Chapter I

THE EARLY CONTACT

The period from 1707 to 1820 is the formative period in the history of modern India. In its first phase it witnessed the break-up of the Moghul Empire and the rise and decline of the Peshwas and other Maratha Chiefs during the middle and the last phases. After Aurengzeb the Moghuls lost their strength as rulers and after the invasion of Nadirshah they ceased to matter in the power-conflicts raging in the Indian sub-continent. The lack of a strong central power prompted and enabled the adventures to exercise political power. The Marathas under their different leaders led incursions into the imperial dominions and overran the whole country both north and south of the Narmada.

During the early part of the eighteenth century the Marathas entered Gujarat under the leadership of the Dabhades and the Gaekwads. To understand the relationship between these two and through them to the Maratha political order, especially the relations of the Maratha King and Peshwa, it is necessary to trace briefly the antecedents of these families and their rise in the Maratha system.
Shahu, the son of Sambhaji, was released by Bahadurshah to return to Maharashtra in 1708. During the strenuous struggle against the Moghuls, the Maratha system had been greatly altered from that of Shivaji. Shivaji had established a strong Central Government with a king as its absolute head and an Ashta-Pradhan Mandal, akin more or less to our present day executive councils. Most of his possessions were wrested from his son and successor Shambhaji. Who was taken prisoner by Aurengzeb and cruelly put to death. Shambhaji's son, Shahu, was carried away as a captive by the Moghuls. But the efforts of the Emperor to subdue the Marathas were fruitless as the Marathas Chiefs carried on their struggle under Shivaji's second son Rajaram, and his wife Tarabai. In order to encourage the Maratha leaders they began the system of assignments of land or districts of land. Shahu had to face the strong opposition of Tarabai and to attract the Maratha Sardar to his side. He also followed the system of assigning land to Sardars in different parts of India.

The system of assignment was a necessity in the beginning, but it ultimately fostered the pretensions varying in semi-independence in the minds of these war-lords. The result was the usurpation of power by military Chiefs, who founded independent dynasties, made peace or war without consulting
the Central authority and used the power for their own benefit.\textsuperscript{1} According to Professor Sinha, "In each Pargana arose a chieftain who mustered to his standard a number of men commensurate with his ability."\textsuperscript{2} In the beginning there was a tie of brotherhood among the Maratha leaders but with the passage of time, the tie became loose.

These Chiefs who arose on account of Peshwa's generosity remained his faithfull subordinates, while those who claimed their elevation on the struggle of their own exertions disallowed any recognition of the suzerainty of the Peshwas. The Dabhades and the Gaekwads were among such Chiefs as always tried to maintain their independence and to extend their individual authority. The Peshwas's interference in the exercise of their individual authority caused a series of conflicts.

The Dabhade Family: Khanderao Dabhade was a notable commander during the regime of Rajaram. His ancestors had served Shivaji and Shambhaji. Rajaram Chhatrapati, pleased with the loyal services of Khanderao, gave a vatan (a hereditary prize) of 795 villages and the title of Sena-Dhurandhar and placed him in charge of Gujarat and Baglan.\textsuperscript{3}

\textsuperscript{1} Forrest: The Maratha series Introduction, p.12.
\textsuperscript{2} Sinha: Rise of the Peshwas, p.3.
\textsuperscript{3} G.S.Sardesai: Chhatrapati Rajaram, p.44.
Rajaram once wrote: "you have served the Master for a very long time in the past. You are a loyal and faithful servant of Shrimant." In 1698 Rajaram addressed his council of Ministers at Satara, where he praised the services of Atole. Dabhade, Pawar, Pattankar and others, and he distributed to them and to others dresses of honour suited to their ranks and achievements. He honoured Khanderao Dabhade with a command of a Paga (a planquin, with servants to carry and means of their subsistence) and the dignity of Senakhaskhel.

During the days of Tarabai, Khanderao often invaded Gujarat. Shahu after his release from the Moghul camp was helped by Khanderao. Shahu confirmed his vatan. However, he could not wholly give up his allegiance to Tarabai and his vatan was confiscated on December 24th 1708 and was bestowed upon Balaji Vishwanath for raising armies for Shahu.

Khanderao worked against Shahu till 1711 and then he deserted the cause of Tarabai. For about four years he invaded Gujarat often times and with the help of Damaji Gaekwad plundered parts of South Gujarat and Malwa.

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4 G.S. Sardesai: Selection from Peshwa Dafters (hereinafter abbreviated as S.P.D.) Book 31, letter No.18.
6 S.P.D. Book No.30. Miscellaneous papers of Shahu and his first two Peshwas letter No.2.
He had attacked Mahomad Tabriz, a Moghul Officer, near Surat and carried away a great treasure. Moreover, Zulfiker Beg a deputy Viceroy of Surat was attacked and by Khanderao. He had actually built a number of mud block-houses along the Surat-Burhanpur road and collected chauth from the districts round about. In 1715 Khanderao Dabhade entered Malwa and burnt and plundered Ujjain. By the end of the next year he was in control of the territories of South Gujarat, Khandesh, Baglan and Konkan. Shahu, pleased with the recent successes of Khanderao, appointed him to the Office of Senapati on January 11th, 1717 with the annual emoluments of 10,000 Hons. (Padshahi Hons). By April 1717 Khanderao got the control of Gujarat by defeating Syed Husain Ali, the Moghul Subedar of Gujarat.

The Marath regime in Gujarat and Kathiawad was mainly due to the efforts of Khanderao Dabhade and his assistant Damaji Gaekwad. Shahu was helped by other Maratha Sardars in stabilising himself. Among these Sardars Balaji Vishwanath was very prominent.

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The Peshwas:

The Chief Minister of the Ashta-Pradhan Mandal was known as the Peshwa. He was appointed by the King and he was deputized for the King also. Balaji Vishwanath, a Brahmin from Kokan, with his Master Dhanaji Jadhav, joined Shahu in 1707. He was also familiar with Gujarat as he had been collecting revenues for his master. Balaji Vishwanath by his loayl services soon won Shahu's confidence and was appointed to the post of Senakarta\(^9\) (Organiser of forces).

He was directed to raise an Army and a Saranjam worth 2510200 Hons were given to him for that purpose; Hons 2166300 Mahals (2083000) Mokasha, 83500 Babti, 343700 Denmokashe total 2510200 Hons.

The creation of these new post of Senakarta was considered as an encroachment, to some extent, upon the province of the Senapati\(^10\) (Commander-in-chief). King Shahu by his orders dated Dec. 24th 1708 instructed all the revenue officers of Parganas that half the Mokasa Formerly assigned to Khanderao Dabhade had been transferred from him to Balaji Vishwanath for raising troops and that the amount was to be paid to the assignee.\(^11\) Many Officers including his


\(^10\) G.S.Sardesai: New History of the Maratha (hereinafter abbreviated as Sardesai), Vol.II, p.18

\(^11\) S.P.D., Book 30, letter No.2.
master Dhanaji Jadhav deserted the cause of Shahu. Still Balaji served Shahu efficiently and faithfully. So the later conferred upon Balaji the office of the Peshwa on Nov. 17th 1713 and no less than 16 Mahals and two forts were assigned to him as Saranjam. Balaji was successful not only in internal querrels but even against the Nizam he protected Shahu's dignity in 1716. Shahu had put a letter in his own hand-writing, where Balaji was termed as an "unparalleled valorous servant." (Atul Paracrami sevak). Shahu had secured the full support of Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath for good administration and of Senapati Khanderao Dabhade in extending the Maratha power to the North of the Narmada. Khanderao maintained his followers in Gujarat and Kathiawad and exacted tribute. One of his officers, Damaji Gaekwad, who stood high in his estimation, was on his recommendation appointed second in command. Damaji Gaekwad was looking to the interest of his master in Gujarat.

The Gaekwad Family: The popular belief is that the Gaekwads were the (followers) of the Dabhades. It may be a fact, however, that the Gaekwad family was sufficiently rich and important to claim relationship with Shivaji Maharaj.

Damaji Gaekwad : The first known person of the Gaekwad family is Damaji Gaekwad. There are various accounts of Damaji's early life. In Shedgaonkar Bakhar it is mentioned that Damaji was a petty officer (Naik) over Jasuds (confidential messengers) under Dabhade. He was given the charge of Dabhade's army and with his hanner he was deputed to manage affairs in Gujarat. From this it is evidence that Damaji was promoted to the status of a Sardar, though a minor one, and that he had begun to make raids in Gujarat.

In Pant Pratinidhi Bakhar, p.39 gives the following accounts of Damaji Gaekwad. "In 1699 Rajaram made Satara his capital and then turned towards North through Khandesh, Gangthadi and Berar. On his way the following Sardars came to help him : 1 Parsoji Bhosle, 2. Haibat rao Nimbalkar, 3. Damaji Gaekwad, 4. Nemaji Shinde, 5. Samsher Bahadur Atole, 6. Kanoji Angre. From this it seems that Damaji was a petty but independent Sardar as early as the reign of Rajaram. He in the company of Khanderao Dabhade and Bande fought many important battles in Gujarat. In 1729 Khanderao Dabhade and Damaji Gaekwad accompanied Balaji Vishwanath to Delhi. Next year they jointed Bajirao in the field against the Nizam at Belapur. Even though Bajirao and his partisans were not successful they pursued the Nizam as far as his camp and looted his treasury. In this battle Damaji Gaekwad for the first time became conspicuous by his skill and bravery. He was
made second in command to the Dabhades and King Shahu bestowed upon him the title "Samsher Bahadur" or "The illustrious swordsman." 14 But Damaji did not long survive his fame. He died in the same year and his Nephew Pilajirao succeeded him in his post and rank.

Pilaji Gaekwad: Pilaji Gaekwad is generally believed to be the ancestor of the Gaekwads. He knew very well how to train the horses and it is probable that Khanderao Dabhade, with whom he was attached, gave him 40 to 50 weak horses, to test his abilities. Pilaji went to the forest near Navapur and took so much care of the horses that the horses were soon refreshed. Next time Khanderao put him in charge of 200 to 300 horses. It seems that Pilaji was not satisfied with this job, so he collected some men and began to raid South Gujarat. 15 Pilaji presented the amount of loot and horses to Khanderao. The Senapati bestowed upon Pilaji the leadership of a Paga as reward for his services in 1709. Thus both Damajirao and Pilajirao, as independent sardars, were working with Dabhade. As Damajirao died without a son,

14 Irvine later Moghuls (hereinafter abbreviated as Irvine), Part II, p.50. The title Samsher Bahadur was formerly borne by one of the Atole family in 1692.

15 Gaekwad Bakhhar.
Pilajirao filled his place and he was strongly recommended to Shahu and as Pilaji was found efficient, he was asked to collect the tribute from Gujarat, Kathiawad, etc. Khanderao Dabhade invested Pilaji with a command of 500 horses and he allowed him to stay in forest at the distance of 10 miles from Navapur, which was chiefly inhabited by Bhils.

Senapati Khanderao had ordered him to establish Maratha regime in Gujarat in company with Bande, Pawar and others, but Bande and other Maratha Sardars did not allow him to stay at Navapur, so Pilaji selected a site some 20 miles from Navapur in a jungle. Pilaji built a hill-fort named Songadh or the fort of Gold and it became his headquarters in 1719 and onwards. From Songadh he raided adjoining districts of the Moghuls including Surat and the region round about it. Once he defeated and imprisoned the Moghul Governor Mahamad Panaha and raided as far as Sinor. Moreover he captured forts as far as Nandod, Rajpipla and Saughara. He built forts round these towns. He be friended the King of Rajpipla but his real popularity was with the Bhils, Kolies, etc. In collecting handsome tributes he soon surpassed Bande, Pawar and other Maratha Sardars.

16 G.S. Sardesai, Life of Shahu Chhatrapati, Part 2, p.42.
17 Gaekwad Bhakhar, p.38.
18 Bombay Government Selection.
Pilaji resided at Songadh as a representative of Senapati and the tribute collected from Baglan and Gujarat was supposed to be sent by Pilaji to the royal treasury through the Peshwa. But there is no record to prove that the dues were levied regularly, nor was the amount fixed. He used to keep for himself a part of the tribute collected to defray the expenses of the invasions and sent the remainder to the king at Satara. Pilaji was able to impose regular Maratha demands for Chauth and Sardeshmukhi on the revenue of Gujarat (1723). By this time another Maratha Sardar named Kadam Bande, representing the Peshwa, entered Gujarat by North-East and after avenging the country round Dohad settled a fixed tribute on the district. During all this time Pilajirao represented Khanderao Dabhade.

Balaji Peshwa and Khanderao Dabhade as friends:

Balaji and Khanderao were working in different fields. Senapati Khanderao’s work was to look to the military aspect of the Government and to use it advantageously. Balaji’s first concern was three-fold viz., to strengthen the cause of Shahu by bringing over to his side as many powerful sardars and sympathisers of Shambhaji (Raja of Kolhapur) as possible; to maintain order and peace in the Shahu’s limited dominions and lastly to provide sufficient employment

19 History of Gujarat, the Bombay Gazetteer, by J.A.Bains, p.6.
20 Gaekwadayanchaya Itihasanthi Sadhane, by Wakaskar, p.30
to turbulent Mahartha bands.\textsuperscript{22} To provide this the chaotic conditions at Delhi attracted him and gave scope for the Peshwa in particular and the Maratha's in general.

Delhi had been a centre of intrigue due to the inter-recine wars after the deaths of Aurangzeb and Bahadursnah. There were many parties at the Court and each was contesting for power against one and all. Farrukhsiyar, the grandson of Auramzeb occupied the throne in 1713 with the help of the Saiyyid Brothers. The authority of Saiyyid brothers was not farely not liked by many and Saiyyid Brothers saw the necessity of outside help to maintain their position at Delhi. Nizam-ul-Mulk, Daudhkhand and other Moghul Subdear were against them so the latter saw the danger to their life and position.

Husain Ali, one of the Saiyyed Brothers secured the Maratha help on a promise to secure the Sanads of Shivaji's Swarajya, Chauthai and Sardeshmukhi of six provinces of the Deccan. Balaji led an expedition to Delhi at the invitation of Husain Ali Saiyyed.

Khanderao Dabhade with other Maratha Sardars joined Balaji at Aurangabad with 15000 troops. With the help of Marathas the Saiyyed Brothers were in a position to carry out a palace revolution. Then they gave three Sanads to Balaji Vishwanath. Sardesai writers of these Sanads as the most note-

\textsuperscript{22} G.S.Sardesai: The main currents of the Maratha History, p. 103.
worth state documents in India history and the "Magna-
Carta of Maratha Dominion."

Balaji's policy of aiding the Syed Brothers paved the way of Maratha expansion. Shahu got a legal status and for him it was a great diplomatic and moral victory over his rival at Kolhapur. It marked the weakening of the Moghul Imperial rule in the Deccan and a severe blow to Moghul prestige all over the country. This one-sided bargain gave the Marathas an imperium in imperio, and secured to them predominance in the six districts of the Deccan and Carnatic and a legal recognition of their demands and pretensions.\(^23\) The granting of these Sanads left a mere phantom power in the hands of the Emperor. For South, Marathas secured the substance and the right to use the Emperor's name and his prestige given after he had become a figure-head.

Balaji and Khanderao were warmly welcomed by Shahu on their return. Khanderao and his son Trimbakrao were given a Saranjam on November 7th 1719.\(^24\) Khanderao was given the

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charge of Gujarat and was ordered to bring Gujarat under Maratha Control. Khanderao had been recognised as Senapati in the Astha Pradhan Mandal and he was in charge of Gujarat, Berar, ad Baglan, while the Peshwa had the authority over Khandesh, Balaghat, and the region known as Swarajya. As Khanderao was Senapati and his services in the Deccan prevented him from visiting Gujarat he used to send his officers, viz., Kanubaji Kadam Bande, Damaji Gaekwad and his nephew Pilaji Gaekwad to carry out almost annual incursions into the province and to establish the Maratha claims to Chauth in the Surat District.

Khanderao Dabhade and Peshwa Bajirao:

Balaji Vishwanath passed away within ten months of his return from Delhi. His eldest son Bajirao was only nineteen years of age. He was looked upon as too raw and inexperienced for Peshwaship, even though he had accompanied his father to Delhi. Khanderao Dabhade with other veteran Maratha commanders such as Shripatrao Pratinidhi, Anandrao Sumant, Naroram Mantri, Kanoji Bhosle opposed the appointment of Bajirao to the responsible office of the Peshwa. King Shahu had a high regard for the ability of Bajirao, so he was appointed to the post of the Peshwa with a Sranjam of 13000 Hons and Mokasa of Some Mahals per year.

28 J.C. Yad: Seculation from Satara Raja's and Peshwa's Diary, V.I.Kitta, 100.
She Nizam Ul-Mulk was soon tired of his post at Delhi which he had acquired after the fall of the Syed Brothers and he left it for the Deccan. At the invitation of the Moghul Subedar Alam Ali in Deccan, and with the consent of Shahu, Khanderao Dabhade, Shantaji Sinde, Kanhoji Bhosle and others took part in the battle of Balapur\(^2^9\) against the Nizam on August 9th 1720. No doubt, Marathas were not successful in the battle, still the courage of Khanderao and his able assistant Damaji Gaekwad came into notice. Damaji's bravery was brought to Shahu's notice and he invested him with the title of "Samsher Bahadur."\(^3^0\)

The Nizam called Bajirao for the settlement of revenue accounts. Bajirao before paying a visit to the Nizam on January 4th 1721 had taken care that he was accompanied by Pilaji Jadhav, Khanderao Dabhade, and Kanhoji Bhosle with their full retinue and troops.\(^3^1\) The Nizam later want to Delhi to assume the charge of the Wazir, and there he followed a reactionary policy as he had no intention of observing the Sanads given to the Marathas.

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29 Balapur is in Akola Taluka on a way from Bhusaval to Jamner even now there is no Railway service. The Berar Gazetteer puts this battle field between Kolhapur and Pimpuri. This place was a prize of Raja Shahu according to the story of the King of Satara.


Problems before Khanderao:

Khanderao was by 1721 advanced in age and disabled. Khanderao had been a real soldier for all his life and he was away in Gujarat, Baglan, and Khandesh. He was not in a position to understand the intricacies and aims of the young Peshwa. Bajirao was, also, always suspicious of him. The appointment of young Bajirao to the Office of the Peshwa led inevitably to his conflict with Khanderao Dabhade - the Senapati, who had opposed him nomination to his father's office.

There were revolutionary changes in the plans and aims of the Peshwa after getting the three Sanads from the Moghul Emperor. Moreover, the Senapati was old and in many cases Bajirao performed the duties of the Senapati. He had the army against the Nizam and in Malwa. Khanderao soon lost his importance as Sanapati. The influence and growing prestige of the Peshwa baffled Khanderao.

Khanderao was maintaining his position in Gujarat through Damaji and Pilaji Gaekwad. Pilaji had fortified Songadh and it was his headquarters. Trimbakrao Dabhade and his mother Umabai also looked after Gujarat. Shahu had approved this arrangement of appointing mutaliqs. But Khanderao's weakness was soon known to other Maratha leaders such as Deshpande of Chandwad, Devji Sømvanshi,
Subedar of Nasik, Udaji Pawar, and others. They began to raid Gujarat and Khanderao Dabhade complained against such leaders to Bajirao. 32

Peshwa Bajirao's interest in Malwa, Gujarat and Khandesh was looked after by his men such as Kanhoji Bhosle, Kadam Bande, Udaji Pawar, Savji Atole, and others. Kanhoji Bhosle had informed Shahu that Dabhade was creating trouble for Shahu as early as 1720. 33 Shahu being instigated by his Officers deprived Khanderao Dabhade of his estates and conferred them on the Peshwa. Khanderao Dabhade became insubordinate, discontented and rebellious and Shahu ordered his chastisement in 1720. 34 The young Peshwa Bajirao was in search of new avenues and he took the best advantage of the weakness of Senapati Khanderao Dabhade. Thus, the rivalry between the two families of Bhat and Dabhade commenced.

Khanderao Dabhade and Shahu Chhatrapati:

Khanderao began to assume that his services were not being sufficiently recognised, so by a letter dated August 18th 1721 he made a humble request to Shahu for a proper

32 G.S.Sardesai: S.P.D. Book 32, letters 2, 3, and 6
33 Ibid, letter No.4.
reward for his services. He complained that he had received nothing and his estates had been given away to Fatesing Bhosle, leaving no scope for him. He requested Shahu to pardon him and to assign some task for him to perform. In the mean time Nizam's march towards Deccan created opportunities for Dabhade.

The Nizam Ul-Mulk, the wazir at the Moghul Court of Delhi did not find the atmosphere suitable resigned the vawership and marched to South in December 1723. He was thinking of establishing an independent kingdom. This brought him into trouble with Marathas. Shahu alerted his various sardars such as Dabhade, Ghorpade and others to be on their guards and to help each other against the Nizam.

The Nizam wanted the control of Gujarat also and he had appointed his nephew Hamidkhan as Subedar of Gujarat by removing Sarbulandkhan the former Subedar of Gujarat. Hamidkhan had to fight against Saroulandkhan and he was successful in driving out Sarbulandkhan with the help of Maratha Sardars such as Kanthaji Kadam Bande and Pilaji Gaekwad. Hamidkhan divided the Chauth of Gujarat, between Pilaji Gaekwad and Bande. Pilaji was for Khanderao while Bhande looked to Bajirao for help. Thus the quarrel between Sarbulandkhan and Hamidkhan presented a good opportunity for the Marathas to collect Chauth throughout Gujarat.

Shahu encouraged his Sardars to make simultaneous raids in Karnataka, Malwa and Gujarat and they were informed that the Chhatrapati would know all about them through the Senapati (Khanderao) and only then they would be promoted.  

On August 11th 1724 Khanderao Dabhade was ordered by Shahu Chhatrapati to bring the parts of Gujarat under the Marathas. He had mentioned that the Paragana of Bulsar, Parnera, Chikhli and Navasari to be brought under the Maratha away. He had asked him to count upon the friendship and forces of the Chiefs of Bansda, Ramnagar, Jawar etc.

On the same day i.e., on August 11th 1724 Peshwa Bajirao assigned to Satvaji Jadhav, the revenue and administration of provinces of Jawar, Ramnagar, Bansda, Gandevi, the Paragana of Surat Prant and the Paragana on the Tapti. He fixed the percentage of the assessment which was to be received by Jadhav and that was to be paid to the Peshwa. He also asked him to settle the province of Surat and establish the Peshwa's authority in that region.

Another order of Shahu runs as follows:
The Manals of Surat, Gujarat and the foreign territory of Surat, Kathiawad, Marwar etc. were under the management of

37 G.S. Sardesai: Marathi Riyasat Madhya Vibhag (hereinafter abbreviated as M.R.M.), 2nd ed., p.22C.
38 V.S. Shrivastava: "Natcha Marathi Aitihasik Lekh from from 1670 to 1818, p.2.
the Huzer Khasgi and Naro Vithal was appointed Kamavisdar as it was necessary to keep an army for the protection of the province, Manaji Pawar was appointed a Sardar and both he and the Kamavisdar were directed to act in concert. One-third of the revenues of Surat and Gujarat and three-fourth of the revenues of foreign territory was assigned to the maintenance of the Army, and the remaining amount was ordered to be sent to Huzar.  

The letters do not clearly demarcate the areas in which the different Chiefs could operate. Peshwa Bajirao had all the forces and prestige of Chhatrapati Shahu; and he sent his military expedition in Gujarat. This can not be taken as in the spirit of Chhatrapati Shivaji. It is clear that his objects in invading Gujarat were anything but selfish. His main object was financial and territorial gain. This is one of the causes which led to the tension between Khanderao and Peshwa Bajirao.

Division of the Gujarat Revenue:

There was great confusion among Moghul Officers at this time in Gujarat and the situation was exploited by the two Maratha leaders Kanthaji Kadam and Pilaji Gaekwad.


41 V.S. Shrivastav : Advent of Marathas in Bundelkhand from 1729 to 1792, letter No.3.
These Marathas leaders entered into negotiations with rival parties and decided which side was beneficial. Not only that but they changed their side with great speed and by plunder they enriched themselves. Hamidkhan had promised Chauth to both the Sardars, and he together with two Maratha Chiefs combined, defeated and slain first Shujaatkhan the Governor of Ahmedabad, and then his brother Rustam Ali, the Governor of Surat. For the help he had obtained from the Marathas, Hamidkhan amply rewarded Kanthaji and Pilaji. The right to collect Chauth in the territory North of the Mahi River was given to Kanthaji, while Pilaji got a similar right in the territory South of the Mahi.

The defeat of Rustam Ali was considered as very serious and Sarbulandkhan came to Gujarat. He was in a position to defeat Maratha leaders, but not in one to drive them out of Gujarat. At this time Peshwa Bajirao approached Sarbulandkhan and requested him to assign Chauth of Gujarat to Marathas. The following passage dated April 23rd 1726 from Shahu's Diary is note-worthy. 42 "Abaji Trimbak, Mutilik of Pant Pradhan had settled with Sarbulandkhan for the surrender of the Chauthai and Sardeshmukhi of Prant Gujarat and Malwa. Pilaji Gaekwad and Kanthaji Kadam are directed to divide the portion representing Mokas-bab equally between Trimbakrao

Dabhade and Chinnaji Ballal. The above order is clear about the division of Gujarat revenue between the Dabhade and the Peshwa.

The authorities in Delhi were not ready to sanction the arrangement of Sar-Budulandkhan so he was recalled and a new subedar was appointed. The Nizam to help Hamidkhan carried on his nefarious activities of tempting the various Maratha Chiefs such as Pratinidhi Chandrasen Jadhav, Nimbalkar, Dabhade, and Pilaji Gaekwad. Thus he expected to weaken the cause of Bajirao. In Gujarat Bande and Pilaji ruled Surat Athavishi for two years. Pilaji proved more efficient, so senapati Dabhade ordered Bande and Pawar to continue their activities under him.  

Shahu's assignment of Gujarat:

Pilaji had established himself permanently at Baroda and he was collecting tributes from Gujarat and Kathiawad. Peshwa Bajirao sent his other agent Udaji Pawar to collect the revenue of his Gujarat District. By this action he created dissatisfaction among his own officers like Kanthaji Kadam, who soon joined Pilajirao. Both of them joined their forces and Udaji Pawar was driven out of Gujarat after a heavy defeat. Kanthaji settled himself at Dabhoi while his adopted son Krishnaji settled at Champaner.

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Chhatrapati Shahu issued an order on Aug. 1st 1727, improving upon his last order of 23rd April 1726, "Half the Gujarat was formerly given in Mokasa to Chimnaji Ballal. It is now made over to Khanderao Dabhade Senapati."\(^{44}\)

The orders of Shahu are very clear. As noted above the Mokasa right for the half of Gujarat first belonged to Chimnaji Balal but afterwards it was transferred to Senapati. In order to safeguard the interest of the Peshwa, Shahu had debarred Trimbakrao Dabhade on May 21st 1726 from entering Malwa and at the same time he asked others not to molest Gujarat.

Bajirao's aims in Gujarat:

Gujarat had become the happy hunting ground for the Marathas as the Moghul authority was waning. Foreign invasions, the turbulent Bhils and Kolies on the border were not checked. The Governor Sarbulandkhan repeatedly asked for the help from Delhi but he was disappointed. In order to have better administration, he entered into a treaty with Kanthaji Kadam Bande on December 29th 1727 assigning the rights of Gauthai to two Maratha Chiefs i.e., South of the Mahi to Pilaji and West of Mahi (except Ahmedabad) to Kadam and he gave orders to this effect to Suratsing, the representative of Kanthaji making them effective on all.

Fozdar, the head of the Parganas.\textsuperscript{45}

In 1728 Chimnaji younger brother of Peshwa Bajirao entered Gujarat with Pawar. He wanted to form friendly relations with Sarbulandkhan, but he failed and he turned towards Malwa. Here he captured Godhra, Dahod and Champaner, later on Bajirao began to claim Chauth in Gujarat and Malwa.

Chimnaji entered Gujarat again in 1729 he exacted contribution in Petlad and plundered Dholka. He attacked Pavagadh, then held by Krishnaji Bande, and Bande was required to quit Pavagadh. At the end of the year Sarbulandkhan conceded to the Peshwa the right of collecting Chauth in Gujarat except the city of Ahmedabad. A treaty was signed between them and it was understood that the Marathas were to protect Gujarat with a standing Army of 2500 Horse. The Peshwa was bound on behalf of Shahu to prevent Maratha Sardar from siding with or supporting any discontented Subedar, or disturbing peace of Gujarat. This last clause was specially directed against Maratha Sardars such as Gaekwad, Dabhade and Bande. Bajirao informed Shahu about this treaty\textsuperscript{46} on Oct. 17th 1729.


\textsuperscript{46} S.P.D.Book XXX, pp. 295-96.
The Agreement concluded by Chimnaji Appa complicated the situation. Khanderao died on Sept. 27th 1729 and his son Trimbakrao received from Shahu the robes of his father's Office on Jan. 8th 1730 at Satara. Trimbakrao and his party were full of rage against the Peshwa as the agreement affected greatly the interest and rights of Dabhade. Khanderao's early victories and Pilajirao's later successes were to be wholly discarded and the fruits of their labour were to be gathered for king's treasury by Bajirao alone. On the other hand Trimbakrao was debarred from improving his fortune in Malwa by king Shahu. 47

In order to avenge the insult given to him Trimbakrao started his activities of invasions in Konkan. 48 Trimbakrao and his mother Umabai often requested Shahu and the Peshwa to stop the interference of Peshwa and other Sardars.

47 Kincaid C.A. and Parasnis : A history of the Maratha people, Vol.II, pp. 190-91. A letter of King Shahu dt. May 21st 1728 What business have you "wrote the king," to collect money and raise disturbance in Malwa and plunder the country side? Whatever money you have collected you must pay to Bajirao Pandit, otherwise he will collect an equivalent from your private estates. In future you must leave Malwa alone and retiring to Gujarat. Give no further cause to complain. "Shahu's Rozanishi, p.214.

King Shahu's attempts to appease Trimbakrao:

Trimbakrao was in good books of Shahu as he and his family had served faithfully to the Raja. As early as 1723, Umabai the spirited wife of Khanderao, was with an Army of 2500 men near Nasik, and had conquered a part of the Moghul territory. In 1725 Shahu had asked Trimbakrao Dabhade to join an expedition into the South with Kanhoji Bhosle and Pratinidhi, which Trimbakrao had joined, to the satisfaction of Shahu. Trimbakrao was asked to go against the Moghul in 1728 and he opposed the Moghuls at Bankapur with his 5000 men. King Shahu had shown satisfaction at the news of the complete rout of the Moghuls. Shahu was well inclined to the Dabhade family and he very strongly reprimanded Kanhoji Bhosle as he tried to encroach upon the districts of the Senapati in 1729. Moreover Trimbakrao was entrusted by Shahu, the duties near Kolhapur in South to check the Chavans and Trimbakrao had fulfilled the duties to the satisfaction of the King.

50 S.P.D. Book No. XX, letter No. 4.
51 S.P.D. Book No. X, letter No. 54.
52 S.P.D. Book XX, letter No. 12.
Long before the action of Chimnaji and Bajirao in Gujarat Khanderao Dabhade had already drawn the attention of Bajirao to the incursions of Nagojirao Patankar in Gujarat.\(^53\) Umabai had also written to Shahu about the invasions of Maratha Sardars in Gujarat.\(^54\)

Shahu could very well understand the feelings of Trimbakrao Dabhade and his mother Umabai and he made an attempt to conciliate him by sending special messagers to bring him into his presence at Satara.\(^55\) Trimbakrao did not leave Gujarat but lodged a strong complaint before Shahu against the Peshwa. His contention was that, the regions of Gujarat and Khandesh were assigned to him by Shahu himself and he had the right to collect the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi. He found Shahu too soft to control Bajirao.

**Bajirao's interference in Gujarat**: In December 1729 Chimnaji Appa invaded Gujarat.\(^56\) The Moghul Governor of Gujarat had a quarrel with the ruler of Gutch and he was also threatened by Maratha invaders. He was

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\(^{53}\) S.P.D. Book II letter 15.

\(^{54}\) S.P.D. Book XX letter 18.

\(^{55}\) Ibid, letter 35.

\(^{56}\) S.P.D. Book XXX, pp. 297.
frustrated in his attempts of securing some substantial help from Delhi, so he ratified the treaty of 1729 on March 23rd 1730. The Peshwa was given Sardeshimukhi or ten percent of the whole revenue both of land and customs with the exception of port of Surat and the district around it. He was also given Chauth or one-fourth of the whole collection of the land and customs except in Surat and five percent of the revenue of Ahmedabad. The agreement was signed with a definite understanding that Bajirao, the superior authority would maintain a troop of 2500 Horse for maintaining peace in the province. He was bound on the part of Shahu to prevent Maratha Sardars from disturbing the peace of Gujarat. This meant Maratha Sardars such as Pilaji Gaekwad, Kanthaji Kadam Bande, Dabhade and others have to leave Gujarat.

Trimbakrao and his mother repeatedly put the case before Shahu and in strong words detested Peshwa's interference in Gujarat. Shahu by nature was a weak and vacillating monarch and he could not decide. Trimbakrao, burning for revenge look to other sources for help. Apprehending that he would get no justice from Shahu, Dabhade looked around for means to retaliate and thought of seeking aid of the Nizam. In this he was required to make a common cause with the greatest enemy of the Marathas.

57 S.P.D. Book XV, pp. 84-85.
Trimbakrao Dabhade sent his proposals to the Nizam in the first week of October 1730, asking for a support against Bajirao. The Nizam was in search of such an opportunity and he promised to help Trimbakrao Dabhade. The Nizam planned to restore Shambhaji, King of Kolhapur to the Satara Gadi, to appoint Dabhade as Senapati and Kanthaji Kadam Bande as Sar-laskar. Thus the Dabhade family were in league with the Nizam, and began to create disturbances in Peshwa's territory.

Shahu was not unaware of these developments. He sent his personal agents Naroram and Ambaji Purandera to Talegaon for effecting a reconciliation between Bajirao and Trimbakrao Dabhade. Naroram also wrote to Bajirao not to injured the interest of the Dabhade in trifling matters. He advised him that he should take care, lest such powerful Maratha Sardar by deserting the cause of Shahu create a bad name for the Government.

Bajirao was also in know of all that was passing in Gujarat. He made his preparations very quietly and when the rainy season was over he started on Dashera day October 10th 1730. from Poona for Gujarat. He entered Gujarat on Nov. 6th 1730, and by the end of Jan. 1731 came upto Nadiad.

60 Ibid, letter 72.
61 Ibid, letter 75.
62 S.P.D. Book XII, letter 42.
King Shahu and the Satara court were fully aware of the effects of the quarrel between Bajirao and Trimbakrao. King Shahu never wanted to have a fierce war, and he had asked Bajirao to capture Trimbakrao, persuade him and to bring him to Satara.

Trimbakrao was not prepared to be reconciled to a state of affairs which would relegate him and other similarly situated Maratha Sardars to a subordinate position as a result of the actions of the Peshwa. Thus he became the centre of all malcontents and dissatisfied chiefs. In course of time he gathered under his banner Pilaji Gaekwad, Kathanji Kadam Bande, Udaji Pawar, Kanhoji Bhosle and others. On the other hand Trimbakrao's friends at Satara court convinced Shahu that it was Chimnaji Appa who was at fault and not the Senapati. They definitely were of the opinion that Gujarat belong by right to the Dabhades and the Peshwa's avarice has led him to wage a war against them.

In order to win over the Senapati, Shahu restored to him the right to the collection of the Chauth of Gujarat. By his order of Dec. 15th 1730 Chimnaji Ballal was deprived of the Mokasa of Gujarat, and it was transferred to Trimbakrao Dabhade. This decision of the court had been taken under the stress of circumstances and it was greatly resented by Bajirao. Shahu sent his personal agents to

63 S.P.D. Book No. XXX, pp. 299 also Shahu Dafter. Rumal No. 4, No. 317.
Dabhade and also to the Peshwa to come to a reasonable compromise. He even asked Bajirao to conciliate Dabhade by giving all that which Dabhade claimed.

Bajirao apprised Shahu of the collusive deal between the Senapati and the Nizam and of their preparations for a general attack and charged Dabhade with treason. To his royal master Chimnaji wrote. "If Dabhade creates trouble for us we are quite equal of stopping him from doing mischief. But if he goes over and joins the Nizam your Highness must not hesitate to deprive him of his office of Senapati."

Shahu repeatedly sent for Dabhade but not wishing to do so, Trimbakrao wasted time by indulging in vague discussion and sent insincere assurances of loyalty. And the same time he continued his secret intrigues with Nizam. The Senapati once declared to Shahu's agents, "we shall not give up an inch of the lands we own and will render only such services as we can."

When Shahu learned that Dabhade was compassing the destruction of the Peshwa in collusion with the Nizam he wrote the following letter to Dabhade. "You have been a loyal Hindu servant of the state and as such we have all along dealt with you most kindly. You have nevertheless deserted to the enemy taking offence at something we are not aware of. You must know what fate traitors meet with."
We urge you, therefore to forget all wrong, to remember how your ancestors behaved and served the State instead of the enemy, so that the Nation may be proof of your conduct. You must exert yourself to execute our command and with increasing favours from us. Such a conduct alone will be noble. You have to subdue the nations' enemies and not to join them. You must work to extend the Maratha Raja. This warning is addressed to you in full confidence that you will remain a loyal servant of the State and not molest the poor innocent ryot. This remonstrance however had no effect and the Dabhade affair assumed a grave aspect.

Bajirao thought that the armed rebellion of Trimbakrao may amount to an attempt to overthrow the authority of Shahu Raja. He determined not to allow the ambitions of Trimbakrao and Nizam to succeed and in fact he aimed to destroy the pernicious Dabhade-Nizam alliance. Shahu also was convinced that it was treason on the part of Trimbakrao to have an alliance with the Nizam. Bajirao had no option but to take strong measures to defend Shahu and the prestige of the Maratha Raj.

The court of Delhi even though it had failed to help Sarbulandkhan against the Marathas, had been displeased by the action of the Suba and he was recalled. Abhayasingh was appointed as a new Governor of Gujarat. Bajirao saw him at

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64 Sardesai: Vol. II, pp. 124-5
Shahibag in Ahmedabad in February 1731. He renewed the pact concluded last year. He agreed to accept 13 lacs of Rs. in lieu of Chauth, of which six lacs were paid immediately and the balance was to be paid as soon as he would expel Gaekwads and Bande from Gujarat. After signing this agreement Bajirao with his army, supported by the army of Gujarat, started from Ahmedabad towards Baroda.

The battle of Thuvavi or Bhilupur:

Bajirao had won over Avaji Kawade, Bhavsing Thoke, Mudanekar, Dalpatrao Thoke, Abhonkar, Bajaji Atole, Deshmukh of Sinor, Kunvar Banadur from Dabhade's side. Bhavsing Thoke was given Saranjam on twenty fifth November 1730. Kunvar Banadur was given a dress on 5th October 1730. On the other hand Udaji Pawar left the side of the Peshwa and joined Trimbakrao Dabhade. He had expressed his resentment against Peshwa's interference in Gujarat.

The agreement of Peshwa Bajirao and Abhaysing was taken up as a challenge to the rights of Senapati and the other chiefs in Gujarat. Senapati Trimbakrao Dabhade in company of Pilaji Gaekwad, Kathanji Kadam Bande, Udaji Pawar had

65 S.P.D. Book No. 30, p.301
66 S.P.D. Book No. 22, letter No.51.
collected large force near Dabhoi. Their ally Nizam was with a large army nearby in Khandesh. The Peshwa was helped by Rajputs and the Moghul artillery of Gujarat. The Peshwa feared the coalition of the Nizam and Senapati, but the Nizam was not sure of this Peshwa-Dabhade dispute.

The army of Senapati was about 45,000, while that of the Peshwa numbered about 25,000. The Peshwa had the help of able captains and he had the prestige of the royal authority Bajirao proclaimed Dabhade as a rebel and a traitor as he was linked with a foreign army. He declared that Khanderao wanted to enslave the Maratha Kingdom won by the great king and divide Shivaji's conquest between Sambhaji and the Moghuls.

Bajirao struck the Senapati's army on Thursday April first, 1731 and battle lasted for more than six hours. The Peshwa easily defeated the irregular part of Dabhade's army but Trimbakrao and some old soldiers fought with devotion and desperate valour. Peshwa was greatly impressed by the valour of Trimbakrao and on the midst of the battle he proposed a truce with these words. "Such gallantry as yours should be shown against the Maharaja's enemies. Let us stay the fight and once more try to effect a compromise."

This offer was rejected by Trimbakrao and he fought with exemplary skill in throwing arrows. Dajirao called
his men not to kill Trimbakrao Dabhade but to take him alive. Looking to Dabhade's determination of not yielding it was impossible to capture him. A stray shot from behind killed him. There was confusion and Trimbakrao's troops broke and fled. Peshwa's victory was complete.

Peshwa Bajirao reported this matter to his Guru Braharendra Swami where he had mentioned that Pilaji Gaekwad was wounded and escaped. The brother of Trimbakrao and others were unable to make any further resistance.

The effects of the battle of Bhilupur:

The news shocked Shahu beyond measures because it was the first battle, internecine dispute among his high commanders. Senapati's mother Umabai and his younger brothers lodged complaints before Shahu against Bajirao for betrayal. They also requested Shahu to inflict adequate punishment to Bajirao. Shahu tried to appease Umabai and conferred on Yashwantrao and Baburao, the younger brothers of Trimbakrao, the titles of Senapati and Senakhshmhel respectively. He appointed Pilaji Gaekwad as a Matalik of Dabhade in Gujarat. He defined the boundaries of Gujarat and Malwa and passed orders that half the revenues of each Province should be paid direct to the royal treasury by the Peshwa. The other half of the Gujarat revenues should be kept by the Dabhades for the up keep of the army and half
Malwa revenues were allotted to Bajirao for military expenses.

Looking from the standpoint of Senapati, the Peshwa was an aggressor who drove the Senapati into the arms of the Nizam. Dabhade grudged the assumption of the superior authority by the Peshwa and he based his stand on the early conquest of his ancestors. He was granted privileges by the king himself. Grant Duff wrote that Dabhade was proceeding to protect Raja's authority. Trimbakrao's revolt was mostly against the Peshwa and not against the Chhatrapati.

Constitutionally the Dabhades were to carry out the orders of the Peshwa as the Peshwa was yield the authority of the king. The Dabhades were always counting upon the past orders of the king and according to them the Peshwa was one of them and not the superior authority as both received orders from the King.

The consequences of the defeat of the Peshwa would have been very grave. The Maratha state would have been crippled. Peshwa Bajirao was carrying out, according to him, the wishes of the king. The moral effect of this incident was indeed serious, but really it was a deplorable sight that the two high officers, serving the same master, who were bound to guard his interest, should engage in a deadly fight.
Bajirao showed a liberal mind to the Dabhade family. Ilaji Gaekwad was appointed as a Mutalik of young Dabhade. Bandes and Pawars were soon restored to their offices.

The Battle of Bhilupur and after:

King Shahu looked eagerly and tried for all possible measures for reconciliation but goodwill never prevailed between the Peshwa and the Dabhade family. The Dabhade had been trying to oppose the authority of the Peshwa; not only that but they disturbed the territory of the Peshwa. Shahu was much grieved by the actions of Umabai and Baburao Dabhade and on May 28th 1734 he ordered Bajirao to force obedience of the members of the Dabhade family. Baburao was following the example of Trimbakrao in asking the help of Nizam and he tried to oppose the power of the Peshwa with the help of the Nizam. Baburao Dabhade died on December, 5th 1736. Umabai often tried her best to exercise her rights against the Peshwa.

The decline of the Dabhades:

The Dabhade family was silent for a period of about ten years. The two years after Shahu Chhatrapati's death proved very stirring for Maharashtra and Gujarat. Shahu died

67 S.P.D. Book No.12, letter No.58, 60,61.
68 S.P.D. Book No.12, letter No.65.
69 Ibid, No.15.
childless but before his death he had entrusted the state to the Peshwa. At the instant of Tarabai, the aged queen, one Rama Raja was crowned as Chhatrapati, for the management of the State. All prominent leaders of the Maratha Empire assembled at Sangola and an agreement was signed. One of the clauses of the agreement was as follows:

"Since Dabhade had become careless and addicted to vices, it was agreed that the Gaekwad should pay him a substantial pension and that his fief of Gujarat should be equally divided between the Peshwa and the Gaekwad."

Thus the Dabhade family was reduced to insignificance. Umabai in company of her daughter-in-law Ambikabai visited the Peshwa at Alandi on November 22nd 1750; and requested him for their restoration to the power but Peshwa Balaji Bajirao was not prepared to restore them to their position. The ladies were required to give a written consent agreeing to give the half share of Gujarat. Tarabai did not get any share in administration after the death of Shahu; and when Umabai sought her protection both the ladies made a common cause against the Peshwa. They invited Damaji to help them, but by this Damaji brought troubles on himself. Damaji, with his two sons was captured along with Umabai and kept as prisoners. Thus they remained for about ten months.

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On March 30th 1752 terms for the partition of Gujarat were accepted by Damajirao. The Dabhade's claim to Gujarat was entirely abandoned and Damaji Gaekwad was recognised as the sole Maratha representative in Gujarat with the title of Sena-Khas-Khel.

Damajirao Gaekwad had to agree to pay a large pension to Dabhade family and the House of Dabhade soon accepted the terms offered by the Peshwa. The House soon reconciled to the fate. Umabai died in November 1753 and her son Yeshwantrao in May 1754, humiliated and divested of all their power and possession. Yeshwantrao's son Trimbakrao II became the next Senapati and robes of Honour were presented to Trimbakrao Dabhade on May 18th 1754.

Peshwa Madhavrao deprived Trimbakrao Dabhade of his titles, land etc. by his letter dated October 31st 1753. Trimbakrao died in 1766. The descendants of the Dabhade Senapati are still living at Talegaon. Thus the Dabhade episodes ended in favour of Peshwa. The House of Dabhade was completely ruined and on its ruins rose the House of the Gaekwad.

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73 S.P.D. Book 12, p.96.
74 S.P.D. Book 39, letter No.17 of 31-10-1763.