CHAPTER III

SAMBHAJI-SHAHU RELATIONS UPTO 1730

After the palace revolution Sambhaji II became the Chhatrapati of Kolhapur. He also continued the conflict with Shahu. In fact, Shahu had given him indirect help to depose Tarabai. But when Sambhaji assumed charge, he and his mother Rajasbai thought that he was the real successor of the Maratha Raj and Shahu had no claim whatsoever. Chandrasen Jadhav extended his support to Sambhaji just as he had offered it to Tarabai. Rajasbai was a capable woman who guided Sambhaji in his administration.

By the time of Sambhaji’s accession to Kolhapur Gadi, Shahu had emerged as a powerful Maratha Chhatrapati. With the help of Balaji Vishwanath he had defeated many of Tarabai’s partisans. But Chandrasen Jadhav instigated Damaji Thorat to revolt against Shahu.

DAMAJI THORAT’S REVOLT:

Damaji Thorat lived at Hingangao near Purandar. He had built a strong fortress there. Thorat came to power during the reign of Chhatrapati Rajaram. Ramchandrapant had granted him Supa and patas paragana as Jahagir. After Chh. Rajaram’s death he showed great bravery against the Mughals. He had given the title of ‘Rustumrao’.

When Shahu arrived in the Swarajya territory he tried to win Thorat to his side but Thorat did not join Shahu. In 1708 Dhanaji Jadhav went to Khandesh. He brought Thorat and Dabhade with him to meet Shahu. In July 1709 meeting between Shahu, Rambhuji and Rajaji Thorat and others proved
unsuccessful. In July 1711 Chandrasen revolted against Shahu. Thorat also joined Tarabai. Tarabai welcomed with joy their move. When Angre was very aggressive against Shahu, Thorat brothers created considerable trouble for Shahu in the territory around Poona. After the deposition of Tarabai and her son, Damaji Thorat became the supporter of Sambhaji and sought Nizam’s protection, Damaji Thorat also went over to Nizam’s side and afterwards to Husain Ali. In 1716 Damaji was very active against Shahu. In one letter written by Balaji Vishwanath to Shahu it was stated that Thorat brothers had created much trouble in the territory around Miraj. In fact when Balaji had concluded treaty with Angre he had assured that he would not take any step against Damaji. However, as they had created a lot of trouble for Shahu with the support of Sambhaji of Kolhapur conflict between the two sides became inevitable. In this context S.M. Garge commented that in view of the relations between Sambhaji and Thorat, Balaji and Shahu decided to march against Thorat.1

Actually Balaji was confident of winning Thorat over to Shahu’s side by peaceful means as he had done in case of Kanhoji Angre. But Shahu ordered Balaji to march against Thorat. Balaji wanted to solve the problem peacefully. As Thorat had not expected Shahu’s orders to mobilize his troops, he invited Balaji along with his family and Amabajipant Purandare at Hingangaon. For the safety of their lives had taken oath on Bel-Bandhara. But Damaji broke his oath. He made Balaji, members of his family and Purandare prisoners. He stated that Bel means leaves of tree and Bhandara means the turmeric powder. He also threatened Balaji with very dire
consequences. He demanded huge ransom. At last Balaji put his family and got himself released. He went to Shahu and requested to pay the ransom. Accordingly Shahu paid ransom and then only Balaji’s family was released.

After this incident Thorat became more and more aggressive. He created a lot of trouble for Shahu with the help of Chandrasen and Sambhaji. Now Balaji’s expedition was a failure and Shahu’s Senapati was ill then. Naturally Thorat problem caused Shahu great anxiety. So he put the Sachiv in charge of the campaign to crush Thorat. At that time Sachiv Naro Shankar was only nine years old. But his capable mother Yesubai with his administrator marched against Thorat. Yesubai sent Ranzekar, their agent against Thorat. For a pretty long time Purandar and its surrounding territory was controlled by the Sachiv. Ranzekar marched with large force. But again Thorat played clever and unexpected tricks. He captured Naro Shankar, the minor Sachiv, from his fort of Vichitragarh or Rohida and kept him at Hingangaon. He then sent a message to Yesubai, mother of Sachiv, that if these hostilities against him were continued he would kill her son. In this matter Shahu intervened and asked Shivdev Sumant to release Sachiv. Again Shahu was helpless before Thorat. Through Pilaji Jadhav Shahu paid ransom to Damaji and obtained release of the Sachiv.

At last Shahu himself marched against Damaji in October 1717. Shahu called Damaji to meet him at Jejuri. Damaji had met Shahu at Jejuri. But Damaji was not in a mood to sign a treaty or agree to a compromise. Only because of his soft nature and promise of safety. Shahu allowed Damaji to go back.²
In the meantime Shahu concluded treaty with sayyad Hussain in February 1718. As per provisions of this treaty sought help of the Mughal artillery. He called some artillery and marched against Hingangaon. He captured the stronghold of Damaji. Hingangaon was completely destroyed by Balaji and Damaji was imprisoned at Purandar fort. However, after some time Shahu released him.

But in 1728 again Damaji joined Sambhaji of Kolhapur. However, Damaji was soon captured and put under confinement at Purandar fort till his death. Damaji was a very powerful and brave Maratha chief, but he was not loyal to anyone for long time. He was a selfish man. So his bravery did not prove much useful for Maratha Raj. He tried to take advantage of the conflict between two Chhatrapati brothers but did not make any permanent gains.

RAO RAMBHA NIMBALKAR:

Rao Rambhaji Nimbalkar was also another disloyal Maratha chief. When Chandrasen joined Tarabai Rambhaji also did the same things and created trouble for Shahu. When Chandrasen joined Nizam he carried Rambhaji with him. Rambhaji received Poona Jahagir from the Mughals with the help of Daudhakhan. He was very strong in Pune region. Shahu was always in need of money. When Shahu ordered Balaji Vishwanath to collect Chauth from Poona region, Balaji sent Vyankoji Dhamadhere to do the job. But Rambhoji did not allow him to collect chauth. He had appointed Baji Kadam and Gundaji Naik Shekdar to look after administration there. However, Shahu often tried to take Poona in his possession. After assuming
charge of Peshwaship, Balaji tried for two to three years to establish his hold over this territory.éro

When Sambhaji assumed charge of Kolhapur Raj, he did not have much funds and army. Sambhaji tried to consolidate his position. On the other hand Shahu, became more and more aggressive with the help of Balaji Vishwanath. Sambhaji followed the policy of Tarabai. He invited some chiefs on Shahu’s side to help him by offering them saranjams. He also concluded a treaty with the Portuguese in 1716. According to that treaty Kolhapur rulers were allowed to buy artillery in the Portuguese territory. The treaty contained in all nine clauses.éro

Kanhoji Angre had been won over by Balaji Vishwanath from the side of Tarabai to that of Shahu. He continued his support to Shahu after the Palace Revolution also. So the Portuguese and Chhatrapati Sambhaji of Kolhapur formed an alliance against Angre. There were constant conflicts between Kanhoji Angre and the Portuguese for securing control of coastal areas. According to S.M. Garge “Sambhaji might have concluded this treaty because he wanted to obtain arms from the Portuguese for fighting war against Shahu.”éro

Some ports in the coastal area which belonged to Sambhaji were seized by Angre. Sambhaji wanted to take back those forts. If Sambhaji should attack Angre, the Portuguese would support him with their warships. This was the important clause in that treaty. As Khemsawan of Wadi and Nabab of Savanur had approached Shahu, Sambhaji was much worried. In fact the
Portuguese and Sawant of Wadi were friends. Despite that the Portuguese had given support to Sambhaji if he should attack Wadi.

KHEMSAWANT OF WADI:

From the beginning of civil war between Shahu and Tarabai Khemsawant of Wadi had given his full support to Tarabai. But after the deposition of Tarabai, Khemsawant of Wadi became partisan of Shahu. Actually towards the end of Tarabai’s administration in Kolhapur State the relations between Tarabai and Khemsawant were not as cordial as they were in the beginning. At that time Ramchandrapant asked for help from Angre to attack Khemsawant was still a partisan of Tarabai. Under the leadership of Krishnaji Baskar Pratinidhi Khemsawant of Wadi was defeated.

After the palace revolution in Kolhapur Khemsawant of Wadi sought Shahu’s protection. This decision of Khemsawant was influenced by geographical position of Sawantwadi. Relations between Sawant and Kolhapur Chhatrapati were not friendly thereafter. According to S.M. Garge due to the background of conflict between Shahu and Sambhaji relations between Sawant and Sambhaji were strained. In 1718 Sambhaji got opportunity to attack Sawantwadi. In 1718 there arose conflicts between Narayan Prabhu of Kudal and Sawant of Wadi. In that conflict Sawant attained victory over Prabhu. But Narayan Prabhu approached Sambhaji and appealed for help. Taking advantage of the situation Sambhaji sent his army against Khemsawant. He was defeated and he ran away from Wadi.
CONFLICT IN KARAD-MIRAJ TERRITORY:

Territory of Miraj and Karad lying between Satara and Panhala, the capitals of two Maratha Chhatrapatis was under control of Mughal officers. Shahu always tried to establish his control over this territory. But Paddullakhan always foiled his attempts. In the year 1717 Shahu in person marched against Paddullakhan. He was defeated and he fled to Islampur. Shahu established his outpost at Karad and besieged Islampur. At same time Shahu attacked the post of Yelavi.

The post of Yelavi was under the charge of Shidoji Thorat. Thorat brothers always created trouble for Shahu in this territory. Thorat brothers enjoyed their watans and rights of Patil in the Warana valley. Actually Shidoji Thorat was working under Naropant Ghorapade of Ichalkaranji. From Ghorpade he had received the saranjam in Miraj Province. Thorat made Yelavi the place of their residence. Shidoji’s relative Yashwantrao who lived at Ashta was a brave man. He was partisan of Sambhaji. But after sometime there were differences between Sambhaji and Yashwantrao. So he left Sambhaji’s camp and joined Shahu. Shahu tried to compromise with Shidoji Thorat. But Shidoji did not respond. So Shahu decided to march against him. When Shidoji learned about Shahu’s march he burnt down Yelavi village and fled to Panhala with his family. Shahu established his control over Yelavi. He appointed Yashwantrao, as the commander of Ashta and returned back to Satara.

After Shahu’s return Shidoji Thorat tried to re-establish his authority in this area with the help of Sambhaji of Kolhapur. Sambhaji launched a
campaign. His principal commanders were Sidhoji Ghorapade and Piraji Ghorapade. Sambhaji himself marched against Ashta. Yashwantrao Thorat, the commander of the place, offered to surrender Ashta but asked for fifteen days time to do so. Sambhaji accepted the offer and made Yashwantrao a prisoner in his camp at Shirala. From Ashta Sambhaji proceeded to Shirala. He established his authority over Shirala and then besieged Vadgaon. Yashwantrao managed to escape from Shirala. He went to Islampur where Balaji Vishwanath was camping then. Balaji and Yashwantrao requested Shahu to send troops for their help urgently. Thorat also pointed out that if Shahu did not send any help for them to check Sambhaji, Wadgaon and the surrounding territory would be lost. Sambhaji had no difficulty conquering Ashta.8

Shahu urgently sent Fatesing Bhonsale and Shrinivas Pratinidhi to help Balaji. A battle was fought between Shahu’s troops and Sambhaji’s troops near Wadgaon. Sambhaji himself led his troops. There were heavy casualties. At the end Sambhaji’s forces were defeated. He and Shidoji Thorat ran away towards Panhala. Shahu’s forces looted all the bag and baggage equipments of Sambhaji’s forces. They also captured several important persons including Sambhaji’s mother Rajasbai who was sent back to Panhala with escort. According to S.M. Garge, though Sambhaji was badly defeated at Wadgaon his power did not decline. Still Sambhaji controlled entire territory upto Wadgaon.9

At the battle of Wadgaon Pratinidhi had looted the personal elephant of Sambhaji. Yashwantrao Thorat appealed Shahu to give back the elephant
to him. As Shahu did not give any reward to Yashwantrao, he became
nervous. After returning from Satara Yashwantrao decided to leave Shahu's
side and join Sambhaji. Sambhaji quickly welcomed him. Sambhaji gave him
saranjam of Rs.9 lakh in Vijapur district with a title of Senakhaskhel.

Despite Sambhaji's defeat in the battle of Wadgaon he and Thorat
became aggressive again in this area in June 1719. He got back both Ashta
and Yelavi. After Balaji had returned from Delhi with the imperial sanads, he
decided to march against Sambhaji and Thorat. Balaji quickly recovered
Yelavi and Ashta. Yeşaji (Yashwantrao) ran away and went towards Panhala.
He besieged Kolhapur. But on the battlefield Yashwantrao was injured with
spear and later succumbed to those injuries.¹⁰

But the conflict did not end. For five to six months there were some
skirmishes between Balaji and Sambhaji in this area. But the most important
battle between these two took place at Urun Bahe near Islampur. In this battle
Sambhaji was again defeated. He fled to Panhala for safety.¹¹

Thus Sambhaji was twice defeated very badly. This shows that
Sambhaji had no experience of war and politics. On the other hand Shahu
with the help of Balaji Vishwanath became more and more aggressive.

NIZAM – MARATHA RELATIONS:

In 1713 Shahu's position became critical because of the arrival of
Nizam in the Deccan. Both Nizam and Sambhaji wanted to consolidate their
own position in the South. Shahu was the main obstacle in their path. So they
became friends. Through Chandrasen Jadhav, Sambhaji communicated with
the Nizam and tried to consolidate his position. Sambhaji sent Shankarji Pandit to Nizam. Nizam was a shrewd man who tried to weaken the Maratha Raj. When Sambhaji of Kolhapur communicated with him he had got a chance. But openly he had friendly relations with Shahu. But when Shahu tried to control Poona territory, Nizam opposed him with the help of Ramhaji Nimbalkar. He did not allow Shahu’s officers to collect chauth from this province. Shahu was very anxious about this situation. In his letter written to Peshwa in 1714 he stated that with the help of Nizam Karveerkar Sambhaji wanted to revolt against us. So he asked Peshwa to come back as quickly as possible. Thus Nizam’s policy was shortsighted. But fortunately Nizam was removed from his viceroyship of the Deccan in 1715. He was recalled by the Mughal court when he was successfully intriguing against the Maratha power. So Shahu got some relief.

Farukh Siyar appointed Hasain Ali Khan as the viceroy of Deccan because there were differences between Farukh Siyar and Saiyyad brothers. Actually like all Mughals Hussain Ali Khan also did not want to support the Marathas. But he became supporter of Shahu because he wanted Shahu’s support against the Nizam. Sambhaji and Nizam had friendly relations. Nizam went in the north but left his right-hand man Daudkhan Panni in the south. When Hasain Ali came in the Deccan emperor himself encouraged the Marathas to cause trouble for Paridkhan Panni. At that time Shahu and his Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath and Senapati Khanderao Dabhade tried to wrest Poona region from the Mughals. But both Hasain Ali and Mughal emperor wanted to put down Maratha power in the South and especially in Malwa.
Kanhoji Bhosale and Khanderao Dabhade tried to secure Malwa from the Mughal officers. Hasain Ali during the first two years of his term of Office in the Deccan made serious efforts to put down the Marathas. But when Hasain, brothers suspected great danger to their life and position from the Mughal emperor they changed their policy. Similarly, when Hasain Ali’s brother Saiyyad Abdulla found that his position and prestige was in danger in Delhi he called his brother for help with his troops in order to secure their position in the court of Delhi. It was necessary for Hasain Ali to change his policy towards Marathas. His friend Mohammad Anwarkhan, the Governor of Bharanpur, made him to accept Shankarji Malhar as a mediator between him and Shahu.

Shankarji Malhar Nargundkar was a Sachiv under Rajaram. But after some days he retired and went to Benaras. From Banaras he went to Delhi court. The Mughal emperor sent him with Hasain Ali as adviser on Maratha affairs. Shankarji established his friendly relations with Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath and Shahu. Hasain Ali wanted to secure Maratha help to protect their position.

Shahu and Balaji Vishwanath also wanted to put their Raj in order by securing imperial sanads from the Mughals. For the last ten years they had both external and internal troubles. If Shahu had not agreed to extend help to Hasain Ali, he might have turned to the side of Kolhapurkar. So when Shankarji arrived at Satara to settle the terms of friendly agreement with Shahu and his ministers thought that it was golden opportunity for them to establish direct contact with Delhi. Because of Shankarji Malhar Hasain
accepted the terms offered by Shahu for obtaining his support. At the same time, Shahu was always anxious to secure the release of his mother Yesubai, wife Savitribai and brother Madansingh who were still in Delhi as hostages. So by entering into an agreement with the Mughals, he tried to get back the hostages. The terms agreed by both the parties were as follows:

1. That all territories known as Shivaji’s Swarajya (together with the forts therein,) should be delivered to Shahu in full possession.

2. That such territories as had been recently conquered by the Marathas in Khandesh, Berar, Gondawana, Hyderabad and Karnataka as described in the annexure to the treaty, should also be ceded to them as part of the Maratha kingdom.

3. That the Marathas should be allowed to collect chauth and Sardeshmukhi from all six Mughal Subahs in the south, in return for the chauth the Marathas were to serve the emperor with a contingent of 15 thousand troops for his protection and in return for the Sardeshmukhi the Marathas were to be responsible for maintaining order by preventing robbery and rebellions.

4. That Shahu should do no harm to Sambhaji of Kolhapur.

5. That the Marathas should make a cash payment annually of ten lacs of rupees to the emperor by way of tribute.

6. That the emperor should release and send back from Delhi Shahu’s mother Yesubai, his wife and his brother Madansinh with all the followers who were detained there.14
Actually this was not a direct treaty between Mughal emperor and Shahu. This was a treaty between Hasain Ali and Shahu. Hasain Ali had no authority to issue the sanads. But Shahu forthwith implemented this treaty. He issued orders to his officers to enforce the above terms and collect chauth and Sardeshmukhi. Balaji Vishwanath also tried to collect chauth and Sardeshmukhi.

In connection with our topic the most important term in this treaty was Shahu should do no harm to Sambhaji of Kolhapur. Although Saiyyad Ali had no friendly relations with Sambhaji, he included the clause in the treaty only to follow the traditional Mughal policy to keep the Marathas divided. Brij Kishor comments on this treaty in following words, “Thus while Sayyaid recognized Shahu as the legitimate head of the Marathas, he at the same time, guaranteed the independent existence of Sambhaji, who would be used as a tool of Mughal policy whenever opportunity offered itself.” Indirectly the Mughal Emperor had given his consent for the rule of Sambhaji of Kolhapur. But by this treaty Shahu’s prestige was raised and he established his position as lawful ruler. He became master of his home.

When the treaty was signed by Saiyad the emperor was involved in his struggle with his ministers. Hussain Ali had already given information about the treaty and requested the emperor to sign it. But the emperor disapproved this treaty and appointed his new officers in the Deccan. But Hussain Ali put down these officers. The emperor called his powerful supporters in Delhi to strengthen his side. Hussain Ali’s brother Saiyad Abdulla also called his brother urgently from the South. He also called Balaji Vishwanath for help.
against the emperor. On the advice of Shahu Balaji left for Delhi in November 1718.

When Emperor saw that Hassain Ali was coming with huge Maratha troops, he ordered them to turn back. But the Marathas refused to turn back unless Shahu’s mother and other hostages were released. Now Hasain Ali reported that it was impossible for him to go back and if he opposed their wishes it would be dangerous for the Mughal emperor. Two brothers met at Delhi and dethroned Mughal emperor Farruksiyar. They put Muhammad Shah on the throne of Delhi with the help of the Marathas. The new emperor gave his consent to the treaty. Balaji had got this sanads in March 1719. He returned with Yesubai and others. Each and every Maratha gave her royal welcome. Even Sambhaji of Kolhapur who was fighting civil war against Shahu also wrote a letter to Shahu on this occasion and congratulated him. Sambhaji wrote, “Rajashri Babaji wrote saying that Matoshri my aunt, has returned. I was immensely pleased. At the same time, it is not proper that this welcome news was not communicated by you personally. Also I always look forward to regular letters from you containing your blessings. This being so, it is wholly contrary to the bonds of affection between us that some of me letters should not even be answered. This must not happen again and there should be regular letters from you so that I should have no room for dissatisfaction....” Thus the power struggle between the two Maratha Chhatrapatis was going on but their family relations were always cordial.

After returning from Delhi Balaji Vishwanath decided to establish Shahu’s control over the territory between Satara to Kolhapur. Hussain Ali’s
support had made him stronger. In the month of March 1720 Balaji returned from Kolhapur expedition. On 2nd April, 1720, Balaji died at Saswad. He was the man who played an important role in establishing Shahu's authority in Maharashtra and the south. Only fifteen days after the death of Balaji Vishwanath Shahu appointed Bajirao, son of Balaji Vishwanath, as a new Peshwa.

In the year 1720, Nizam-ul-Mulk returned to Deccan as a viceroy. After coming back Nizam implemented his traditional policy. He refused to recognise Shahu's right of chauth and Sardeshmukhi. According to imperial sanads Shahu had obtained this right. But Nizam opposed Shahu's officers who were appointed to collect chauth. Nizam raised a query as to who Shahu or Sambhaji was entitled to collect Chauth. In the meantime, Aalam Ali was defeated and killed by Nizam at Balapur. This was the beginning of Saiyyad brothers' fall and rise of Nizam in the South as an independent ruler. Hasain Ali was murdered on 11th September 1720. Abdulla Ali was captured and imprisoned on 14th November. After the death of Ali brothers Shahu and his colleagues at Shahu's court realized that they should have obtained support from the Nizam also. Musariz Khan, a Mughal officer from Hyderabad wrote to the Nizam that efforts of the Marathas for collecting chauth in Karnataka had increased. Nizam who was a very clever man appointed Chandrasen Jadhav promptly to instigate Sambhaji of Kolhapur to put forth his claims for the chauth. Afterwards he himself informed Bajirao that he had received demands from Sambhaji of Kolhapur claiming chauth which Shahu was already enjoying himself. But he did not know who would be the real
claimant of chauth. So until this domestic dispute between Shahu and Sambhaji had not settled, he would withhold the right of chauth.

Meanwhile in Delhi, wazir Muhammad Aminkhan died in February 1722. The Mughal emperor called Nizam to take charge of wazirship. But Nizam was unwilling to leave the Deccan. However, before his departure to Delhi he appointed Mubarijkhan to look after the administration and affairs of Deccan. Mubarijkhan also refused to recognise Shahu’s rights to collect chauth. But in the beginning of 1723, Nizam resigned his wazirship and left Delhi for Deccan. Nizam marched towards Deccan to take charge of Deccan viceroyship without imperial orders. The emperor was unable to do anything to prevent the Nizam. Both Nizam and Bajirao did not want any conflict at this time because both wanted to consolidate their position. They both had met at Badkash (Bolasha) in 1722 to establish friendly relations.

The Mughal emperor also desired to put down the Nizam. He asked Shahu to give help to Mubarijkhan. Shahu put forth his terms for offering his help against the Nizam. In those terms one important term connected to our topic was that “The Mughal governor of Deccan should not extend has protection to Shahu’s cousin, the Raja of Panhala (Sambhaji)” But Mubarijkhan did not accept Shahu’s terms offered by his Sumant Anandrao. Nizam also tried to seek help from the Marathas. Bajirao prepared himself to take advantage of this situation. Nizam and Bajirao met again on 18th May, 1724 at Nalchha near Dhar. But meeting ended without any concrete decision. Actually Bajirao had it in his mind to help the Nizam against Mubarijkhan. But Shahu gave him wise advice and so he decided to remain neutral. Nizam
defeated and killed Mubarizkhan in the battle of Sakharkheda in 1724. Bajirao remained neutral and watched the situation carefully. In a letter from Nizam to Mughal emperor it was stated that Bajirao and Pilaji had shown great bravery on the battlefield of Sakharkheda. This means that Bajirao had taken part in this and Nizam assumed the charge of viceroyship of Deccan.

Shahu always tried to put an end to the conflict with his cousin through negotiations. When he was released and he came in the Deccan, he had offered peace terms to Tarabai but she had not responded favourably. Now when Nizam tried to settle himself in the Deccan he again offered peace terms to his cousin Sambhaji of Kolhapur. He proposed partition of Maratha country. The proposal came in the form of a treaty. In Shahu's view the division might be very clear. Shahu did not like to be harsh towards his cousin and so he had left him undisturbed in his territory. He wanted to expand his authority in the South, particularly in Karnataka. But it is not clear whether the said treaty was signed or not. But, draft of the treaty which was prepared by Shahu on 30/12/1725 was as follows:

1) That above the ghats, the territory south of Warana river including all the forts and fortified posts on it is hereby given to you.

2) Below the ghats, the territory south of the Savitri river all the way up to the sea and stretching as far as Ankola in the south, together with the seaside forts and fortified posts is hereby given to you.

3) The territory of Miraj and Bijapur including the forts and fortified posts such as Athani, Tasgaon and others shall be transferred to us.
4) Neither side shall give employment to the defectors from the others.

5) A half share of principalities that lie in the area south of the Tungabhadra and continuing along the south bank of Krishna river up to its mouth and right up to Rameshwar shall be passed on to us.

6) Similarly a half-share of such territory as may in future be liberated from the Mughals and others in the north shall be transferred to you and you on your part shall transfer to us a half-share of such territory as you are able to liberate.

7) Each side shall help the other in putting down its enemies and both sides shall by common consent endeavour to develop the kingdom.20

But this treaty was not implemented by both the sides. Actually all the territory to the south of Tungabhadra river was under control of Kolhapurkar. But Sambhaji had no capacity to uphold Maratha interests in the South. On the other hand the new Peshwa of Shahu Bajirao had evinced full capacity and he wanted to expand their authority in the South also. Both Bajirao and Shahu wanted to check Mughal authority - Nizam’s authority in the South – Shahu knew it well that if he undertook an expedition in the South Sambhaji would certainly oppose him. So Shahu made an agreement with Sambhaji of Kolhapur. But this Karnataka expedition was clearly a violation of the treaty, because south was in Sambhaji’s sphere of influence. According to Manohar Malgaonkar, “This expedition, since the south was earmarked as Sambhaji’s special preserve for military expeditions was clear violation of the treaty, or at least it was construed as such by Sambhaji and this the breach between the
two cousins once again widened, if indeed it had ever narrowed down."  
Thus Shahu’s aim to end the conflict was not fulfilled.

Sambhaji’s relations with Shahu were never cordial. Sambhaji was always jealous about rising prospects of his brother. Nizam had known that Sambhaji was dissatisfied with his cousin so he tried to establish friendly relations with Sambhaji from his first viceroyship in the Deccan.

On his return in the Deccan he tried to take advantage of the conflict between two brothers. He tried to establish his relations with Sambhaji through Chandrasen Jadhav. Chandrasen also gave encouragement to Sambhaji through Rayaji Malhar to establish friendly relations with Nizam. In one letter written on 23rd July, 1721 to Rayaji Malhar, Sambhaji clearly justified his views about Shahu and Nizam. He wrote, "Jadhavrao has written and sent messages making his intention clear and this is to the advantage of the master. Accordingly you should, while bearing the interest of the master in your mind, join Jadhavrao."

Thus Nizam had given his secret support to Sambhaji since 1721. But till 1725 he had not given his support openly. He had given assurance to Sambhaji of all help against Shahu in case of conflict with him. In 1725 Bagwantrao Amatya also joined in this coup against Shahu. Chandrasen played role of a mediator between Sambhaji and Nizam. In February 1726 Chandrasen wrote to Sambhaji, "I am the Master’s obedient servant and am always obsessed with the thoughts of the Master’s safety and of the prosperity of his kingdom. The letter sent to Nizam-ul-mulk intimating the master’s aims is sent herewith. Now is the time for the grand design such an
opportunity will never come again. The troops should be assembled with all speed and a letter be sent to the chieftain of Torgal. This opportunity has presented itself after a very long time and the more we hurry, the greater will be our advantage."

Sambhaji promptly responded to this letter. He wrote to Chandrasen, "We are exceedingly happy to receive your letters and learn that you have succeeded in including Nizam-ul-mulk to respond our cause and promote it in every possible way. Acting upon your right up to the river Tungabhadra, having been joined by the influential following of Hindurao and Sagunabai Ghorapade and of Piraji and Ranoji also. As Shripatrao Pratinidhi has marched against us please come quickly for our help. Nizam has marched towards Adoni and asked us to send him our contingent. Accordingly we have despatched our minister Nilkanth Trimbak with orders to join the Nizam quickly and now we are waiting at Torgal to meet you. We cannot ourselves go and join the Nizam, as the Peshwa and Pratinidhi are both coming to oppose us. You have indeed done us a great service by inducing Nizam to break off his relations with Shahu and take up our cause. We are confident that Murarrao Ghorapade, Udaji Chavan, Appaji Suro and others would soon join us. Aiwazkhan has also earnestly commenced operations in different directions. Thus the moment is now ripe for action and we are only waiting for you to join in as quickly as possible." According to G.S. Sardesai, "Sambhaji fell into the trap and allowed himself to become a tool in Nizam-ul-Mulk's hand."

Sambhaji accepted Chandrasen's advice to meet Nizam. In his letter written to Rai Amirsingh, he has himself stated this. He wrote, "... There are
strong bonds between our family and Nizam. At this time on the advice of Chandrasen Jadhavrao I decided to meet the Nizam, and for that purpose will camp at the fort of Alurpala. If in the near future, the Nizam were to come to these parks, I will be able to see him and discussion may take place between us ...."27

In another letter written by Sambhaji to Bahadur Dil Khan Sambhaji’s views and activities against Shahu are clearly reflected. He wrote, “At this time my cousin (Shahu) with evil design in mind is exerting himself against me. To put down his activities I sent Nilkanthrao Divan to Nabab requesting for assistance and financial help. I wrote again and again to him. It is necessary that the assistance is received soon.28

At this time Shahu was very anxious about Sambhaji’s affair with Nizam because Bajirao and Pratinidhi had gone to Karnataka. Sambhaji became more aggressive at this time. Shahu tried to persuade Nizam. He asked his Rajadnya Chimaji Damodar Moghe to persuade Nizam through personal discussion. In his letter of July 30th 1726 he wrote to Chimaji Damodar “It is reported that Chandrasen has gone to Panhala and yet you have remained silent. From now on keep me informed of the activities of Chandrasen and Pandhare. Try and recruit a force of upto ten thousand and also go and see the Nizam and obtain his consent to the treaty."29 But when Chimaji reached Bawanagar to discuss the matter with Nizam he fell into a trap. Nizam offered him Peshwaship of Sambhaji and asked to desert Shahu’s side. Chimaji had agreed to serve Sambhaji.30 Thus again Shahu’s efforts to avoid the conflict proved in vain. His efforts to break the alliance of
Sambhaji and Nizam did not end. He wrote a letter to Rajasbai, mother of Sambhaji. In it he made an emotional appeal saying, "our cousin tried to meet Nizam through Chandrasen and he had done that. Mughals are always in search of an opportunity to fulfill their aims. Then why did Sambhaji meet Nizam?"  

Actually when Nizam offered Peshwaship to Chimaji Damodar there was a lot of dissatisfaction among Sambhaji’s chiefs like Krishnaji Pandit Pratinidhi, Hindurao, etc. Sambhaji himself gave this information to Nizam. He further wrote that some chiefs might attack him after the monsoon and so he needed some money for the payment of troops.

Shahu’s troops made an attack on Panhala. RaoRambha was leading this expedition. Sambhaji had also made arrangement to face Shahu’s attack. He further planned to march towards Karnataka to expand his influence there. In his letter written to Nizam he mentioned that he had collected five thousand horsemen and he wanted to go to Karnataka.

Shahu never suspected that a strong conspiracy like this would be formed against him. His Rajadnya Chimaji Damodar, his Sarlashkar Sultanji Nimbalkar went on Sambhaji’s side. Nizam himself wrote a letter to Sawai Jaysing of Jaipur. In that letter he wrote, "I had won Sambhaji the opponent of Shahu on my side .... Shahu’s Sarlashkar Sultanravji also came on my side. I had appointed him for Sambhaji’s help”. This letter was found in the ‘Hyate Asaf’ the biography of Nizam written by Mohamad Mehabub Juneedi. Sir Jadunath Sarkar translated this letter English. Sambhaji left Kolhapur and openly joined the Nizam on September 24, 1726. But before that Nizam
and Sambhaji both had given orders to their chiefs to cause disturbances in Shahu's territory. Rambhaji and his son Janoji Nimbalkar attacked Satara territory. Udaji Chavan attacked Rahimatpur in August 1726. Shahu ordered his chief Rayaji Jadhav to make a counter attack on Udaji. But Rambhaji Nimbalkar came with his troops to Udaji's help. Rayaji was killed in this fight. Now Shahu also tried to win partisans of Kolhapur side over to him. Shahu managed to win Shambhusing Jadhav with the help of Vyasrao, a servant of Dhanaji Jadhav, and senapati Piraji Ghorpade. Nizam also tried to win Kanhoji Bhosale and Shripatrho Pratinidhi. The letter written by Sadashivrao to Ambaji Purandare give us the detailed information of those disloyal persons. Shripatrho Pratinidhi and Kanhoji Bhosale carried secret plots with Nizam. Still Nizam showed friendly relations with Shahu. He had sent a message to Shahu through the Pratinidhi and the Sumant telling him that he had nothing to say personally against Shahu and one of his well-wishers wanted to free him from the tutelage of the too powerful Kokanashta Peshwa.

Sambhaji and Nizam were together for three years from 24th September 1726 to March 1728. Sambhaji was accompanied by his contingent. They both planned to attack Shahu's territory. It was great opportunity for the Mughals to divide the Marathas and make them weak. Nizam and Sambhaji had entered into an agreement. By that, Sambhaji would join the Nizam with his contingent and try to win other Maratha chiefs on his side. Till all the territory would not be in the possession of Sambhaji, Nizam should bear the expenditure of Sambhaji's troops. Sambhaji therefore demanded half the
In 1727 Sambhaji granted Sanads to his officers in Poona district. When this news reached Shahu, he was really shocked and realized that he must do something to stop Sambhaji and Nizam. Hence Shahu asked his local officers to make essential arrangements to conquer forts. Bajirao and Khanderao Dabha're were in the South with their armies. They were recalled. There was likelihood of disturbance in Satara region. So Udaji Pawar, who was in Pradhan’s service, and Kantaji Kadam and Pilaji Gaikwad, who were in the Senapati’s service, were directed to proceed to Satara with their armies.

Nizam kept up a show of friendship and sent a message to Shahu. Bajirao was away from the capital so Shahu tried to make compromise with Nizam. Shahu accepted the proposal of cash payment as Chauthai and withdrawal of Maratha agents stationed for this purpose at different places. Meanwhile Bajirao returned from Karnataka. When discussion on the payment point was going on, same time Sambhaji claimed he was the head of Maratha State. It meant as there was immediate danger to Maratha State or Shahu’s position as the Sovereign Maratha ordered Bajirao to open war against Nizam. So Bajirao left Satara on 27th August and on 13th October war was declared against Nizam.

Nizam and Sambhaji made Poona and its neighbourhood territory as their main target. They attacked Lohgad and came upon Chinchwad and
Poona. Shahu’s local officers ran away for safety. Nizam and Sambhaji entered in Poona district from the north Junnar and captured most of the fortified places including Poona. They made Poona the place of their residence there. Here in 1728 February Sambhaji was married to Rajput princess of Ramnagar. Nizam openly declared him as Maratha Chhatrapati. In this region Nizam created havoc with the help of his artillery. Shahu left Satara and shifted to fort Purandar for safety. 44

Bajirao crossed the Godavari and went towards Barhanpur. Nizam found his occupation of Poona extremely costly. His allies Sambhaji and Chandrasen had no effective troops or sufficient funds. At the same time Bajirao returned from Barhanpur and marched towards Aurangabad. When Nizam heard about it he also returned from Poona region to Aurangabad quickly. Nizam was at Palkhed, a place 20 miles west of Aurangabad. Bajirao made sudden attack. He was quickly surrounded on all sides by the Marathas. Eventually Nizam was defeated very badly. Nizam was ready to enter into a treaty with Bajirao.

Accordingly Nizam accepted the treaty of Mugi Shevgaon on March 6, 1728. That treaty had some terms related to Sambhaji of Kolhapur. The tributes illegally collected by Sambhaji should be paid back to Shahu Raja. Sambhaji should not be allowed to collect Chauth from the districts lying to the north of Krishna. Nabab should withdraw his protection from Raja Sambhaji and allow him to proceed to Panhala. Bajirao demanded that the Nizam should hand over Sambhaji to him. However, his demand was turned down.
Thus Nizam would no longer openly support Sambhaji and repudiate Shahu’s claim to be regarded as the head of Marathas State. Nizam broke unholy alliance with Sambhaji. He did not have any advantage from this alliance but in one way Sambhaji lost his status.

By this treaty Nizam accepted to withdraw his protection from Raja Sambhaji and hand over Sambhaji to Shahu. But Nabab never fulfilled this term. Some historians have stated that Sambhaji was personally present at Palkhed. But as a matter of fact, Sambhaji was not at Palkhed. Before the battle till 7 November 1727 Sambhaji was with the Nizam. But thereafter he returned to Panhala. There is no reference about it in Persian records. There was clear indication about Sambhaji’s presence with Nizam before the battle of Palkhed. Saiyyad Mohamadali-Al-Huseni wrote, “Nizam accepted Sambhaji as Maratha Chhatrapati. Through Chandrasen Jadhav Nizam sought Sambhaji under his protection. He had given title of Chhatrapati and rights of Sardeshmukhi and Chauthai ….. Nizam took Sambhaji with him and made arrangements to face Bajirao.” According to S.M. Garge when Sambhaji heard that Bajirao was coming with his troops, he proceeded to Panhala. Because Sambhaji knew Bajirao’s capacity. Had Nizam showed more courage Sambhaji would have thought of taking part in direct conflict.

Sambhaji might have returned because of lack of resources. Before he joined Nizam Sambhaji had no funds. He requested Nizam to send some funds to give payment of his troops. G.S. Sardesai also accepted that both Sambhaji and Chandrasen had no adequate funds and troops and so he might have returned from the Nizam’s camp.
But some historians raise the query that if Sambhaji was not present on the battlefield then why Bajirao asked for withdrawal of Nizam’s protection to Sambhaji and his return to Panhala. This meant that Sambhaji must have been present at Palkhed. Bajirao was not only a General but also a very clever man. Nizam might have perhaps accepted this term, as result of which Sambhaji might have become suspicious of the Nizam. This might have led to disagreement between them.

Friendship between Sambhaji and Nizam proved very dangerous for Shahu. So Bajirao tried to break this alliance by concluding this treaty. He tried to put his pressure on Sambhaji. Sambhaji wrote a letter to Bhagawantrao Amatya on 24th February 1728. This clearly indicates that Sambhaji was not present at Palkhed. Nizam also put his own terms while signing the treaty. By that he demanded that Shahu or Bajirao should not threaten Sambhaji.

After this treaty the officials appointed by Sambhaji were dismissed. The new officials of Shahu were appointed to collect chauth. Thus Nizam accepted that Shahu was the real ruler of Maratha Raj.

DABHADE – PESHWA CONFLICT:

Khanderao Dabhade had been appointed Senapati on 11th January 1717. He was a capable leader at one time but unable to face the dashing Peshwa Bajirao. Bajirao had his independent army. Even Shahu could not prevent Bajirao from having that. The Province of Gujarat and part of Khandesh had been given by Shahu to Senapati as the sphere of his activities. Chimaji Appa, the brother of Bajirao Peshwa, had already entered Malwa and secured
it from Surbaland Khan. However, Dabhade had obtained permission from Shahu to bring Malwa under control. Peshwa claimed a half share of it. On this point, conflict of interest between Dabhade and Peshwa became unavoidable. Bajirao and Chimaji became very powerful so that it was beyond the capacity of Dabhade to fight against Peshwa on his own.

On 27th September 1729 Khanderao Dabhade died. After the death of Khanderao his son Trimbakrao became a Senapati. He and his mother were very ambitious persons. Both were jealous of the rising power of Peshwa. In order to deal with the dashing Peshwa, Dabhade asked for Nizam’s help which he gladly extended to Dabhade.

Both Dabhade and Nizam planned to install Sambhaji of Kolhapur on the Satara Gadi and appointed Umabai as Senapati. Actually Shahu at this time was engaged in a fight against Sambhaji. Umabai herself tried to obtain the post of Senapati from Sambhaji of Kolhapur. Both Nizam and Umabai both were very jealous of Bajirao. They wanted to put down Bajirao. Nizam, who always was looking for an opportunity to divide the Marathas, got the golden opportunity. Umabai and Kanthaji Kadambande wrote letters to Nizam and asked for his support. They asked that they would defeat Peshwa and if they would not succeed in winning Peshwa then Nizam would give them a Jahagir. If they succeed in defeating Shahu and Peshwa then Sambhaji would be declared as Chhatrapati of the Maratha Raj and Trimbakrao would be appointed as Senapati and Kanthaji as Sarlashkar. At this time Nizam consulted his advisers regarding the next course of action. They advised him not give support to Dabhade. But Nizam himself wanted to take advantage of
this opportunity because Sambhaji always asked him to put down Shahu. Nizam seemed to be trying to induce Dabhade, Kadambande and Gaikwad to desert the cause of Shahu.⁵¹

When Dabhade went on Nizam’s side Shahu tried to solve the problem amicably. Shahu gave back the Mokasa of Gujarat Province to Dabhade. Bajirao viewed this conflict as an internal matter of the Marathas and hence felt that outside help from parties like Nizam to solve problem.⁵² On 28th March, 1730 Nizam came with his contingent to help Dabhade against Bajirao near Surat. Shahu seemed to have made an attempt to conciliate Trimbakrao by sending him special messengers.⁵³ He also asked Bajirao to bring Trimbakrao to Satara for meeting Shahu personally. But when the news came that Dabhade had taken help from Nizam, Bajirao attacked him. At last Dabhade was defeated by Bajirao at Dabhai on 1st April 1731.⁵⁴ In the battle Nizam’s Senapati Mughal Mominyarkhan and Mahoji Pawar and Trimbakrao were killed. Udaji Pawar Chimaji Damodar and son of Pilaji Gaikwad were arrested.⁵⁵ Bajirao himself had written a letter to Krishnaji Kadam in which he had given account of the battle of Dabhai.⁵⁶

When the conflict between Dabhade and Peshwa ensued again in 1729 Nizam was active through Chandrasen Jadhav and Chimaji Damodar. Since the time of Bajirao’s appointment as Peshwa some senior members of Shahu’s court became jealous of Bajirao. “The Nizam fanned their simmering jealousies and there sprang up powerful party at the court of Shahu which was led by Shripatrao Pratinidhi.”⁵⁷ Among them Chimaji Damodar, Rajadnya of Shahu was prominent. Chimanaji Damodar left Shahu and went
over to Sambhaji of Kolhapur. He was given some position in Sambhaji’s court. But fortunately Nizam was defeated at Palkhed. Although by the treaty of Mungi Shegaon Nizam agreed not to give any support to Sambhaji he continued to do so secretly. Nizam also did not accept the result of battle of Palkhed as final decision. His efforts continued to help the allies against Satara or Shahu. But all this means Nizam still wanted to depose Shahu from Satara and install Sambhaji as the only Maratha Chhatrapati.

Sambhaji himself was not involved in this conflict with Dabhade. However, his former Peshwa Chimaji Damodar had joined Trimbakrao near Chalisgaon with his army. The battle of Wadgaon was fought between Sambhaji and Shahu in March 1730 and the peace treaty of Warna was signed in February 1731. Thus peace was established between Kolhapur and Satara.

First Tarabai and thereafter Sambhaji fought the civil war against Shahu. Shahu did his best to conciliate his royal cousins. But both Tarabai and Sambhaji never responded favourably. Tarabai with the help of Chandrasen Jadhav tried to crush Shahu. But as result of bloodless revolution her government was overthrown. Again Chandrasen Jadhav who sought protection of Nizam gave his help to crush Shahu. But after the battle of Palkhed Nizam accepted the treaty of Mungi-Sevgaon and by this treaty he also accepted withdrawal of protection to Sambhaji. Sambhaji’s Senapati Piraji Ghorpade and Amatya Bhagwanrao Ramchandra and some other officials deserted Sambhaji and joined Shahu’s service. Only Udaji Chavan remained Sambhaji’s supporter.
Udhaji Chavan had the title of Himmat Bahadur. He was strong supporter of Kolhapur side from the foundation of the Kolhapur Raj. At first he was partisan of Tarabai. Then afterwards he became the supporter of Sambhaji. He brought territory of Shriol, Raibag, Bijapur etc. under his control. He made Battis Shirala on the bank of Warana as his chief headquarters. As a partisan of Sambhaji, he always created troubles for Shahu. Even though Nizam was defeated and his alliance with Sambhaji was broken, Udaji encouraged Sambhaji and instigated him to resume hostilities with Shahu. Shahu was always in trouble because of Udaji. So he ordered his Senapati, that if Udaji created any trouble he should be punished. So Senapati kept strong security in that territory. But in 1728-29 when Bajirao and Chimaji Appa were engaged in Malwa, Udaji created trouble and again he raided and plundered Warana territory belonging to Shahu. In 1728-29 Chavan marched towards Tasgaon with 2000 men. Udaji started to plunder the territory along the river Warna. He camped at Battis Shirala and began to plunder. At the same time Shahu was on hunting expedition in the neighbourhood territory. When he came to know that Udaji was in the neighbourhood territory Shahu called him, promising him safety. Udaji presented himself before the king. But their meeting did not end on happy note. Few days after while Shahu was hunting some agents of Udaji Chavan came up with the intention of murdering him. However, the plot was discovered in time and those agents were captured. Shahu thought that this plot was made by Udaji with the tacit support of Sambhaji of Kolhapur also. These agents were, it was discovered, the hirelings of Sambhaji of
Because of this Shahu got very angry with Udaji. So Shahu decided to march against Sambhaji and Udaji to end this conflict.

From October 1729 to February 1730 Shahu was engaged in making preparations. He addressed letters to Bajirao, Shambhusing Jadhav, Sidhajirav Nimbalkar, Shekhoji Angre, and Pilaji Jadhav and called them with their troops. He ordered Senapati Trimbakrao Dabhade not to leave territory around Kolhapur. He also ordered Shidhoji Ghorpade to launch an attack on Chavan. They captured the thana of Herle. Then with the troops of Peshwa, Pratinidhi, Senapati and others Shahu camped on the bank of Warna. Anandrao Sumant writes to Chimaji Appa, "Rajashri, Shidhoji Thorat, Ghorpade came near Kolhapur and they will meet us in two days." Later on Shahu's troops made an attack on Sambhaji's territory. Pratinidhi commanded Shahu's force. He was assisted by Shambhusing Jadhav, brother of Chandrasen Jadhav.

At the same time Sambhaji also prepared himself to face this situation. He called all of his eight pradhans (Ashtrapradhan) and Sardars with their troops. Nanasaheb son of Bajirao Peshwa, reported to Chimaji Appa that Udaji was appointed as Senapati by Sambhaji. Vyankatrao Ghorpade, Bhagwantrao Amatya came there with their troops. Sambhaji, along with Udaji Chavan, Bhagwantrao Amatya, Vyankatrao Ghorpade remained encamped on other side of the river Warna.

In March 1730 Pratinidhi, the commander of Shahu's troops, made an attack on Sambhaji's camp. Sambhaji and his ally Udaji Chavan were completely routed. They somehow escaped to Panhala. Sambhaji's camp was
plundered and the royal ladies including Tarabai and Sambhaji’s wife Rani Jijabai were captured and produced before Shahu as prisoners. We find the detailed description of this war in the contemporary sources also. According to Peshwa Shakawali, “Sambhaji came to his territory and created trouble through Udaji Chavan. So Shahu sent Shripatav Pratinidhi and Shambhusing Jadhav, Senapati Udaji was at Shirol Pratinidhi besieged Shirol. At the same time Sambhaji, with his family, was ready to go to Narsobawadi. He made an attack on Pratinidhi’s troops which had besieged Shirol. He brought Udaji in his camp from Shirol. On the next day the war started. But Sambhaji and Udhoji were defeated. With Udaji Sambhaji escaped to Panhala. Then Jadhavrao and Pratinidhi plundered Sambhaji’s camp. Both Matoshri (Tarabai and Rajasbai) were captured. Shahu Maharaj met both the Matoshri. He paid respect to them and allowed them to go back to Panhala. But Tarabai refused to go back and elected to live at Satara.”

According to Kaifiyat of Himmatbahadur Chavan, “. . Udaji was given the saranjam of Rupees three lacs by Sambhaji. He lived some days at Kolhapur and some days at Shirol. He created trouble in the territory of Shahu as per instructions of Sambhaji and collected “Chavan Chauthai”. So Shahu sent Shripatrao Pratinidhi with heavy artillery to Shirol. Himatbahadur Chavan faced Shahu’s troops for two and half months and afterwards wrote letter to Sambhaji, who was at Panhala, and requested him to come with his troops Sambhaji came with his contingent to Shirol. Battles took place four or five times between Shahu and Sambhaji. But eventually the Karveerkars were defeated. So Sambhaji and Udaji escaped to Panhala. Pratinidhi took
Shirol. Afterwards Shahu also came to Shirol. At Shirol members of the royal family including Tarabai were captured. Shahu honoured all of them and allowed them to return to Panhala but Tarabai went with Shahu.67

Prof. B.P. Modak has given his version of this war in “Kolhapur Rayacha Itihas.” According to that source, “Shahu Maharaj and Sambhaji Maharaj prepared themselves for war. Shahu himself remained encamped at Umbraj. His sardars created trouble in the territory of Kolhapurkar. To face this situation Sambhaji and Udaji Chavan organised their troops. Bhagwantrao Amatya, Krishnaraopant Pratinidhi, Vyankatrao Ghorpade Ichalkaranjikar, Torgalkar Shinde, Shidoji Ghorpade and others came with their troops around twenty-five thousand troops. Sambhaji decided to march towards Satara. By crossing river Warna they besieged a thana of Shahu. Udaji Chavan was in the Gumat (Shirol). Sambhaji was at Vadgaon on the bank of Warna. Pratinidhi, the commander of Shahu’s forces made sudden attack on Sambhaji. Sambhaji was completely defeated. Many of his troops were killed or taken as prisoners. He and Udaji could escape to Panhala. But Tarabai, Rajasbai, Jijabai, Vyankatrao Ghorpade, Bagwantrao Amatya were captured by Pratinidhi and brought as prisoners.”68

This conflict had actually started much earlier even before the battle of Palkhed. Bajirao thought that when Nizam agreed not to give protection to Sambhaji of Kolhapur, Sambhaji would have stop his rebellious activities against Shahu. The alliance with Nizam did not offer any gains to Sambhaji. On the contrary conflict between the two cousins was intensified. After the treaty of Mungi Shevgaon Sambhaji started his activities against Shahu with
the help of Udaji Chavan. Treaty of Mungi-Shevgaon gave a setback to Sambhaji and marked his indirect defeat. Nizam withdrew his recognition of Sambhaji as Maratha Chhatrapati and also agreed to remove the officials appointed by Sambhaji to collect chauth and Sardeshmukhi. Therefore, Sambhaji tried to take revenge of his indirect defeat.

But this time, only because of Udaji Chavan, Sambhaji had prepared himself to act against Shahu. When Udaji had created trouble in Shahu’s territory, Shahu sent his Pratinidhi to deal with Udaji. To face Shahu’s attack, Udaji called Sambhaji for help and Sambhaji accepted that call without any consideration. But Sambhaji was completely defeated by Shahu’s Pratinidhi. It brought down Sambhaji’s prestige.

Shahu now wanted to crush Sambhaji completely. He wanted to bring all the territory of Kolhapur under his control. To take advantage of this situation, Shahu asked Sambhaji Angre and Shidhoji Nimbalkar to march against Vishalgad. Sambhaji Angre established his chowki near Vishalgad fort and directed to prevent any grain find its way into the fort. When this campaign progressed, Sambhaji’s position became very critical. His main supporter Udaji Chavan was defeated, Amatya and Vyankatrao Ghorpade were put under confinement at Satara. Sambhaji had no other way than to offer treaty. Jijabai, the wife of Sambhaji, played an important role in changing Sambhaji’s views. Initially Sambhaji was unwilling to consider terms of the treaty. But Jijabai put her pressure on him. Only thereafter Sambhaji agreed to accept the treaty.
When Sambhaji had decided to accept the treaty he laid down alternative conditions showing his preferences. They were: 1) the best possible solution; 2) the least that he would accept; 3) a compromise solution.

Nilkanthrao Trimbak, one of the ministers of Sambhaji, was the intermediary. Sambhaji wrote a letter on 8th August, 1730 to Nilkanthrao Trimbak or Babaji Prabhu. By that letter he asked to put forth the following proposal.

1) Most favourable or the best possible solution: all territory upto Karad, Bijapur and Miraj and in the Kokan from Dabhol, Vasantgad and Kupane should be ours.

2) Least favourable solution: The hills of Battis Shirala should be the boundary, Kokan, Bijapur and Miraj was above, which ever is agreed upon should be put in writing and Shahu should be made to swear that it would be implemented, similarly, the Peshwa as well as Fattesingh Bhosale should also be made to swear. On our behalf, you should give necessary guarantee. After this is settled, arrangement should be made to bring back Tarabai here with great honour.

3) A compromise treaty: Malkapur should be the boundary. Bijapur and Miraj should be ours and in the Kokan the territory south of Dabhol.

4) If as a result of demands and counter demands, none of these alternatives is feasible, then the boundary should be the Warna river and the whole of southern India upto Rameshwar should be ours. Our stations and forts
such as Koppal, Bijapur, Miraj and half the Kokan, the district of Rajapur from Sangmeshwar should be ours. The estates, honours and privileges of our chieftains should be continued without restrictions, these have been enjoyed by them ever since the days of great master (Shivaji the founder). He (Shahu) should be given an extensive territory north of Warna."

But the treaty was actually signed in April 1731. This proposal was made by Sambhaji. But who played the important role in negotiations? Historians differ on this point. According to Sardesai the presence of Tarabai at Satara opened a channel for communication and exchange of views. In a letter written by Sambhaji in October 1730 to Shahu, he wrote, "Your very warm greeting and sincere and hearty wishes for a cordial and lasting understanding between us conveyed by the revered 'Matushraheb' have reached me and gladdened my heart immensely. Coming from an elderly person of your eminence, the message is most welcome and in the fitness of things..... There should be sensible understanding between us and both sides should prosper without hindrance is my desire. Matoshri had written that I should send reply with Babaji Prabhu... " Here Sardesai mentions that Matoshri means Tarabai. But S.M. Garge does not accept this view. According to him Tarabai had no soft feelings towards Rajasbai and Sambhaji. So Tarabai refused to return to Panhala after the battle of Vadgaon. So it cannot be true that Tarabai had played an important role as a mediator in the negotiations. He also states that before Matoshrisahеб the word *Tirthroop* was written and according to Marathi language, *'Tirtharoop'* was written before father and mother. The word *'Tirthswarup'* was used
Yesubai was a very wise woman. It might be possible that she brought pressure on both Shahu and Sambhaji to stop hostilities. When the preliminary talks were going on Yesubai was alive. However, she died before the treaty was actually signed. After the death of Yesubai, Virubai Shahu's concubine, played an important role. The role of Yesubai was transferred to Virubai. Sambhaji wrote to Virubai “I am most gratified to the Tirtharup Rajashri Abasaheb (Shahu) and I shall be meeting and holding discussions. What can be better than this ...... the wishes of the elders are always acceptable to me ... there should not be the least room for doubt.... I have explained everything in detail to Nilkanthrao.....” Another letter from Sambhaji to Virubai written on 4th February, 1731 is available. According to that “That myself and Tirtharup Should meet together is a momentous occasion. It is only because you, with a wholly unbiased mind, have offered to mediate, the success of these talks will be beyond doubt. It is only on your assurance that I am undertaking....”

Sambhaji had shown his eagerness to meet Shahu. He wrote to Shahu, “I was gratified to be told that all my desire will be honoured after our meeting. The measure of your affection gave me great joy, it is only fitting that my desires should be gratified by you....” But both sides took eight months to decide the terms of the treaty. Shahu had sent dresses and letter with Babaji Prabhu and accepted everything that Sambhaji had asked for.
This act of Shahu melted hard hearts of Sambhaji. He wrote to Shahu, "Your divine grace and extraordinary affection have touched me the quick. You are a father of me. It behooves you in that capacity to take care of me. This conduct will redound to your lasting credit."77

When Sambhaji gave his formal consent for meeting Shahu sent Fattesing Bhosale and Shripatrao Pratinidhi, Naroram Mantri, Krishnaji Dabhaide etc. high officials to Panhala78 to escort Sambhaji to Satara. They presented to Sambhaji in a special ceremony jewellery, elephants, horses and others gifts. Sambhaji on his part presented these emissaries with robes of honour according to their status. They left Panhala on December 16th with Sambhaji and his officials. They travelled through Navali, Wathar. They crossed Warna at Vadgaon.

Jakhinwadi near Karad was selected as the place of meeting of these royal cousins. This site was midway between the two rival capitals Kolhapur and Satara. From Satara Shahu proceeded to Karad and camped on the bank of river Krishna.

At Jakhinwadi the meeting was arranged in an open tent or Shamyana. The large number of followers and sardars came for meeting. On 27 February 1731, Saturday, Falgun Shudh 2 of Shak year 1652 the actual meeting took place.79

From Jakhinwadi both the Chhatrapatis went on to Umbraj where the great banquet was arranged. Here Shahu urged Sambhaji to go with him to
Satara for festival of the Holi full moon. Actually the purpose behind this invitation was to discuss terms of the treaty.

For two months, Sambhaji stayed with Shahu at Satara. Sambhaji was showered with many valuable gifts like elephants, robes of honour, two lacs of rupees in cash. While returning to Panhala, Sambhaji was escorted by Fattesingh Bhosale and his contingent by order of Shahu. Shahu himself accompanied Sambhaji for eight miles.

In this period of two months the treaty of ‘Warna’ was signed by the two royal cousins. The actual date of the treaty was April 13th 1731.
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