CHAPTER V

TERRITORIAL ARRANGEMENTS OF THE MARATHAS AND FORMS OF RESISTANCE

The formal arrival of the Marathas in Rajasthan to intervene in the succession disputes in Jaipur and Jodhpur offered them an opportunity to expand their influence in Rajasthan much beyond the right of collection of tribute. Sarkar has shown how both Shinde and Holkar were heavily bribed by rival princes to favour their cause. Ishwari Singh of Jaipur committed suicide when he could not pay the promised amount to the Marathas. Now it was left to Madho Singh to cope with the Maratha demands after ascending the throne of Jaipur which had come at a price. Jayappa Shinde's demand of one third or at least one fourth of the territory of Jaipur to be handed over to the Marathas was bitterly resented by the new ruler, his nobles and the people of Jaipur. Simmering anger for the Marathas among the people of Jaipur led to the killing of thousands of Maratha soldiers in the city of Jaipur. Negotiations that followed the massacre of the Marathas further swelled the Maratha demand for payments as the Jaipur ruler agreed to compensate the Marathas for loss of men, horses and property.

In the end the whole episode involving the Marathas in the succession dispute of Jaipur lasting for six years ended badly damaging good old ties that the Marathas and Sawai Jai Singh had built. Even at this point the issues of tribute payment and transfer of territory as demanded by the Marathas were not fully resolved leaving lot of scope for disputes, claims and counter claims in future. These unsettled issues gave Marathas the pretext to intervene in the affairs of Jaipur throughout the later half of the 18th century. As per the terms of negotiations with the Marathas the pargans of Tonk, Toda, Malpura, Fagi and

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3 Sarkar, J.N. Fall of the Maghal Empire, Vol. 1, PP 191.
Barwada in pargana Niwai were to be brought under the control of Malharrao Holkar. Madho Singh also promised to offer a nazar of Rs 10 lakhs to the Maratha king Shahu. Madho Singh handed over a written undertaking to the Marathas to pay the amount in four instalments within two years starting 1749. Malharrao Holkar was allowed to take possession of the above parganas in Jaipur till the entire payment was made to the Marathas\(^1\). Once the negotiations were completed Holkar started demanding the control over parganas that were promised. In a letter of 1749 Holkar asked Madho Singh for the payment of amount promised and control over pargana Tonk in return for the support against Ishwar Singh in the battle of Bagru in 1748\(^2\). Earlier Madho Singh had given Holkar control over Rampura an area which belonged to Mewar and gifted to Madho Singh who was the nephew of the Maharana of Udaipur.

The kharitas offer information about Holkar's attempts to gain the control over areas promised by Madho Singh, the nature and degree of the Maratha control and the response of the Jaipur ruler and the local Rajputs to the presence of the Marathas in Jaipur territory.

Malharrao and his son Khanderao Holkar tried to settle the areas claimed by them within Jaipur territory soon after the occupation of Jaipur throne by Madho Singh. The first step that they took to establish their hold in Jaipur was the appointment of their representatives in the court of Jaipur for regular communications to sort out dealings between the two sides. Holkar sent Bhaiya Tulsi Ram as his vakil at the Jaipur court\(^3\). Two more officials Pandit Shankaraji and Pandit Ganeshji were also deputed to Madho Singh's court to oversee the work of tribute payment\(^4\). DiwanKanhi Ram was sent to Holkar as representative of Jaipur\(^5\).

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\(^2\) *Indore Kharita No.1, Kartik Sudi 13, V.S. 1806/1749*.
\(^3\) *Indore Kharita No.5, Falgun Vadi 6, V.S. 1807/1750*.
\(^4\) *Indore Kharita No.9, Falgun Vadi 10, V.S. 1807/1750*.
\(^5\) *Indore Kharita No.35, Bhadon Sudi 10, V.S. 1809/1752*. 

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At the same time Holkar took step to establish his thanas or outposts in the parganas which he claimed from Jaipur and appointed officials to take over the charge of these thanas. He wrote to Madho Singh to transfer the control of parganas Rampura and Hinglajgarh to Pandit Govind, who was to act as Holkars representative in these parganas. Madho Singh was asked to issue necessary instructions to his officials, qiledars, taalugdars etc about the transfer of these areas to Holkar so as to avoid any confrontation between the Maratha officials and the local officials of Jaipur.

Holkar established his thanas in pargana Nainwa and appointed Kamvisdass in Sherpur, Alanpur, Panchmahal and Malpura. But it seems that the Maratha control in these areas was fragile as we find that both Shinde and Holkar in a joint kharita written in 1752 appealed to Madho Singh not to encourage or extend any support to the elements who were creating disturbances in the Maratha thanas and opposing the Maratha revenue settlement in Sherpur and Aalnpu.

Malharrao Holkar asked Madho Singh to handover parganas Tonk, Toda, Malpura, Chhota Rampura and Sherpur to his kamvisdar Balaji Shamrao and stop all disturbances in these pargans otherwise he will have to face the Maratha army. Madho Singh was also informed about the undesirable behavior of the Jaipur officials Lachhim Ram Natani in 1752.

Holkar while making the arrangement for the administration of the territory gained in Rajasthan at times confronted the problems of dual control of Holkar and hereditary local elements who were incorporated into the local revenue administrative machinery. In pargana Toda which was under the control of Holkar the existing chaudhari and ganungo were replaced by the Jaipur ruler without
asking the Marathas. Holkar sent a letter of protest to Madho Singh and asked him to revoke his order by issuing a fresh parwana to this effect\(^1\).

Problems faced by the Maratha kamvisdars in the areas assigned to Holkar were reported frequently to the Jaipur ruler. Even the Jaipur Diwan Hargobind Natani admitted that the amaldar of pargana Malpura was not paying the full amount of money to the Maratha kamvisdar. Holkar asked Madho Singh to instruct that particular mamlatdar not to interfere in the collection of revenue\(^2\). Later Khanderrao Holkar made personal visits to all the areas in Jaipur that were handed over to the Holkars to sort out the problems concerning the collection of revenue\(^3\). It seems that the Jaipur officials were still functioning in these areas and the Maratha kamvisdar were sent there just for receiving the amount collected by Jaipur revenue officers and this lack of effective control over the process of revenue collection created problems for the Marathas in getting the revenue. The local Maratha revenue collector in Sambhar was to receive Rs1,000 as his salary out of the revenue collection from Sambhar but as Holkar wrote to Madho Singh in 1754 that he had not been paid for the last two years despite instructions to this effect from Jaipur Diwan Hargobind to the local Jaipur officials\(^4\). These instances reveal that the local officials of Jaipur were unwilling to cooperate with the Maratha kamvisdar. However, it is not clear whether they were opposed to the Maratha control on their own or they received instructions from their superiors to harass the Maratha officials. Thus till the battle of Panipat in January 1761 Holkar’s hold on the areas assigned to him in Jaipur was nominal and the Maratha officials present in these areas did not have much administrative authority.

The Maratha defeat at Panipat gave an opportunity to the Rajputs in Rajasthan to reassert their authority in the areas that were handed over to the Marathas. Chandrawat Rajputs took back Rampura which was under the control

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1 Indore Kharita No.25, Vaishk Vadi 12, V.S. 1809/1752.
2 Indore Kharita No.44, Sawan Sudi 1, V.S. 1810/1753.
3 Indore Kharita No.46, Bhadon Vadi 14, V.S. 1810/1753.
4 Indore Kharita No.60, Kartik Vadi 9, V.S. 1811/1754.
of Malharrao Holkar. Abhay Singh Rathor, a commander of the Kota ruler seized the fortalice of Gagron and ousted the Maratha kamvisdar from there. These were the two important Maratha outposts on the bordereing areas of Malwa and Rajasthan. Madho Singh tried to capture Newai and Keshorai Patan in November 1761. However, Holkar quickly regained these areas by defeating Madho Singh in the battle of Mangrol.

Malharrao Holkar’s successor Ahilyabai Holkar also experienced difficulty in exercising control over the Maratha territory in Jaipur. She wrote to Prithvi Singh “In parganas Tonk and Rampura Pandit Rangoji has been appointed as the kamvisdar but the Rajput bhomias are resisting our attempt to settle these areas efficiently, so I have written, so send instructions to all Rajput zamindars and allow the settlement of these parganas by our officials.”

Tukoji Holkar also repeatedly wrote in 1771 about the unrest created by the Rajputs in parganas Tonk and Mulpura as reported by Holkar’s kamvisdar Sadashiv Bhatt and asked Prithvi Singh to warn the recalcitrant elements. Again in the same year Tukoji wrote to Jaipur ruler about ongoing disputes between his official Sadashiv Bhatt and the Rajput bhomias of village Parana in Pargana Tonk.

Land grants made by Holkar in the parganas transferred to him were disputed by local Jaipur officials. Tukoji reported to Prithvi Singh in 1777 about one such instance involving village Thikariaya in pargana Toda. The said village was granted in inam to Pandit Gobindrao Munshi. Tukoji wrote “recently we come to know the amil of Toda has deprived the Pandit of the ownership right of the

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1 Sarkar, JN, Fall of the Maghal Empire, Vol.2, P.361.
2 Indore Kharita No.130, Maghishri Vadi 1, V.S. 1827/1770; Indore Kharita No.132, Posh Vadi 1, V.S. 1827/1770; Indore Kharita No.137, Chaitra Sudi 7, V.S. 1828/1771.
3 Indore Kharita No.144, V.S. 1828/1771.
village". He requested for the restoration of the grant to Pandit. Holkar's Kamvisdars of Parganas Tonk and Rampura in 1779 reported to Holkar about the disturbances by the local elements. Tukoji Holkar asked the Jaipur ruler Pratap Singh to stop these disturbances. Again in 1780 we find Tukoji Holkar repeating the same complaint in his letter and reprimanded Pratap Singh for his inaction.

The failure of the Holkars to tighten their grip over the Maratha possessions in Jaipur territory was taken note of by Mahadji Shinde who decided to intervene on their behalf. Shinde very firmly told the Jaipur ruler to give up control over the areas that were given to Holkars. He declared the interference of Jaipur in these parganas unlawful and asked Pratap Singh to transfer the overall authority to the officials of Holkar for the sake of healthy relationship else he would face trouble. Again he wrote to Pratap Singh to remove his forces from these parganas or else the Maratha forces would also be sent to settle the issue.

However, the position of Holkars in the territory gained in Jaipur was never strong. Disturbances and sporadic attacks on the Maratha posts continued in pargana Tonk and Mulpura. Tukoji asked Pratap Singh to take action against the turbulent elements and restore the authority to his mokasadar Govindrao. Incidences of defiance and insubordination to the Maratha officials were repeated many times in 1780s and 1790s but Holkars could not go beyond complaining and at time reprimanding the Jaipur ruler. It seems that Holkars were not in a position to initiate any military action against Jaipur.

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1 Indore Kharita No.179, Posh Sudi 1, V.S. 1834/1777.---- मौजे दीक रीया परगना तोड़ा का गांव बड़े महाराज ने पड़ा गोष्टि का ताता शुमार कर दिया है..... हाल जाहर हुआ है जो तोड़ा का अमलदार ने वा गांव का मसारीले का अमल बंद करी जपती करी है .... सुनबामें आया जो राज के तरफ से परगने टोक के अमल में खलन कर तरह तरह के फीतूर हुए ।

2 Indore Kharita No.183, Kartik Sudi 10, V.S. 1836/1779.

3 Indore Kharita No.185, Asarh Vadi 5, V.S. 1837/1780.----सुनबामें आया जो राज के तरफ से परगने टोक के अमल में खलन कर तरह तरह के फीतूर हुए। बाल दु छणो ही आवरण हुए ।

4 Gwalier Kharita No. 75, Sawan Sudi 4, V.S. 1836/1779.

5 Gwalier Kharita No. 76, Sawan Sudi 10, V.S. 1836/1779.

Mahadji Shinde’s defeat in the battle of Lalsot in 1787 further weakened the position of Marathas in Rajasthan. Shinde’s death in 1794 affected the overall position of Marathas in North India. Death of Ahilyabai in 1795 was another setback to Holkars. In pargana Tonk there were disturbances against the Marathas. In 1796 Holkar’s representative Laxman Anant and Jagmnath Ram Bahadur wrote to Pratap Singh about the trouble created by the zamindars and revenue officials in pargana Tonk and asked him to stop their activities. In order to improve his position in Tonk, Tukoji Holkar removed the Maratha mamlatdar and appointed Kripal Singh Sikh in his place to handle the administration of the pargana. Holkar also wrote to Pratap Singh that his officials have lost control over village Choru and other adjacent villages.

The other Maratha saradar who gained territory in Rajasthan was Shinde. Jayappa Shinde in 1751 reprimanded Madho Singh for making encroachment in prant Bundi and Nainwa claiming them as Shinde’s territory. In 1755 Jankoji Shinde asked Madho Singh to hand over Ajmer and 12 villages of taaluqa Borade to Shinde’s representative Gobindra.

Resistance to the presence of the Maratha kamvisdars in outlying areas as tax collectors despite authorization from the Jaipur ruler was reported from several places. Shinde’s thanadars who were trying to gain footage in Jaipur territory were opposed by the local Rajputs. Shinde’s officials were ousted from their outpost of Chhain by the local revenue officials. Jankoji Shinde asked Madho Singh to restore the outpost to his officials Ragho Shankar and Bhagwantrai Shankar or face the visitation of his forces.

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1 Indore Kharita No.298, Sawan Vadi 2, V.S. 1853/1796.
2 Indore Kharita No.299, Bhadon Sudi 12, V.S. 1853/1796.
3 Indore Kharita No.293, Vaishk Vadi 13, V.S. 1852/1795.
4 Gwalier Kharita No. 155, Jeth Sudi 7, V.S. 1808/1751.
5 Gwalier Kharita No. 162, Falgun Sudi 1, V.S. 1812/1755.
6 Gwalier Kharita No. 173, Falgun Sudi 17, V.S. 1812/1755.---- ताना भारेन मो भागेसा मो. सरकार से आमल छ सो यो हमारी जमीदार स्वयं उत्तर राज का आमलदर बैठे है सो ये बात आपनी नाको है सरकार को आमल उत्तर देना सो बीमार तूफान करो हाल बातते ही पत्र स्री संगीतक राय शंकर जे हैतन है सो छुरी होणकर राजी सो उत्तर स्नेही आपने ही सरकार की अमत बातों जाने बीमारी बात सो खींचत न होते ही होता या मो. संतोष छ फेर नालसी नहीं आमेंगी सो करीयों पदन्त सर श्रीमती मो राज री तरफ सु रुकाइ हुई को सीतामरी रात गेज देना हरी मात्र सो पंडता को गौर करी ने सत्क खुन के बात पत्र तीमा को आवे सो ही कर जाय या में आछे है
Jankoji was also interested in establishing his control over strategically important fort of Ranthambor.

In 1758 he reprimanded Madho Singh for his unauthorized possession of the fort. By now Shinde also started asserting his claim over some pockets of Jaipur territory that were promised to him earlier but these promises were not met by Madho Singh. The local Rajputs never reconciled to the Maratha presence in their locality. Hence, Shinde’s officials faced difficulty in maintaining control over the thanas and collecting revenue from the areas they claimed as theirs. Shinde’s demand for the transfer of 12 villages of taaluqa Borade was not met by Jaipur even as late as 1769. Mahadji Shinde felt constrained to warn Prithivi Singh that these villages be vacated and handed over to his agent Pandit Gobind Rao. Disputes between Shinde and Jaipur over territorial possession persisted even in the 1780s. Two villages Chakwara and Dhimana in Jaipur territory were given to Shinde’s representative Pandit Balarao Govind in lieu of his salary. Despite these villages having been in Maratha possession since long the local Rajputs ousted Pandit and seized these villages. Mahadji had to warn Paratap Singh that both villages should be vacated and handed over to Pandit Shankaraji Jagannath on behalf of Balarao as he is present there and in future you should take care that such problems do not recoccur. In 1781 Shinde gave the mamlat authority of Ajmer to his representative Mirza Rahim Beg and instructed Pratap Singh to give the amount of peshkash of taaluqa Borade to Rahim Beg. Transfer of office from one to another Maratha official was not smooth and Shinde had to interfere in such matters. In 1783 in his Kharita sent from Gwalier he wrote to Pratap Singh about his official Pandit Shankar Rao Jagannath who had been doing official work at an unspecified place. He died and his son Trimbak Shankar was appointed to perform the same task. Shinde asked Pratap Singh to transfer villages assigned to the deceased to the new appointee.
Shinde also faced problems with regard to his control over pargana Sambbhar. He tried to settle this matter with Jaipur in 1784. He wrote to Pratap Singh “your state had given us Sambhar but till today the amil of Sambhar has not vacated the local thanas and bothers our men posted there. I have also written to you earlier and raised this matter, but no action has been taken from your side so now ask your amil to handover the charge to our officials who will coordinate with your court and manage the pargana accordingly”¹. Later on Mahadji asked Pratap Singh to stop excesses committed by his officials while collecting taxes from the traders. Before the Lalsot campaign Mahadji again complained to Pratap Singh and expressed his unhappiness over the discrimination being committed with the Maratha officials in Sambhar².

Fed up with the intolerable interference of local amil in the administration of Sambhar he conveyed to Pratap Singh that he no longer wanted the Jaipur official’s presence in Sambhar. In 1786 he appointed his own officials in Sambhar. He informed Pratap Singh “we are sending Seth Gangaram and Rajaram from here for taking charge of the offices of amil and faujdar of Sambhar, so do consult them for all official work”³. In 1791 again Mahadji wrote to Pratap Singh to stop the trouble created by the Rajput bhomias who were harassing the traders on account of rahdari collection. In 1792, Mahadji reminded Pratap Singh that Borade thana in Ajmer has not been vacated so far, so now handover the thana to Jaguji and Lakshman Rao. Otherwise I will ask them to capture the thana⁴.

Thus the Maratha officials appointed in Jaipur territory had to encounter the non cooperation of local Jaipur officials as well as the hostility of Rajput bhomias. Without the backing of the Marathas military presence the Maratha revenue officers, kamvisdar and their subordinate staff could not manage the affairs. They were bullied by the local officials and the zamindars. Despite the

¹ Gwalier Kharita No. 99, Falgun Sudi 11, V.S. 1841/1784.
² Gwalier Kharita No. 118, Vaisakh Vadi 1, V.S. 1843/1786.
³ Gwalier Kharita No. 119, Magh Sudi 5, V.S. 1843/1786.
⁴ Gwalier Kharita No. 80, Kartik Sudi 14, V.S. 1837/1780.
establishment of Maratha thanas, kamvisdars and other officials were not allowed to function effectively and complained to the Maratha sardars. The Kharitas from Shinde and Holkar continuously raised this matter and asked the Jaipur rulers to instruct the local bhomias and amils not to create disturbances and let the Maratha officials settle the area.

In the face of persistent hostility to their presence the Marathas kamvisdars were not able to collect full revenue from the areas placed under their charge in Jaipur territory. Insufficient collection of revenue created the problem of the payment of salaries to the Maratha officials working in these parganas and troopers who were posted at the Maratha thanas. In order to cope with this situation the Marathas resorted to the practice of ijara or revenue farming in some of the areas to improve the collection of revenue. Shinde granted the ijara of Sambhar to the local traders because of the unabated hostility of the local Jaipur officials and the zamindars¹. But even the ijaradars who had local roots found it difficult to bring the situation under control and reported loss as a result of poor collection². Thus it is evident that the Maratha administration in the territory that they obtained in Jaipur state was neither systematic nor effective. The Maratha administrative setup in pockets of Jaipur territory was not similar to their revenue arrangements in Malwa. It was visible merely by the presence of Maratha Kamvisdar and his subordinate staff who were appointed there to collect the revenue in lieu of tribute payment. Thus from the beginning the Maratha control over revenue administration was nominal. Even for the collection of revenue they depended upon the local revenue officials of Jaipur. It seems that the Marathas were not keen to replace the existing administrative network by their system. While dealing with the Jodhpur ruler Bijay Singh the Marathas did not stake any claim to territory in Marwar as it was agriculturally poor as compared to Jaipur, Kota and Bundi. They were simply interested in gaining control over Ajmer from Jodhpur ruler as it was strategically

¹ Gwalior Kharita No. 103, Jeth Vadi 13, V.S. 1842/1785.
² Gwalior Kharita No. 104, Sawan Sudi 6, V.S. 1843/1786.
located. The Maratha presence in Jodhpur was by and large confined to the collection of tribute regularly the sole exception being the demand for the surrender of Ajmer to the Marathas. After the battle of Merta in September 1790 Bijay Singh had to surrender Sambhar, Khairwa, Masuda and 29 villages of pargana Bhinai to Mahadji Shinde to fulfil the requirement of the treaty of Merta. Bijay Singh was made to promise that his men would not interfere in the management of the above areas or create difficulties for the Maratha tax collectors. There are also instances of the assignments of villages in Marwar territory to the Maratha officials. Shinde demanded from Bijay Singh the assignment of village Bharonda to his commander Jadhavrao in 1775 and that of village Ganga in pargana Parbatsar to Krishnarao Gangadhar in 1782. In both the letters he instructed Bijay Singh to ensure that his appointees are not troubled by Jodhpur officials in any way\(^1\). This specific instruction to Bijay Singh indicates that Mahadji Shinde was anticipating hostility from the Jodhpur officials. However, the attitude of the Jodhpur ruler and his local officers did not change towards the Marathas even up to 1790s. In his kharita of 1791 Shinde instructed Bijay Singh to stop interference of the amaldar and jagirdar of Nawa in village Kakrauli of pargana Sambhar. Further he wrote that Sargoth and Kuchaman be handed over to the Maratha officials\(^2\).

There was hardly any improvement in the situation despite Shinde’s complete domination over Jodhpur after the battle of Merta. Resistance from the local officials and bhomias persisted as they were unwilling to submit to the Marathas. The hostility of bhomias was evident as late as 1806. Mahadji’s successor Daulat Rao Shinde informed Bhim Singh, the new ruler of Jodhpur that the Marathas had lost control over Makrana five years ago. he asked Bhim Singh to persuade the bhomias to transfer its control to the Marathas\(^3\).

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\(^1\) Gwalier- Jodhpur Kharita, Magh Vadi 14, V.S. 1832/1775, Gwalier- Jodhpur Kharita, Vaisakh Sudi 5, V.S. 1840/1783.
\(^2\) Gwalier- Jodhpur Kharita, Asoj Sudi 14, V.S. 1840/1791.
\(^3\) Gwalier- Jodhpur Kharita, Posh Sudi 2, V.S. 1853/1796.
Forms of Resistance to the Marathas

The Maratha activities in the latter half of 18th century were largely confined to south eastern parts of Rajasthan since most of better revenue yielding pockets were concentrated in this part. Ajmer, Shahpura, Malpura, Rampura Tonk, Toda, Sambhar, Kota and Bundi were the areas which attracted the interest of Marathas till the end of the 18th century. All these areas were located where frontiers of three major Rajput states of Marwar, Mewar and Jaipur converged. This perhaps explains the long term Maratha involvement in these parts of Rajasthan despite stiff resistance at several places. The Maratha presence in Rajasthan was largely motivated by their desire to extract regular tribute from the Rajput rulers. Secondly they were also interested in occupying and controlling fertile and strategically important territories like Kota, Ajmer, Tonk Rampura, Malpura and lastly Sambhar because of its commercial value for salt trade.

However, the Marathas had to face stiff opposition to their presence in Rajasthan. The Marathas experienced much difficulty in controlling and administering the pockets of area gained in the Rajput states where the villages were dominated by the Rajput bhomias. The bigger and strong Rajput states of Rajasthan compared to smaller Rajput principalities of Malwa and Bundelkhand were far more resourceful and strategically positioned to face the Maratha challenge. In the 18th century both Jaipur and Jodhpur emerged as bigger and powerful states in Rajasthan and resisted the Marathas in myriad ways.

The form of resistance of the Rajputs to the Maratha onslaught is vividly depicted in Rajasthani sources. The kharitas from Shindes and Holkars to the Rajput rulers also provide an insight into the manner in which the Rajputs addressed the Maratha problem. The resistance of Rajputs to the Marathas assumed several forms ranging from diplomacy to armed as well as passive form of struggle.

The growing success of the Marathas in Malwa against the Mughals was a cause of concern as it brought the Marathas quite close to the borders of Rajasthan. In 1734 for the first time they interfered in the internal affairs of Bundi
state in Rajasthan on invitation from Pratap Singh Hada. To check the Maratha advancement in Rajasthan, Sawai Jai Singh convened a conference of the Rajput rulers at Hurda in July 1734. It was presided by Maharana Jagat Singh of Mewar and attended by the rulers of Jaipur, Jodhpur, Kota, Bikaner, Bundi, Karuali and Kishangarh. They agreed to form a united front against the Marathas under the leadership of Maharana Jagat Singh. However, this unity was achieved only on papers because of the conflicting interests of Rajput rulers to resist the Maratha advancement collectively. Notwithstanding the eventual failure of the Hurda experience at least the Rajputs came to realize the seriousness of the Maratha problem and the need to tackle it collectively rather than in isolation. The idea of collective resistance to the Marathas in Rajasthan was experimented with in varying degree of success during the later half of the 18th century.

The first instance of popular resistance to the Marathas is reported from Marwar. The Maratha attempt to realize tribute from the people of Marwar in 1742 was resisted by them. The Peshwa dispatched Malharrao Holkar and Ranoji Shinde to Marwar to collect the amount of tribute from its ruler Abhay Singh after the end of battle at Merta in 1736. The Marathas encountered difficulty in realizing tribute from Abhay Singh. They tried to raise money from the people of parganas Sojat, Raipur and Jaitaran. The people at large resisted the Marathas and resorted to deserting their dwelling huts rather than paying the Marathas. The Marathas could not manage to collect more than Rs 100-200 per day. Abhay Singh succeeded in evading the payment of tribute promised to the Marathas1.

Developments following the formal entry of the Marathas in Rajasthan to be a party in the succession disputes between the competitors for the throne of Jaipur and Jodhpur once again made the Rajput rulers aware of the Maratha danger. Bakht Singh who was fighting with

his nephew Ram Singh to secure the gaddi of Jodhpur took initiative to form another front of the Rajput rulers to drive Marathas out of Rajasthan\textsuperscript{1}. He received favorable response from Jaipur and Shahpura. Bikaner was already supporting the cause of Bakht Singh and readily agreed to join the front. In his kharita of 1751 GajSingh of Bikaner wrote to Madho Singh about his preparations to join Bakht Singh soon. He requested Madho Singh to reach Sambhar. Further he wrote that in case the Marathas do not withdraw on their own we should take recourse to arms to drive them out from Rajasthan. He proposed that after ousting the Marathas we can jointly manage the affairs of Hindustan\textsuperscript{2}. When Gaji Singh heard the news of Malharrao Holkar’s departure towards Hindustan (North India), he wrote to Bakhat Singh to devise plan to prevent Holkar from proceeding further\textsuperscript{3}. Bakht Singh proposed to Madho Singh that they might divide Malwa between the two after driving the Marathas beyond the river Narbada\textsuperscript{4}. But the whole plan fizzled out due to Bakht Singh’s death in September 1752. Bakht Singh’s plan to foster a united front of the Rathors, the kachhawas, the Jats of Bharatpur and the Mughal wazir was interprated by the Marathas as the combined move of Jaipur and Jodhpur to finish the Maratha domination in North India\textsuperscript{5}.

Bijay Singh who succeeded Bakhat Singh was dead against the Maratha presence in Rajasthan. He continuously resisted the Maratha dominations throughout the late half of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century. He made several attempts to organize anti Maratha confederation and did not hesitate to approach the other powers in North India. In 1755 he tried to form a united front of the Mughal emperor, the Jats, the Rohillas and the other Rajput rulers to oust the Marathas from North India. He sent his representative to Delhi and through him offered Rs 5 lakhs to the emperor who was requested to join the Rajput army. Jaipur and Bikaner had

\textsuperscript{1} Hingane Daftar, Vol I, P.59.
\textsuperscript{2} Bikaner- Jaipur Kharita, Asarh Sudi 8, V.S. 1808/1751.
\textsuperscript{3} Bikaner- Jaipur Kharita, Asarh Vadi 4, V.S. 1809/1752.
\textsuperscript{4} Marwar Khayat, Vol 2, P.185.
\textsuperscript{5} Selections from the Peshwa Daftar, Vol. 21, L.50.
already decided to make a common cause with Jodhpur\(^1\). Bijay Singh also sought Ahmadshah Abdali’s help to throw out the Marathas from Marwar\(^2\). In 1759 when Abdali was moving towards Delhi he sent messages to Bijay Singh and Madho Singh urging them to join him against the Marathas. In December 1759 Abdali asked Bijay Singh to join the Afghan forces with a Jodhpur contingent\(^3\). Bijay Singh’s hobnobbing with Abdali was reported to the Peshwa who was informed that the Jodhpur ruler was more inclined to help Abdali than the Marathas\(^4\). In November 1759, Govindrao Ballal informed the Maratha commander Sadashiv Rao Bhau that Bijay Singh intends to join Abdali with a view to overthorugh the Maratha domination in the North\(^5\). When the Marathas realized the seriousness of Abdali’s danger they contacted Bijay Singh for help\(^6\). Bijay Singh agreed to help both the Marathas and Abdali but he did not render any active help to either in the third battle of Panipat.

Ever after the third battle of Panipat the Rajputs were in continuous touch with Abdali to seek his help against the Marathas. As recorded in Dastur Komvar in 1762 from Lahore, Abdali’s agent Gulraj Khatri visited Jaipur from Lahore with a forman for Madho Singh. However, the contents of the forman are not available. Madho Singh gave him Rs 7,200 to cover the cost of travel and hospitality. Abdali’s willingness to support the Rajputs is evident from Gaj Singh’s kharita to Madho Singh in which he acknowledged receiving monetary help sent by Shah Abdali and Nawab Alikhan, the vazir of Kandhar through Yaqub Ali Khan\(^7\). Bikaner again showed solidarity with Jaipur against the Marathas. In 1766 the Bikaner ruler wrote to Madho Singh that in the event of the visitation of the Marathas (Dikhni) our forces are ready to take on them along with your

\(^1\) Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. 27, L.119.
\(^2\) Parihar, G.R, Marwar and the Marathas, P.86.
\(^3\) Ibid, P 92.
\(^6\) Letter from Bijay Singh to Anand Rao, Asarh Sudi 9, V.S. 1816/ Jan 1760 Arzi Bahi No.4, Jodhpur Records.
\(^7\) Bikaner- Jaipur Kharita, Asoj Vadi 8, V.S. 1823/1766.
forces. Continuous interaction between the Afghan ruler and the Rajputs is evident from Gaji Singh's letter in 1773 to Madho Singh in which he mentions the visit of the agent of Taimur Shah and requested Madho Singh to arrange for his safe passage up to Delhi.

Bijay Singh never reconciled with constant Maratha pressure for the payment of tribute. Hence when Jawahar Singh Jat wrote to him to form a joint front against the Marathas to drive them out of Rajasthan and Malwa, Bijay Singh accepted the offer and met Jawahar Singh at Pushkar. They also tried to rope in Madho Singh but he declined. First in 1781 and again in 1786 Bijay Singh sent overtures to the British to seek their support against the Marathas. The anxiety of Rajputs over recent developments in the politics of North India particularly the return of the Mughal emperor Shal Alam with the help of Mahadji Shinde is evident from the Bikaner ruler Gaj Singh's letter to Pratap Singh of Jaipur in 1785. The letter also mentions about the eagerness of the Rajputs rulers to work out a common strategy in consultation with their leading Rajputs (thakurs). In this letter he suggested that all the Rajputs should be consulted and requested to assemble to consider proposal to stop the Marathas from strengthening their hold further in Delhi and to discuss ways and means to manage the affairs of Hindustan. Bijay Singh formed a close alliance with Jaipur in February 1787 against the Marathas and sent his representatives to the Awadh Nawab, Shuja-ud-Daula, the Sikhs and the Afghan ruler Taimur Shah. He encouraged the rulers of Udaipur and Kota to occupy the parganas belonging to these states that were under the possession of the Marathas.

Between 1788 and 1790 Bijay Singh made all out efforts to dislodge Shinde not only from Rajasthan but also from North India. He entered into negotiation with all possible allies. First he wrote to the Peshwa through Tukoji Holkar to

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1 Bikaner- Jaipur Kharita, Posh Vadi 14, V.S. 1823/1766.
2 Bikaner- Jaipur Kharita, Falgun Vadi 13, V.S. 1830/1773.
5 Bikaner- Jaipur Kharita, Chaitra Vadi 8, V.S. 1842/1795.
6 Letter from Bijay Singh to Mahadji Shinde, Magh Vadi 10, V.S. 1823/Jan 1767, Arzi Bahi No.4, Jodhpur Records.
remove Mahadji Shinde from the charge of Maratha affairs in North India¹. Next he sent his senior officer Bhim Raj Singhvi to the emperor to secure his support against Shinde². He sent his envoy to the Sikh leaders for forming an alliance for mutual support. He also asked Timur Shah, the ruler of Afghanistan to come to India. However, Bijay Singh could not get any help from the emperor and the Sikhs who were not in favour of inviting Timur Shah. There was no response from Timur Shah and the British expressed their inability to offer any help to Bijay Singh because of their involvement in Mysore war³. However, the solidarity between Jodhpur and Jaipur for the common cause was unshaken. Fortunately they were able to entice Ismail Beg who along with his forces joined the Rajput camp. Before the battle of Merta in Sept 1790, Bijay Singh made all possible preparations to offer stiff armed resistance to the Marathas with the help of Jaipur and Bikaner. He also asked Ismail Beg to mobilize his forces. He even tried to entice Shinde’s commander De Boigne for defection to the Rajput side by proposing that the Rajputs would carve out an independent principality of Ajmer for him but without any success.⁴ Despite his resolve and persistent efforts to end the Maratha supremacy in Rajasthan and North India, Bijay Singh could not match the military might of Shinde and his continued defiance and resistance to the Marathas with the backing of his allies was met with forceful Maratha military campaigns.

The rulers of Jaipur resisted the Maratha dominance which assumed the form of the imposition of tribute and demand of military expenses which kept accumulating. The Marathas also claimed certain pockets of territory within Jaipur state. The Maratha demand for the control of areas was resented by the Jaipur ruler as well as the local Rajputs who continued to create disturbances and troubled the Maratha officers present in their localities. The hatred of the residents of Jaipur city culminated in the massacre of thousands of the Maratha

¹ Letter from Bijay Singh to Tukoji Holkar, Posh Vadi 14, V.S. 1844/Jan 1788, Arzi Bahi No.4, Jodhpur Records.
² Parihar, G.R, Manwar and the Marathas, P.118.
³ Parihar, G.R, Manwar and the Marathas, P.129.
⁴ Compton, Herbert, A Particular Account of the Military Adventures of Hindustan, London, P.55
soldiers in January 1751. Disturbances of the Rajputs were reported in Nainwa and Bundi where they joined hands with Kishan Singh Hada a local zamindar. Holkar warned Jaipur of serious consequences if the local Rajputs were not prevented from opposing the Maratha presence in their area.

Holkar’s officials were facing resistance from the local Rajputs all around in their possession within Jaipur. Holkar asked Madho Singh to stop all acts of disturbances and opposition to the Marathas in Tonk, Toda, Malpura, Chhota Rampura and Sherpur or face consequences.

Madho Singh had his own ways of troubling the Marathas without overtly defying their presence in Jaipur territory. He removed the chaudhari and ganungo from pargana Toda which was under Holkar’s control thereby bringing the work of revenue settlement at standstill. The amil of pargana Malpura perhaps on instructions from Madho Singh was not paying the entire amount of revenue collection to Holkar’s Kamvisdars. Resistance to the Maratha authorities in the areas handed over to Holkars was unabated even in the subsequent years. Despite pressure from Holkar throughout the years 1756 and 1757 there was hardly any positive response from Madho Singh.

The Peshwa’s brother Raghunathrao told Madho Singh that his rule over Jaipur had to be in alliance with Subedarji (Malharrao Holkar) and Patel Sahib (Mahadji Shinde). However, resistance from the local elements as well as the Jaipur rulers continued in one form or the other frustrating the Marathas as their reappeared attempts to consolidate their hold on the territory within the Rajput state did not yield desired results. Continued defiance and resistance at local level to the Maratha presence forced Mahadji Shinde to take up the issue with

1 Indore Kharita No. 14, Jeth Sudi 13, V.S. 1808/1751.
2 Indore Kharita No.36, Asoj Vadi 12, V.S. 1809/1752.
3 Indore Kharita No.25, Vaisakh Vadi 12, V.S. 1809/1752.
4 Indore Kharita No.44, Sawan Vadi 1, V.S. 1810/1753.
5 Indore Kharita No.53, Jeth Vadi 11, V.S. 1811/1754.
Jaipur ruler Pratap Singh in 1782. He protested that his men in Jaipur territory were being targeted by local zamindars\(^1\). In 1784 again he wrote to Pratap Singh to control the people of Jaipur who were troubling his representative Balarao who was staying in Jaipur city. Shinde’s officials faced resistance from the local Jaipur officers and zamindars when they tried to establish their own administrative set up in pargana Sambhar that was given to Shinde by Jaipur\(^2\). His officers continued to face resistance from the bhomias which is evident from Shinde’s kharita to Pratap Singh in 1791\(^3\). The Maratha attempt to undermine the authority and control of Jaipur in the matters regarding the collection of taxes was only partially successful.

The other area where the Maratha hegemony in Rajasthan was contested by the Rajputs was the payment of tribute and war expenses to the Marathas. The Maratha demand for tribute arose out of their participation in the succession disputes in Jaipur and Jodhpur. Inability of the Rajputs to pay the promised amount brought pressure from the Marathas. The Peshwa asked his vakil to demand the promised amount from Ishwari Singh of Jaipur which he could not arrange. Both Shinde and Holkar were deputed by the Peshwa to collect the promised amount from Ishwari Singh who committed suicide as he was not in a position to meet the Maratha demands. Madho Singh who became the ruler of Jaipur in 1751 was asked to fulfill the Maratha demands. Issue of tribute payment remained inconclusive partly due to the feeling among the Rajputs that the demand is unreasonable and beyond their means and partly on account of their reluctance to meet the demand irrespective of its quantum. Even after sorting out the matter of tribute payment by both sides several times, the Rajputs did not keep their promises thus creating scope for continued Maratha intervention in the affairs of Rajput state. The kharitas from Shinde and Holkar addressed to the Jaipur rulers provide enough insight into the complicated nature of this issues.

\(^{1}\) Gwalier Kharita No. 79, Sawan Vadi 14, V.S. 1839/1782.
\(^{3}\) Gwalier Kharita No. 42, Posh Sudi 5, V.S. 1848/1791.
and means adopted by the Jaipur rulers to evade the payment of ever-growing Maratha demands for money.

Soon after the accession of Madho Singh to the gaddi of Jaipur Shinde and Holkar began to ask for tribute on a regular basis to finance their military advances in the North. As per the terms of agreement between Madho Singh and Marathas, the former committed to pay a *nazar* of Rs 10 lakhs to the Maratha King. The payment was to be made in four installments within 1744 and 1750. The Jaipur ruler had also agreed to compensate the Marathas for the loss of men and materials when they were attacked by the people of Jaipur city in 1751. Despite promises to abide by the terms of agreement Holkar was not getting any payment. Khande Rao Holkar reminded Madho Singh that tribute payment that was due in mid 1752 is still awaited. Malharrao Holkar also wrote to the Jaipur ruler about non payment of amount which had already become due. He urged Madho Singh to arrange the payment and send money at the earliest as the Peshwa was in dire need of cash. In 1753 Holkar put much pressure on Madho Singh to pay quickly the pending dues. It appears from the language of these *kharitas* that Holkar was quite desperate to receive the payment and openly expressed his displeasure about indifferent attitude of Madho Singh.

Non payment, delayed payment and underpayment of tribute and other levis of the Marathas were the methods adopted by Madho Singh to avoid the Maratha demands which amounted to his covert resistance the Maratha dominace. In one such instance Jaipur Diwan Hargohind instead of sending Rs 50,000 despatched only Rs 40,000. Khande Rao Holkar protested to Madho

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1 *Indore Kharita* No.3, V.S. 1809/ 1749.
3 *Indore Kharita* No.38, Kartik Sudi, V.S. 1809/ 1752.
4 *Indore Kharita* No.38, Vaisakh Sudi 2, V.S. 1810/ 1753.
5 *Indore Kharita* No.43, Sawan Vadi 12, V.S. 1810/ 1753.
Singh against these tactics of Jaipur. The other method adopted by Jaipur to avoid payment and buy time was that of issuing invalid hundis which could not be honoured. In 1753 a hundi sent by Jaipur to be exchanged with cash at Aurangabad was not honoured by the local sahukar. Similarly hundis dispatched for the Peshwa could not be exchanged for cash. A hundi issued in the name of an Aurangabad based sahukar for payment of Rs 3 lakhs was not entertained by the sahukar as the amount had not reached him. Khanderao Holkar warned the Jaipur Diwan Hargobind to issue valid hundis in future.

The Marathas kept on pressurizing Madho Singh for payment of tribute and made no secret of their disgust and annoyance over the casualness of Jaipur. Holkar wrote to Madho Singh in 1754 it is not justified to send repeated reminders for payments and asked him to send the money fast. He also reported the failure of the Jaipur officials to pay salary to the Maratha officials in Jaipur territory as per the agreement.

Madho Singh knew how to gain time by entering into longer negotiations and paying only pittance of the sum promised. The Peshwa’s agent reacting to these tactics of Jaipur commented in 1765. “This court moves very slowly and protracts business.” The amount promised to the Marathas in return of their support to Jaipur against the Jats was yet to be paid. Tought posture adopted by the Marathas in their letters of reminders also proved ineffective. While leaving for the Deccan in 1755 Holkar wrote to Jaipur that all remaining dues be sent to the location of his camp in the Deccan. But nothing happened even in the years 1756 and 1757 despite continued pressure from Holkar. As the attitude of Jaipur

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1 Indore Kharita No.47, Bhadon Vadi 14, V.S. 1810/1753.
2 Indore Kharita No.46, Bhadon Vadi 14, V.S. 1810/1753.
3 Indore Kharita No.48, Sawan Vadi 14, V.S. 1810/1753.
4 Indore Kharita No.53, Jeth Vadi 11, V.S. 1811/1754.
5 Indore Kharita No.60, Kartik Vadi 9, V.S. 1811/1754.
7 Indore Kharita No.62, Jeth Vadi 13, V.S. 1812/1755.
did not change the Marathas decided to act tough and started issuing serious
warnings and threats to Madho Singh. In 1756 Madho Singh was reminded that
he owed the Jaipur throne to the Maratha support. He was told that delay in
payment from his side is not at all justified. Raghunathrao wrote to Madho Singh
in 1757 from Shahjahanbad about his failure to pay instalment of money for the
month of Kartik as per the promise. He warned Madho Singh “send money
quickly that will be better for you”\(^1\). Throughout 1750s Jaipur evaded payment of
tribute and the Marathas could do no more than sending reminders followed by
mild and stern warnings.

The Rajputs were temporarily relieved from the Maratha pressure because
of the threat of Abdali and the defeat of the Maratha army in the battle of Panipat.
But the Marathas bounced back soon with strong response to the defiant attitude
of Rajputs. The Maratha forces convincingly defeated Madho Singh’s forces near
Mangrol in late 1761. They put pressure on Jaipur for immediate payment of
pending dues\(^2\). However, luckily for Madho Singh the Marathas got involved first
in Bundel Khand and then in the Deccan to fight with Nizam\(^3\). These fronts kept
the Marathas occupied throughout the years 1762 and 1763.

The Marathas renewed their demand for the payment of arrears of tribute.
Malharrao Holkar in his letter of 1764 sent details of the dues that were pending
since 1761\(^4\). Holkar made a demand for Rs 35 lakhs to be paid in seven annual
instalments out of which Rs 10 lakhs were to be paid immediately. Holkar
demanded 4 lakhs in cash and the rest in three equal instalments in the coming
three months. The payment of entire amount was demanded between 1765 and
1771\(^5\). Holkar regularly confronted Jaipur ruler from Madho Singh to Pratap
Singh over the issue of tribute payment and backlog of other dues but could not
realize much due to Jaipur rulers avoidence tactis.

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1 Indore Kharita No.72, Kartik Sud 10, V.S. 1814/ 1757.------ आपके तरफ का स्पष्ट तत्त्व का सूत्तिया कालिक
मांड़ीने ही किंग्ज़ा की थपकार में जस्ता तार्क आया नहीं किंग्जा फ़ंड का कर्तव्य था या सो चूक गया या बाध संपह के
जोैं नहीं किंग्जा की भालती मुलिया का कारण के स्वांग रूपया में देना या भी आधा है

2 Holkarshahi Itihasachi Saddhne, V.V. Thakur(ed), Vol.1 L.161.


4 Indore Kharita No.87, Magh Sud 8, V.S. 1821/ 1764.

5 Indore Kharita No.87, Magh Sud 8, V.S. 1821/ 1764.
Shinde like Holkars followed up the issue of tribute payment with Jaipur regularly since 1751. Despite the fact that Jayappa Shinde’s troops suffered immensely in the massacre of Maratha soldiers in Jaipur city he remained soft to Jaipur as Madho Singh promised to pay tribute as per the schedule. However, Jayappa Shinde could not extract more than false promises of getting hundis for the payment of tribute and other dues from Madho Singh. Jayappa’s son and successor Jankoji Shinde turned his attention to Jaipur after concluding negotiations with Marwar in 1755. He asked Madho Singh for immediate payment of tribute.

Accute shortage of money faced by all the Maratha sardars and the Peshwa who was putting pressure on all his sardars for money forced Jankoji to adopt a tough posture towards Jaipur in 1758. He pressed Madho Singh for immediate payment of Rs 3 lakhs out of the tribute amount. He wrote that he is not left with any money to meet his expenditure. Further Shinde informed Madho Singh that he is sending troops to collect this money and Madho Singh should raise it from the sahukars. To avoid delay in receiving the money he instructed Madho Singh to handover the amount to Maratha vakil Naro Kashi present in Jaipur who would send hundis prepared by the sahukas and deliver to Shinde’s camp. In 1759 similar instructions were given to Sadashiv Bhat who was also

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2 Gwalier Kharita No.157, V.S. 1809/1752.— माहाराज ने तीखे जो करार माफी कर रुपया नीसा की हुड़ियाँ वा फौज श्री दीवान कनी राम जी के लाट दे शीताव हि भेजा छा छो आप या बात बीवारी छे तो बहोत भली है... 1
3 Gwalier Kharita No.160, Sawan Sudi 2, V.S. 1812/1755.
4 Gwalier Kharita No.163, Vaisakh Vadi 14, V.S. 1813/1756.— पत्र राज को आयो सो श्रीरघुरूप जी को नाव सो आयो छो सो पाबो केवल सनेह सो लिखे थे तो आयो हि सो समेट हछे सो की ही बुद्धि करना वर्तन्न और धोंड मैंट वागरे मेजो सो पाया छा... हेनेसा खत पत्र भेजा करोला... पत्र भेजो सो पाबो केवल सो से तीखे लेखो सो आया उता को योहार सब बेज ही जानोला जुदाई जानेभी मति... 4
5 Gwalier Kharita No. 169, Posh Sudi 11, V.S. 1815/1758.— रलीयांटु बाबती वार्दो भो तीन लाख रुपया आबों हे सो वार्दो तो हो गया छा... सहुकारों के पलव रुपया आये नहीं सो खरब बासे रुपया शीताव सो ही चाहिए सो राज कमदाडो सो रुपया तीन लाख दीलवोला जी देर लगवाओ मति...
6 Gwalier Kharita No. 171, Magh Sudi 10, V.S. 1815/1758.—— हाल को करार को रुपया मो बाबी रही... छे सो रुपया सब ही श्री नारायण काशी उकील राज पास हमारे हे सो के माफित साकारों के पास दे सो हुड़ी करीने सरकार मो भेज देंगे करार मो तफाबु न पड़ेगे सो ही कराना...
present in Jaipur as Shinde urgently needed cash to pay salaries to his troops. Madho Singh, however, ignored these demands and the payments were seldom made as per the demand.

The Marathas were badly shaken after their defeat in the battle of Panipat in 1761 and they were in dire need of money. Kedarji and Mahadji Shinde asked Madho Singh to release rupees 12 lakhs of tribute amount which had become due and hand it over to their representatives Seth Dhaneshawar and Parshuram without any delay. They informed Madho Singh about the urgency of the matter as there was no money with them even to meet their day to day needs. Between 1761 and 1763 Shindes frequently wrote to the Jaipur ruler for sending the money. It seems Madho Singh paid some amount around this time and promised payment of the balance later. In the kharitas dispatched to Madho Singh Shindes acknowledged the receipt of only one instalment. Kedarji was facing acute shortage of cash at Ujjain hence he asked Madho Singh for immediate payment of the current instalment of tribute amount.

Delaying tactics of Jaipur made Shindes impatient who from 1763 onwards started exerting pressure on Madho Singh for making the payment of tribute. In mid 1763 Shinde reprimanded Madho Singh for not sending the due instalment of tribute in time. The demand for immediate payment was made in quite offensive tone. He wrote to Madho Singh “payment for the outstanding instalments of tribute is pending. You have not paid as per the agreement. This is not fair; send all the dues upon getting this letter”. In 1767 Mahdji Shinde dispatched a Maratha contingent under Jaswant Rao Bable towards Jaipur to collect arrears of tribute amount. He wrote to Madho Singh “deposit the arrears with the above mentioned officer. I will also be reaching that side soon. Mahadji

1 Gwalier Kharita No. 174, Chaitra Sudi 11, V.S. 1816/1759.----- हाल को मामले वास्तवी उन्दालुको वार्यो को लैघिया छ लाख आवरण है सो नीज हुडिया करवाये भेजे नहीं सो आदि न करी छ साल भालो हकी पन्त छ लाख लैघिया शी नरो काली पंडत हमारे उलार है सो के पास दे जो सो हुडिया कर हमारे पास भेजेगे ईहा फौजस्थियों खरच वास्तव हकी वाळिए सो वास्तव शीतल ही लैघिया दीवाय जो दीवल करोता महदी ... 2 Gwalier Kharita No. 242, Jeth Vadi 14, V.S. 1819/1762.----- मामले बार लाख लैघिया को राज त्रणु को वास्तव यो के येक जो लूरत देनो करो 3 Gwalier Kharita No. 179, Chaitra Sudi 8, V.S. 1820/1763. 4 Gwalier Kharita No. 183, Jeth Sudi 1, V.S. 1820/1763. 5 Gwalier Kharita No. 185, V.S. 1822/1765.
Shinde’s resolve to put pressure on Madho Singh who often defaulted in making timely payment is evident from his kharita¹.

However, subtle resistance to the Maratha demand for payment of tribute continued over the years and it kept bothering Shinde. There was no change in the attitude of Madho Singh’s successor Prithvi Singh promises made to Shinde were hardly honoured. Shinde often sent strong letters and at times deputed his personals to visit the Jaipur court to collect money. In 1773 Shinde dispatched Jodhraj and Amarchand Devdas to collect rupees 4 lakhs which the Jaipur ruler had promised to handover to Pandit Gobindrao but did not keep his words. The next Jaipur ruler Pratap Singh also did not take this matter seriously and kept ignoring Maratha demands for the payment of tribute.

Eventually Mahadji had to undertake Lalsot campaign to punish Jaipur for its repeated failure to pay the arrears of tribute amount despite several reminders and warnings. Mahadji Shinde wrote to Pratap Singh “inform khwas Rodaram about the payment of dues and send him soon with money. This act of yours will improve our mutual relations”². In 1793 Shinde again reminded Pratap Singh about the payments to be made. He wrote “pay to Ganpatrao the amount due for the month of Jeth and pay as per the schedule agreed upon in future³.

It is evident from the kharitas addressed to the Jaipur ruler that the Maratha claims for the tribute were covertly resisted by all successive rulers, Madho Singh, Prithvi Singh and Pratap Singh. Polite requests for sending the amount agreed upon were followed by stern warnings and open threats, but the response from Jaipur was always lukewarm. The Maratha experiment of appointing their officials at the Jaipur court for the specific purpose of collecting the dues on the spot also failed miserably. Occasional visits of the Maratha representatives to force the Jaipur ruler to pay up also seemed to have not

¹ Gwalier Kharita No. 190, Magh Vadi 9, V.S. 1824/1767; Sardesai, G.S. _New History of the Marathas_, Vol 2, PP 511-512.
² Gwalier Kharita No. 113, Bhadon Vadi 2, V.S. 1842/1785.
³ Gwalier Kharita No. 58, Asarh Vadi 13, V.S. 1850/1793.
produced desired results. Frustration of the Marathas over non payment of money is evident from their kharitas to Jaipur. In 1751 Malharrao Holkar wrote to Jaipur "your state had agreed to pay khandani dues, now ask your officials to send hundi for the amount". In 1753 he wrote to Madho Singh, my representatives Ganesh Pandit and Shankar Pandit have informed that you have not made payment of tribute which is not good. He warned Madho Singh to arrange for the payment for the sake of good relations. Raghunathrao in 1757 wrote to Madho Singh "instalment for the month of kartik has not reached, this is not correct, send money fast..." that will be better for you. A threatening letter was sent to Pratap Singh reminding him of dues of Rs 63 lakhs that he owed to the Peshwa. He was warned not to delay in this matter otherwise our force will come and there will be destruction and ruination as we have already cautioned you. Shinde's experience with Jaipur was not different from his counterpart Holkar which is evident from kharitas sent by Shinde to Jaipur right from 1752 onwards on regular basis. In 1762 Shinde wrote to Madho Singh about the pending dues amounting to Rs 45 lakhs. In the following year again there was a complaint from Shinde that they have not received the current instalment. Two months later a reminder was sent to the Jaipur ruler urging him to clear all remaining dues soon. In two kharitas originating in 1766 Mahadji Shinde raised the issue of non payment of backlog and sent his forces to recover the amount. In 1770 Peshwa Madhvrao Ballal sent Apaji Narayan to collect rupees one lakh

1 Indore Kharita No. 20, Bhadon Sudi 1, V.S. 1808/1751.---- तुमारे सरकार में हमारा खानपान ऐसा देना करार किया था इस सब आगे श्री भीमराम हर्वर आये थे तब श्री हरामनंद जी के हाथ की चीजी थी फालक कबूतर होकर आपके पास आया होसी अब खरच की नीकड़ से जो अफ जुगी थी, तबकी कर पैसे की हुंडी कर मेज दीज।

2 Indore Kharita No. 37, Kartik Sudi 1, V.S. 1809/1752

3 Indore Kharita No. 72, Kartik Sudi 10, V.S. 1814/1757.

4 Indore Kharita No. 99, Aghan Vadi 8, V.S. 1815/1758.---- रूपेया जेत्तियां लाख (63,00,000) बाकी के दे देने की तिथि उस में मुख्यांग तीख दीई से अब ताई फबरों हुंडी नहीं अर इस बात में दील होंगी तो फोज सरकार भी आपकी सो उनका बेखैर भोजन हुंडी इस वाले फ्लेक्स ही राज ने लिखी है।

5 Gwalier Kharita No. 161, Jeth Sudi 5, V.S. 1812/1755.---- हंसर करे रूपेया ब्रह्म हुंडी ... साँपकार श्री भीमरामानंद व मोहरामानंद इन रूपेया ब्रह्म हुंडी से हुंड पत्र ठाकर दलेल सीढी जी राजाजी भी हुंड रूपेया हुंडी हंसर करे पास खरच वाले आप चालिये जो आप आपको प्रयोग को मातर युज्यों के साथे साथ चाल पाँच सो दैने में हंसर लग रूपेया आए पहले सो ही मतली।

6 Gwalier Kharita No. 190, Magh Vadi 6, V.S. 1824/1767.
nine thousand and warned Jaipur of dire consequences in case of delay\(^1\). But the Peshwa’s person was taken hostage. Again in 1771 Mahadji asked for the remittance of all dues without any delay\(^2\). Similar reminders were sent in 1773 and 1775. After a long interval in 1784 Mahadji again raised the question of pending dues and demanded immediate payment to his representative Ratanlal\(^3\).

The Marathas did not face much problem in Marwar with regard to its obligation of tribute payment. It appears from the kharitas that the payment from Marwar was more or less regular. It was interrupted only in exceptional circumstances particularly in periods of severe famine condition. To be fair to the Marathas they appreciated the problem of Marwar arising out of such a situation and made necessary adjustment in the amount payable and the time frame within which the revised amount of *peshkash* was to be paid\(^4\). Resistance from Marwar was more overt than covert. The passive form of resistance of Marwar to the Marathas emanated not from Bijay Singh but from his officials and nobles who used the services of Charans and Bhash for this purpose. According to *Marwar Ri Khyat* they were asked to visit villages of Marwar and articulate in their anti Maratha songs the sufferings and humiliation of the people of Marwar on account of the Maratha inroads. The objective was to create popular resentment and unrest against the Marathas\(^5\). After the defeat of Jodhpur forces in the battle of Merta the high ranking officers of Bijay Singh even took recourse to divine intervention to halt further Maratha advancement and success against Jodhpur. Sawai Singh Champawat, Khichi Gordhan and Singhvi Gyanmal asked Someshwar Ojha to suggest any devise which could lead up to divine intervention to help Marwar to get rid of the Maratha menace and effectively stop the Maratha progress. Someshwar Ojha recommended the performance of the ritual of *Satchandi Yagya* (sacrifice) to invoke Goddess Durga. But he was unwilling to undertake it for fear of Bijay Singh. According to Ojha it would be the

\(^1\) *Gwalier Kharita* No. 139, Jeth Sudi 4, V.S. 1827/1770.

\(^2\) *Gwalier Kharita* No. 136, Bhadon Vadi 2, V.S. 1828/1771.

\(^3\) *Gwalier Kharita* No. 101, Magh Sudi 9, V.S. 1841/1784.


\(^5\) *Marwar Ri Khyat* Hukum Singh Bhati ed, P 42

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most effective weapon against the Marathas. The Jodhpur nobles and officers decided to perform the *yagya* without the knowledge of Bijay Singh but they took his favourite kept Gulab Rai Paswan into confidence. *Sat Chandi Yagya* was performed in 1790 as per the procedure and under the direction of Someshwar Ojha. The *yagya* lasted for full one month. At the time of concluding the *yagya* the Brahmans were invited for feast and levish presentations consisting of cloths, utensils, cash and one gold coin each was offered to all the Brahman participants. ¹. Needless to say that after the battle of Merta Bijay Singh did not offer any resistance to the Maratha domination. Nor did he join any anti-Maratha venture initiated by Jaipur.

¹*Marwar Ri Khyat*. P. 99.