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 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 towards Marathas. Manucci records: '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 extent.'

116. Letter to Parashuram.
117. Storia Do Mogot - by Manucci. Vol. IV.
extent in every part of the empire. In this war, over a hundred thousand souls had 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 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.

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 Kanavisdaras 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. Zulfiqar 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 Daccan, 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 Dhurala 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 Kawal 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 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

118. Purandare Daptar.
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 Kajgad, 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, 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 1708 that 'in the conflict between the two, there is more possibility of king Shahu becoming victorious.' Another reason which helped Shahu to achieve 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

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119. Portuguese Marathé Relations - Pisurlekar.
Shivaji II into prison. The appointment of Balaji Vishwanath as Peshwa by Shahu and Tarabai's imprisonment considered with other, coincided with 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'. 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 Sardeshmukhi 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 Sanyadri 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 up to 1702 and in Aurangabad up to 1707.

120. Diary of Shahu.
A letter written by Shrikarcharya Panditrao in 1699 mentions the title 'Sarsubhedar' clearly. Shrikarcharya 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 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 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, Akluj, Kasegaon, Mangalwedhe, Miraj, Pedgaon, Junnar and surrounding forts; Chaul and surrounding forts; Sangola, Nazre, Chakan, Belgaum, Kalyan,

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121. Itihas Sangraha.
122. Rajwade - Aitihasik Prastavana.
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 Ghanda (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 Jurgabai 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, 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 Rafi-ud Darajat 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 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 Deccan. Balaji returned from Delhi in June 1719 and died on the 2nd April 1720. Shahu appointed his Bajirao on the 16th April, 1720 as next peshwa. Shahu handed over the same list 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. 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 सार्वभूमि or पृथ्विवर्षि.

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126. Diary of Shahu.
127. Rajwade Prastawana Khand.
128. [See Appendix]
129. सैन्य कार्य
(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'.

(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.

(8) Sardars were prohibited from entering into treaty agreement with any foreign power or to declare war with any foreign power. It was 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. Peshkaash 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 Residual 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 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 Daabhade, those in Berar and Gondavana to the Bhosaies 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 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 Monroe "it was weak because it lacked four things which every strong national
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 were formed to serve the double purpose - (a) Continuation of the Maharashtra Dharma in Maharashtra, and (b) To 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 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 written by Pilaji Jadhav to his son Sambhaji refers to the Emperor as गाजीगाम 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, Hanoji 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 (गाजीगाम) Peshwa i.e. Bajirao, is going to camp in the

130. Portuguese Marathe Relations - Pisurlekar.
same province (Delhi). A letter written to Chimaji Appa by Purandare refers to Delhi Emperor as sovereign (शासक). 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. 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 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. 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 young Peshwa in Shanwarwada.

De Facto Sovereignty :

A great controversy has arisen amongst the historians of Maratha period about the Sanads granted by Emperor and the implications of the same over the sovereign authority of Marathas over their Swarajya. According to Sanad 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 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 impost were a convenient pretext for indefinite fiscal

133. Treaties, Agreements and Sanads.
134. Marathi Riyasat - Sardesai, Part V.
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. 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 Moghal crown. The Marathas were realists and were satisfied with the direction of policy leaving ostentations display to the effete successors of Aurangzeb.'

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 Nizam is to be suppressed.

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. In a letter written to Sambhaji Angre in 1730 as a reply to his letter, the same loyalty to Shahu is expressed by Sekhoji Angre. A letter 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...

136. Selections from Peshwa Daptar.
137. Diary of Shahu, Part I.
138. " "
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 the guilty individual in question. The most glaring example of loyalty is that of Chitnis family. In a Sanad granted to Jivaji Ahamgareo Chitansis, 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 Kajaram. 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 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, 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, 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.' 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

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142. Marathi Hiyasat, 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. 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. Even during the days of Balaji Bajirao plans were made to rout Portuguese power from Goa. In a letter dated 5-3-1747, written to Ramchandraobaba, 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. In June 1741, Shivajipant Deoji

144. Portuguese Maratha 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.'

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. Hajaram had another wife, besides Tarabai named Hajasbai. 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 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

148. Portuguese Maratha 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 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. So the adopted son of Shahu, i.e. Ram Kaja became 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 Sadasivrao 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, it is stated by Balaji Bajirao and Sadasiv 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, Marathyanchya Itihasachi Sadhane Vol. 6

151. See Ashen Div
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 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. 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

152. Rajwade, Prastawana Khand.
by Peshwas were not accepted by Chhatrapatis and the Chhatrapatis had the final say in this matter.

Maintenance of Peace and Tranquility 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, Saranjamdars 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 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.'

153. Treaties, Agreements and Sanads.
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.
2. Three Pailies for every khandi of grain of the land revenue in kind.
3. One Dhada for every khandi of groceries of the land revenue in kind.
4. One Huka from the carrier of every bullock load on account of octroi.
5. Three Pailies of every khandi and ten sheers of every khandi brought by sea.
6. Three Pailies of salt from every salt manufactory.
7. Half a sheer of oil every month from every oil press.
8. Half a sheer of butter every year for every she-buffalow belonging to a cowherd.
9. One sheer of butter and one head screen for use in the rainy season every year from each village.
10. 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. 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. On the 18th November, 1727, Sultanji Nimbalkar was directed 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. Bajirao and Senapati were directed to collect a large army and to carry out the object the Raja had in view. 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. 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. 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. 25 As. 5 deducted Pawar's share Rs. 2 As. 5.

159. Diary of Shahu.
160. Treaties, Agreements and Sanads.
32 To Pawar from this year by Treaty -

Khanderao bin Yeshwantrao Pawar
Krishnaji and Jiwaji Pawar (half each)

161 An Agreement signed with Khan Ajam clearly mentions the division of revenue. 'Out of the whole revenue of 4 Paraganas, namely Shadalwad, 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 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
Again in the year 1726 Shahu wrote a letter to Angre, directing him to send the arrears without delay. This letter mentions the Treaty 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 household.' On the 19th January 1735 Shahu wrote to Raghuji Bhosale that 'the annual tribute due from him was in arrears.' Raghuji was frequently written to but without effect. Raghuji 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, Raghuji Bhosale Sena Sahib Subha 'was asked to remit two laks of Rupees as agreed upon at Khande Kajuri' by Shahu. In December 1735 Shahu wrote to Shrimati Umabai Dabhade, directing her 'to remit the tribute due from her without delay ...'

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

163. Diary of Shahu.
164. " "
165. " "

Watan was not Absolute:
subject to good behaviour, service of the holder to the Chhatrapati, and the pleasure of the Raja. In 1715 the Sar Deshmukhi Watan 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. 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 Saranjam to Kanhoji Bhosale. 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. In 1749 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. 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

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169. *Aitihasik 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.' In May 1729 Kaghooji 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. In 1731, Shahu wrote to Rajashree 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. 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 Prahan 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. In August 1735, Shahu wrote letters to Udaji Pawar, Kaghoji and Katsing Kadamrao, Malharji Holkar, that they should not disturb the territory Badwani, belonging to Kana Anupsing and Kuwar Pahadsing. They were further told that Kana 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 Kaghuji 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, Sundelee, 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' to Deoji Somawanshi for his long and faithful service. 1736

The following titles appear in the Diaries of Peshwas.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Person</th>
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</thead>
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<td>1735</td>
<td>Hindurai</td>
<td>Deoji Somawanshi</td>
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<tr>
<td>1740</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Mahadeorao Somawanshi</td>
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<td>1754</td>
<td>Himmat Bahadar.</td>
<td>Udaji Chavan.</td>
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<td>1754</td>
<td>Samsher Bahadar.</td>
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<td>Before 1764</td>
<td>Vajarat Maha.</td>
<td>Manaji Angre.</td>
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<td>1764</td>
<td>Senapati.</td>
<td>Yeshwantrao Dabhade (Talegaon)</td>
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176. Diary of Balaji Bajirao.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Person</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1764</td>
<td>Sena Khaskhel</td>
<td>Trimbakrao Dabhade (Talegaon)</td>
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<td>1764</td>
<td>Sena Saheb Subha</td>
<td>Raghoji Bhosale of Nagpur</td>
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<td>1757-59</td>
<td>Sena Dhurandhar.</td>
<td>Mudhoji Bhosale of Nagpur</td>
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<td>1758</td>
<td>Dhurandhar Samsher Bahadur</td>
<td>Santaji Atole</td>
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<td>1759</td>
<td>Maharao</td>
<td>Janoji Nimbalkar</td>
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<td>1760-61</td>
<td>Himmat Bahadar</td>
<td>Khanderao Gaikwad</td>
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<td>Masing Kadu</td>
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<td>Sena Bara Hajari</td>
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<td>Sultanji Yeshwantrao</td>
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**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.*
Hajashree Fond Savant Bhosale of Province Kudal. In this letter he reprimanded Savant 'for keeping in confinement the wife of a brahmin Gopal Kamrao 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. Hajashree Khandoji Jagtap 'was directed not to molest the village of Kevansiddha and was informed that much good would result from the protection of god and brahmins.'

In 1745 Shahu received a complaint from 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, Shile Mars, 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 pray and pray the Brahmins of Paithan to re-admit him into the

178. Diary of Shahu.

179. \[\text{ }\]
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. 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 accordingly. They would communicate the same to their military. This theory is supported by another 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.'

180. Diary of Balaji Bajirao
181. Portuguese Marathah Relations.
182. Peshwe Daptar 16.
The Bakhar of Sashti 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 Swami is to establish Gods and Brahmins. Amritrao Dinkar writes to Chimaji Appa that the Swami will establish Hindu Rajya. In the National Library at Paris there is one hand written Bakhar (Chronicque 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.

While negotiating with Portuguese, Marathas always insisted upon the following points - (a) Hindus should not be subjected to Inquisition. (b) Portuguese should not collect Shendikar (शेंदिकर) - 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. 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. 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

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. In 1755 Shahu wrote letters to Rajeshree Raghoji 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 Raghoji Bhosale and Patwardhan for this treatment given to two captives, reminding them that throughout the whole kingdom soldiers captured in war were never kept as prisoners.

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 highlighted the unity of 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 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 cautious for the protection of our state and our action should not go against the general will of the people.' Shahu's policy was not followed either by Chhatrapati or by Peshwas. The principles whichBalaji Vishwanath laid down were not scrupulously followed by Marathas. Later on in addition to these drawbacks, 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.