, त्यांचा तगादा. यासमयी बादशहा बाहेर निघून आपले जवळ आल्यास हाती सर्व गोष्टी राहतील. बादशहा बाहेर निघून आपलेजवळ न आल्यास सर्वास राजकारणे करावयाची जागा आहे. बादशहाही कायम मिजाज नाही, लोभी, ... यामुळे कोणी अुभा राहात नाही. नाअिलाज गोष्ट जाणून विनंती लिहिण्यात येती ... अैवजाची तरतूद सरकारातून जरूर जाली पाहिजे ... या गोष्टीने अुपयोग बहुत पडेल व आख्खारेवस्तन पेशजी हिंदुस्थानास व बाद शहास सरकारात आम्हासी नीट नाही हे समजले आहे. ते शूर होऊन, अेक नाद आहे, अिकडे मसलत पडताच अैवजाची तरतूद करून पाठविली, फौजही रवाना केली, हे सर्वास समजोन दव्कील. अिंग्रज वजीर आदी करून हवा बिघडली आहे यात शिस्त पावणार नाहीत ... लिहिल्याप्रमाणे आज्ञा करणार स्वामी समर्थ आहेत ...

Chapter Seven (continued)

271 220 P.R.C. Vol. II pages 229-230
Letter No. 130 From Lord Cornwallis
to Sir Charles Mallet resident at the
Court of Poona.
- Camp near Seringapatan II, April 1792
... ..
" On the second point Harripant, after
a good deal of circumlocution and strong
expressions that he did not believe the
case was ever likely to happen, asked
me whether if Sindia should so far
forget himself and his dependence upon
the Maratha State has to oblige the
Peshwa to have recourse to strong mea-
sures, we should consider ourselves as
bound by our connection with that chief
to afford him any support.

I did not hesitate in reply to this
question to assure Hurri Punt that if
the case he supposed should actually
happen, which I thought the late peace
rendered highly improbable, that the
British Government would in no degree
interfere except by an offer of friendly
mediation "

... सेवेसी विज्ञापना. तुमचे येणे देशी हे मनुष्याचे विचारे पहाता येणे देशी जाल्यावरी तिकडील बंदोबस्त राहणार नाही. अनेक प्रकारचे बखेडे तुमचे राहातील. फौजा ठेवून बंदोबस्त करून देशी येऊ म्हटल्यास फौजाच राहून बंदोबस्त राहणार नाही ... पातशाहीचा बंदोबस्त केला तो राहणार नाही. फिरोज भ्रम पडतील. हिंदुस्थानियांचा अतिवार नाही, ... याज्जरिता तुमचे देशी येणे चांगले दिसत नाही म्हणोन पत्री आज्ञा. त्यास ... कोणी बखेडा करावा अशी जुरत राहू दिल्ली नाही. ... स्वामींचे दर्शनास बहुत दिवस जाहले... वरण दर्शन ही लालसा आहे.३, देवाचाही उपद्रव वारंवार होतो ... सरदार अिकडे आहेत, बंदोबस्त करितील घरच्या फितुरानेच अिस्माअील बेग कानोडास गेला ... परंतु त्याचे ... पारपत्य जाहले ... कोणी बखेडा करील असा दिसत नाही. घरचा फितुर झाल्यास न कळे ..."

सवाअी माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी भाग २

पृ. ११९ व २४३

"... देणे महादजी शिंदे यांस, ककील मुतलकी व अमीर व अमराअीची पदे पादशाहा याणी दिल्लीहून अिनायत केली, त्याची नायबी सरकारातून मसार निल्हेस सांगितली, सबब वस्त्रे दिल्ली ..."

राजश्री राव यासी पातशाहानी ककील मुतलकी व मीरअक्षीगिरी अिनायते करून दिल्लीहून कृत पाठविली ..."

Chapter Seven (continued)

- 273 223 - Clothes of Honour were received from the Emperor on the occasion of Investiture of the Dignity of Vakil Mutalki and Mir Baxigiri ~~मखी~~ conferred by the Emperor on the Peshwa.
- 274 223 P.R.C. Vol. II, page 300
Maharashtra State Gazetteer - Dr.V.G. Dighe -
- 275 225 सवाजी माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी भाग २
पृ. २४७ -- " ... देणे दौलतराव शिंदे यास
फौजसुधदा मोहिमेस रवाना केला, सर्व वस्त्रे दिल्ली
... "
- 276 225 सवाजी माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी भाग २
पृ. २४७ -- " ... कमावीस भेट राजश्री राव
याजवरहूम लुहोजी होकर यांचे डेसास स्वारी
गेली तेथे पोषाख आला तो जमा ... "
- 277 225 ऐतिहासिक पत्रव्यवहार ले. ३१४
" ... मुख्य हिंदुस्थान व दक्षिण हिंदुस्थानचे
पादशाहाचे ताबे आहेत. पादशाही बंदोबस्त त्याचे
अखत्यार त्याचे ताबे दक्षिण तालुका जो पादशाही
कायदा आहे व तेथून जो जहकाम पोहोचेल त्याची
मुताबत जतावी.
दक्षिणेत विक्रुल गोवध न करावा. मुसलमानांचा
जो धर्म निमाज, रोजा, बांगसल्लात अिकाराने

Chapter Seven (continued)

277 225 खुदापस्ती करावी.
हिंदु मुसलमान आंध्वराचे घरची दोन्ही धर्म चालत असता मुसलमानाचे हिंदुचे जाण्यास अपद्रव करावा हे बेमुसफती व हिंदूने आज तागाआत मुसलमानीचे जागे पीर पैगंबर यांनी दुसरी गोष्ट समजण्यात आणिली नाही. तेव्हा मुसलमानाने हिंदूचे धर्मास खलन करू नये. आपले चालीने धर्मावरील कायम असावे परस्परे मुजाहिम नसावे ...''

Chapter EIGHT : The Period of Confusion.

Ref. No. Page No.

278 233 दुसरे बाजीराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी, पृ. १४०
-१४२ -- '' ... जिंघ्रजाकडील पलटणे सहा सरकार तैनातीस ठेऊन त्यांचे खर्चीस सव्वीस लक्षा रुपयांचे म्हाल नांविनीवार गुप्तसाथ व कर्नीटक मिळोन अला हिदा जिंघ्रजा लिपीचे यादीवर शिक्का केला आहे ... त्या शिक्क्याचे यादीपैकी जिंघ्रजा आपला अमल बसवितील त्यास तुम्ही अडथळा न करणे ... त्या शिक्क्याचे यादीपैकी किल्ले पारनेरा प्रांत मजूर व म्हाल येथे जिंघ्रजा आपला अमल बसवितील. त्यांस मसारांनिव्हेचे स्वाधीन किल्ला करून कब्ज घेणे म्हणोन ... सरकारचा व कुंपणी जिंघ्रजा व्हादूर यांचे सरकार

Chapter Eight (continued)

- 278 233 सरकारचा तह वसतीचे मुक्कामी सालगुदस्ता ...
जाहला. ... त्यांचे सर्वांस प्रांत गुजराथ पैकी
परगणे भुरपाड वगैरे म्हाल ... कर्नीटक येथील
प्रांत सावनूर म्हाल ... लावून दिले होते ...
सरकारात माघारे घेतले ... त्याचे मोबदला ...
बुंदेलखंडाकडे सरंजामास धाक्याचा करारात आला...
येकूण छतीस लक्ष सोळा हजार रुपयांचे बेरजेचे म्हाज
कुंपणी अंग्रज बहादूर याज्कडे नेमून देविले असते ...”
- 279 235 सुसरे बाजीराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी पृ. २७, ४२,
४४, ४५ ” ... बदल देणे खाजगत सर्वाबदल वीस
लक्ष रुपये ...”
- 280 238 पोर्तुगेज मराठे संबंध - पृ. ३०९ - ३१०
” ह्या दरबारामध्ये पेशाची पुष्कळच टंचाणी आहे.
मराठ्यांचे सरदार अक्सेकांशी विरोधाने वागतात.
त्या सर्वांनी हे प्रदेश लुटून फस्त केले आहेत. ते
पेशव्याची सत्ता मानोत असले तरी त्याची आज्ञा
ते वाटल्यास पाळतात. पगार मिळत नसल्यामुळे
ह्या सरकारचे व सिंधांचे अधिकारी तक्रार करीत
आहेत ... येथील अंग्रजांचा वकील पुष्कळ खर्च करतो
व पेशव्यास मोठमोठे नजराणे देतो. सामान्यतः
येथील सर्व लोक म्हणतात की लक्करच अंग्रज हा सर्व
प्रदेश हस्तगत करणार ! ”

Chapter Eight (continued)

281	238	अ.ले.सं. भाग १३ नं. ६३३० - फेब्रु. १९०२ " ... सारांश, चहुकडे चहुराज्यावर अंग्रजांचा गलफ जाला । ... गाठिकवाड यांच्या संस्थानी सुरत्कर अंग्रज यांणी मदतीच्या निमित्त्ये प्रवेश केला व कुल हिंदुस्थानातही अंग्रज जाहले । पुढे काय होतील ते पाहावे ... "
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Chapter NINE : Books and Miscellaneous Thoughts

Ref No. Page No.

282	240	आज्ञापत्र - " ... चिरंजीव राजश्री राजकुमार राजकार्यी सुशिक्षित व्हावे ... नीतीने वतोन राज्य संरक्षण करावे, यास्तव स्वामींनी यथाशास्त्र राजनीति या आज्ञापत्रावरून केली आहे ... "
283	240	" हत्यारमात्रांची मजणूक, विद्या संपादन वरचेवर वर्धिष्णु करीत जावी. " This important advice, it appears, have been totally forgotten by the later Peshwas and Chhatrapatis.
284	240	परंतु केवळ स्तुतिप्रीयता हा ही दोष मोठाच आहे.
285	241	खजिना म्हणजे राज्याचे जीवन.

Chapter Nine (continued)

- 286 241 सकल राजकार्यांत हे अग्रसर कार्ये ।
- 287 241 प्रधानविरहित राज्यकारभार चालणेच नाहीत.
- 288 242 अकाचेच हस्ते राज्यकारभार असल्यावर अितर तत्समान जे आहेत ते, राजकार्याविषयी अुदासीन होतात, किंवहुना जे पुढे होतो त्याचे त्याणे केले कार्याच्या अपकारास प्रवर्ततात. यामुळे राज्यकारभार नाश होतो.
- 289 242 साहुकाराच्या योगाने राज्य आबादान होते ...
- 290 242 परंतु ते वरकड सावकारांसारखे श्रीमंत होते. नव्हते. यांचे खारवंद प्रत्येक प्रत्येक राज्यच करीत आहेत.
- 291 244 आरमार म्हणजे स्वतंत्र अके राज्यांमच आहे ... ज्याजवळ आरमार त्याचा समुद्र ... "
- 292 245 पेशवे दप्तर खंड १७ पृ. १५८१-८२
" ... यावरी रामाजीपंत बोलले की, सरदारी व मामला ही दोन्ही येकासच असिली म्हणजे मामला बुडतो, यास्तव सरदारी निराली, मामला निराला यैसे असिले पाहिजे ... तदनंतर राजश्री स्वामी बोलिले की, हे पोछट खरीच आहे. "
- 293 246 मराठ्यांच्या अितिहासाची साधने, खंड ६ पृ. ५१३-१७
- 294 246 श्रीरामदासांचे समग्र ग्रंथ
" ... सामर्थ्यैविण करी सता । तो येक मूर्ख ॥
- 295 248 शाहू दप्तर रुमाल नं. ४९

Chapter Nine (continued)

295 248

” शंभराज पिलाजी ... चांदाचे राजकारणास पूर्वी रागा विसाजी रघुनाथ पाठविले होते तो कार्यभाग तुम्हास सांगोन पाठविला असे ... ”

296 248

मराठ्यांच्या इतिहासाची साधने खंड ६
” ... श्रीमंत राजश्री पंत प्रधान सातारियात होते. मातुश्री ताराबायी यांचे राजकारण मनास आणावयास राहिले. परंतु ती अद्याप गडाखाले येऊनात. राजश्रीस पाठविनात ... ”

297 248

थोरले माधवराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी भाग १
” ... कुडाळ प्रांतीचे सरदार नाजूक कामाचे राजकारणाचे हुजरे आले आहेत. ... ”

POLITICAL THOUGHT IN MAHARASHTRA

(1600 - 1818)

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