

**A STUDY OF MILITARY SYSTEM
OF THE PESHWA**

**A Thesis
SUBMITTED TO THE
TILAK MAHARASHTRA VIDYAPEETH PUNE
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

HISTORY

Under the Board Of Moral and Social Sciences



BY

Mrs. PRIYA BRIJESH KULKARNI

(Registration No. 02118004092)

UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF

Dr. NALINI AVINASH WAGHMARE

**DEPARTMENT OF NEHRU INSTITUTE OF
SOCIAL SCIENCES**

May 2025.

Annexure III

Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune

Undertaking

I **Priya Brijesh Kulkarni** is the Ph. D. Scholar of the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth in History subject. Thesis entitled **The Study Of Military System Of The Peshwa** under the supervision of **Dr. Nalini Avinash Waghmare**, solemnly affirm that the thesis submitted by me is my own work. I have not copied it from any source. I have gone through extensive review of literature of the related published / unpublished research works and the use of such references made has been acknowledged in my thesis. The title and the content of research is original. I understand that, in case of any complaint especially plagiarism, regarding my Ph.D. research from any party, I have to go through the enquiry procedure as decided by the Vidyapeeth at any point of time. I understand that, if my Ph.D. thesis (or part of it) is found duplicate at any point of time, my research degree will be withdrawn and, in such circumstances, I will be solely responsible and liable for any consequences arises thereby. I will not hold the TMV, Pune responsible and liable in any case.

I have signed the above undertaking after reading carefully and knowing all the aspects therein.

Signature :

Address : **Pancham B/2202, Nanded City, Sinhagad Road, Pune -411030, Maharashtra**

Ph.No. : **7020582202**

e-mail : **: piyukulkarni@79gmail.com**

Place : **Pune**

Date : **May 2025**

Annexure IV

CERTIFICATE OF THE SUPERVISOR

It is certified that work entitled **The Study Of Military System Of The Peshwa** is an original research work done by **Priya Brijesh Kulkarni**. Under my supervision for the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy in History** to be awarded by Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune. To best of my knowledge this thesis embodies the work of candidate herself, who has duly been completed fulfils the requirement of the ordinance related to Ph. D. degree of the TMV up to the standard in respect of both content and language for being referred to the examiner.

Signature of the Supervisor

Dr. Nalini Avinash Waghmare

Acknowledgement

I have submitted my thesis at "Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth" on "A Study of Military System of the Peshwas". I am first indebted to the University and the Department of History in the University as I got the opportunity to do research in the above subjects through Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune. Dean of the subject has provided valuable assistance in researching the above subject by providing necessary information regarding the availability of tools and documents. Being my Research Guide for my research Dr. Nalini Waghmare continued to be of great support to me. From time to time, she explained to me about the nuances of research and research methods. It was because of her cooperation and passion for research and helping nature towards students that I was able to complete my research project. I would prefer to be indebted to her always and not just thank.

I am deeply grateful to the librarians of the library of both the branches of Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth. They helped me a lot by giving me various books from time to time. It was only because of their support that I was able to complete my research project. Along with this library, I also express my sincere thanks to the libraries of Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal Pune, Pune Lekhabhigar, Kitabwala Pune, City Library. I was able to present the thesis only with the help of different books that I could refer here. I also benefited from the guidance of Prof. Dr. Sachin Joshi, Prof. Dr. Pramod Borhade, Dr. Indrajit Sawant, Mr. Sandeep Tikhe. Discussions with them gave right direction to the research.

This ongoing research work has been done only because of the support of my family. My husband Shri Brijesh Kulkarni always gave me time for library visits and made books available. Daughter Ruta and son Parth did not get in the way of my research. My family Mr. Naresh Kulkarni (father-in-law) and Mrs. Meenakshi Kulkarni (mother-in-law) also gave me a lot of support. The research would not have been completed without the blessings of my father Shri Pramod Aklujkar, mother Dr. Lata Aklujkar and family. I have completed the research due to the guidance and help received from time to time by all the people mentioned above.

Content

Sr. No	Chapters		Chapter Names	Page Nos.
1	Title		Title	
2	Annexure III		Undertaking by the Candidate	
3	Annexure IV		Certificate of the Supervisor	
4			Acknowledgement	
5			Abstract	
6	Chapter 1		Introduction	1 - 7
7	Chapter 2		Review Of Literature	8 - 10
8	Chapter 3		Research Methodology	11 - 17
9	Chapter 4		Analysis and Interpretation	
		1.	Historical Background of Maratha Army	18 - 37
		2.	Division of Army	38 - 71
		3.	Weapons	72 - 89
		4.	Artillery	90 - 106
		5.	Wars	107 - 136
10	Chapter 5		Conclusion	137 - 164
11			Bibliography	165 - 177
12			Appendices	178 - 223

ABSTRACT

Introduction

To conduct research on 'A Military System During Peshwas', it is necessary to review the political situation in India at that time. The Marathi army in the medieval period is a very large topic. There are various methods of measuring the medieval period. Generally, this period is considered to be from 1206 to 1818AD. In addition, the period from 1526 to 1818 AD is the later period of the Middle Ages. For the above topic, the research on the Maratha army has been arranged in a total of five chapters to make it objective and presentable. Primary unpublished documents have been used where necessary.

Primary quality written texts have been used as support where appropriate. Weapons from this period have been inspected by visiting some museums for weapons. Information has been collected by interviewing the modern-day descendants of important personalities from the era of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj and the Peshwa era. Various types of photographs have also been included in the thesis.

1. While studying any period of history or any subject, it is necessary to look at its background. For this, the first chapter of the thesis is Historical Background of Maratha Army. While presenting this chapter, seven main points and sub-points are also given below each point as required. Among the reasons behind the Marathas establishing an independent state in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, an important reason was the Muslim power that had spread throughout India before these centuries and their monopolistic rule. In 712 ADS, this power entered India in the form of Mohammad bin Qasim and there were ups and downs in this power. In 1526 AD, the Mughal Empire was established. It was active until 1707 AD.

Only after that, the Maratha power was established in Satara and Pune. Therefore, this period from 1707 to 1808 AD was chosen for research. As a background for military studies, a brief review of the army of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj's rulers has been conducted, so the meeting of the army during the Peshwa period has been presented in the thesis. While looking at how the Peshwas began, the history of Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj has been studied. He was the one who had given special powers to the first Pradhan Peshwa of the Ashta Pradhan cabinet, made him efficient,

and entrusted him with the responsibility of the military of the Marathi state. The period from 1707 to 1818 AD is considered as the history of Marathi power. The period from 1707 to 1818 is known as the history of Marathi power, and is also known as the 'Peshwa period'. In total, eight Peshwas held the reins of Marathi royal power. Among them, the first four Peshwas, namely Balaji Vishwanath Bhat, Bajirao Peshwa - I, Balaji Bajirao alias Nanasaheb Peshwa and Madhavrao Peshwa - I expanded the Marathi power with special efficiency, so the armies and wars of this period are worth studying. Since the four Peshwas after this did not turn out to be particularly successful, the journey of the Maratha Empire had begun slowly. Even though the Muslim power had gone to power, the Western powers and internal enemies had put a downward spiral on the Maratha Empire. The political career of all the eight Peshwas from the period 1707 to 1818 AD is summarized in this first chapter.

2. The second chapter of this thesis is the divisions of the army. In the introduction to this chapter, the different divisions of the Maratha army are presented in detail. The army of this period was equipped with divisions of infantry, cavalry, elephants, armor and bodyguards. Therefore, all of these have been reviewed in detail. While getting information about the subdivisions of the army, a brief review of military education and military traditions from the Vedic period has been given. In the 18th century, Muslim powers were active, so examples of their armies have also been given.

It has also been presented how the Marathi army, which originated from Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj, changed until the last Peshwas. Infantry was an important division during the Peshwa period. The structure of the infantry, recruitment for the infantry, the weapons they need, the administration of the infantry, the salary, the care of the wounded soldiers, etc., are all studied here. During the Peshwas' time, the principles of the infantry were changing, but it was certain that in the policy of imperial expansion, the importance of the infantry during this period was less than during the time of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj, and accordingly, the importance of the cavalry was greater during the Peshwas' time. A brief study of the cavalry of the Vedic period, the medieval Mughal period and the period of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj has also been done here.

The Bargir and Shiledar were two important pillars of the Peshwa's cavalry. The breeding and rearing of the horses required for them and the various types of horses have been explained. Information about Pagas and Pagas has also been given. In order

to make the cavalry as efficient as possible, horses will be bred in the same way that they will also be imported. This care was taken to take care of the horses and their medicines. This shows that the cavalry made a great contribution to the development of Maratha Army. References from ancient times have been taken to see what the elephant force of the Peshwas was like.

Although such a magnificent elephant force was not present during this period, there must have been around a hundred elephants during this period. Elephants were also used as a symbol of glory. This would also be called 'Gajarat Lakshmi'. During the actual battle, the chieftains and generals used to fight sitting in the elephant's enclosure, so the entire army could be seen even from a distance. In battles, elephants were often used to break down the gates of forts or buildings of the enemy. The food that went to them was kept in a separate department. The names of the male and female elephants used by the Peshwas in different occasions are also explained here. A list of the names of the mahouts is also attached.

The Peshwas tried to empower them. The camel cavalry was also a part of the army. The use of camels in warfare and their background since the Chh. Shivaji era is discussed in the thesis. Camels during the Peshwa era were used to carry guns and ammunition. They would be called as 'Sutarnaal' and those who rode camels would be called 'Sutraswar'. Sometimes camels were also hired to carry loads. The Gosavi community used to buy camels from the neighboring provinces and resell them in Pune. The Peshwas had approximately one thousand camels. The officer in charge of feeding these camels was Ganpatrao Moreshwar.

Camels would be used to carry their belongings while the royal family was traveling. Information about how the camels were fed is also presented. The main division of the army was the Armada. In fact, the order mentions that the navy was an independent state organ of kingdom. This is mentioned in the book 'Adnyapatra'. The navy had an important place in the concept of an army. References to the navy are found from the Indus Valley Civilization. Therefore, while explaining the Peshwa era navy, references to the navy from the ancient, pre-medieval and medieval periods have been found in various texts. In Vedic literature, there is a mention of floating devices in the Rig Veda. The seals found in the Indus Valley Civilization also provide information about the NaukaNayana of that period. Our book gives information about the ships of the fleet of Samudragupta's era. During the time of Kautilya, these ships

were used to extract pearls from the sea. If any navy was created in the Middle Ages after the time of Samudragupta, it was Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj. Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj was extremely efficient and powerful. Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj built a navy to secure the Konkan coast, provide livelihood to the people there, increase trade, and keep a check on foreign powers.

A specific type of wood was required to build the ships in this fleet. Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj also encouraged the people there to plant these types of trees. While selecting officers on the fleet, Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj had thoroughly examined their knowledge. It was necessary for everyone to have knowledge of the weather. Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj had bestowed titles on each one according to their ability. To make the fleet more powerful, Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj had built an impenetrable water fort. This Chh. Shiva-era fleet was dutifully fulfilling the responsibility of protecting Swarajya even during the time of Chhatrapati Sambhaji Maharaj. After Chhatrapati Sambhaji Maharaj, the responsibility of the fleet was given to Sidhoji Ghorpade and Kanhoji Angre.

Kanhoji Angre made a great contribution as the chief of the navy during the Peshwa period. He was the chief of the navy. The relationship between Kanhoji Angre and the navy has been described in detail and critically. After Kanhoji Angre, however, the Peshwa-era navy weakened due to the internal interference and Western powers. Balaji Bajirao alias Nanasaheb Peshwa, with the help of the British, destroyed the backbone of the Marathi navy by destroying the chief of the navy. Still, it seems that the great Madhavrao tried hard to fix the broken clock of the fleet. For this, information is given using some unpublished documents. The Peshwas gradually ignored the changing military needs and had an opportunity to establish western power in India.

3. The third chapter in this thesis is about the weapons. Weapons are considered as an important part of military power. The discussion is based on the weapons of the Peshwa era. For this, the background is taken from various ancient texts. Since time immemorial, in all parts of the world and in all eras, one thing has been important that only the strong can establish a state. The strength that any ruler gains is due to the war skills he possesses. Weapons or weapons are a great support for the success of this war skill. Weapons create fear in the enemy and the people also respect such rulers. The creation of weapons seems to have advanced along with the creation and progress of man. Since weapons were needed to obtain food and protect themselves, primitive man

created temporary weapons with the help of stones and bones. Even in the mythological and ancient times, three types of weapons were made: Panni -Mukt, Mantra -Mukt and Yantr - Mukt.

During this period, weapons that were useful on the battlefield and defeated the enemy in all respects were made. Weapon production was also the main duty of the rulers during this period. It is seen that factories necessary for the production of weapons were built. During the time of Arya Chanakya, Chandragupta Maurya had extended the borders of India to Iran with the power of weapons. The definitions of weapons and Astra in ancient times were different. A weapon is a weapon that seriously injures, injures or kills the person in front of him. With the help of the five elements, the mantra, that is, the weapon, becomes a weapon. Weapons were used to target both near and far enemies.

Foreign invasions of India in ancient times were important in terms of various weapons. During the medieval period, Hindu, Muslim and Western powers existed in India. Weapons and cannon were produced between 1206 and 1818 AD. cannon included guns. Guns and cannonballs were produced in India from the 14th century itself. During the Marathi period, such weapons as swords, spears, and shields were produced on a large scale. Efforts were made to create long-range brass cannons to defeat foreign powers. Various war instruments were being created to be played on the battlefield along with weapons. Due to the important role of infantry in Shiva's era, various types of swords were being created.

Weapons were used during the Peshwa era similar to those during Chh.Shivaji Maharaj's era, but the battlefield during the Peshwa era was wider than during Chh. Shivaji Mahataj's era. And since battles were fought in the plains, the importance of cavalry was complete, especially during the time of the first Bajirao. The Peshwa cavalry itself played an important role for fast horse racing. It is said that Bajirao and his army used to fight on horseback and rest on horseback. Due to slight changes compared to Chh.Shivaji Maharaj's time, weapons also changed as needed during the Peshwa period. The weapons used during the Peshwa period were sword, spear, brick, dandpatta, fire arrow, bow and arrow, katyar, Mukti shield, etc. All these weapons are described in detail. The sword was a very important weapon. The medieval period of India was a golden age for the sword. Various types of swords and their names are presented. The spear was also a superior weapon. Since it was a projectile weapon, it

also had various types and names. For example, the spears of the infantry soldiers were called Padati Kunt, the spear thrown from a horse was called Ashwakunt, and the spear thrown from an elephant was called Gajakunt.

Spears were used on a large scale during the Peshwa period. This weapon exploded when thrown at the enemy. The bow and arrow of the Peshwa era was also an important weapon. The bow and arrow have been in use for many centuries. It was also used in other countries. Many Sanskrit texts provide information about the different parts of the bow. Bow and arrow manufacturing factories existed during the Peshwa era. Katyar was an important Indian-made weapon during this period. It was unique and sharp. This weapon had sharp edges on both sides.

This weapon required a handle. Since the weapon was small, it was easy to carry and use. The katyar was used to strike people on the ribs, stomach, and neck. Various names and information about these swords are presented in the chapters. Information about the Gupti weapon is also given in the chapters. The shield, which was the companion of the sword, was an important weapon. For these weapons, tortoise skin and other animal skins were used. Shields were used extensively during the Peshwa period. There were many weapons such as armor, helmets, maces, chakras, kukris, etc. In this way, information about the weapons of the Peshwa period, information about how they were taken care of, and information about how the weapons were worshipped is also presented in detail in this chapter.

4. The fourth chapter is artillery, and artillery has been discussed in detail. In any country, in any period, the importance of the army is as much as the importance of artillery. While the references to artillery are being investigated, they are found from the Vedic period. Only the names of guns or artillery are changed according to the time. For example, in the Mahabharata, guns were called Bhande or Gar Bhande. If we consider it from the perspective of India, we find mentions that explosives were present in India from the eighth century AD. There is also mention that the knowledge of making explosives in India went abroad and from abroad it came back to India. The clear evidence that the knowledge of making explosives in India went abroad and from abroad it came back to India is the Lakshagriha built by the Kauravas in the Mahabharata to destroy the Pandavas. That is, even though lac was a flammable substance during this period, cannons were used by Muslim powers in the medieval period. In 1368 AD, while conquering the Adoni fort in Karnataka, and in 1484 AD,

Mohammed Begada used cannons while conquering Gujarat, but in 1526 AD, Babur brought artillery to India on a large scale. When referring to artillery from the time of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj, it is seen that Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj had artillery.

He had cannons on his warships, forts and water forts. In 1674, Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj purchased 88 cannons and 3000 maans of lead from the French. The only documentary evidence that Chhatrapati Sambhaji Maharaj also used cannons while fighting the Portuguese is the Adnyapatra. The Adnyapatra states that the fear of cannons makes enemies fearful. In this book, cannons are also called 'Bhande'. As in war, artillery was important for the protection of merchant ships. This tradition of artillery in the 17th century was also present during the Peshwa period.

The Peshwa cavalry, which roamed all over India, fought battles with artillery. From the first Peshwas to the last Peshwas, artillery contributed to the expansion of Marathi power. That is why information about artillery during the time of all eight Peshwas is given in these chapters. During the reign of Balaji Vishwanath, he used the artillery of the Mughal Sardar Sayyid brothers to defeat Damaji Gaikwad in 1718 AD. Bajirao Peshwa had all the details regarding artillery and had the right knowledge of how to destroy artillery from the enemy side. For example, the Bhopal battle. On the instructions of Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj, Bajirao I started preparing artillery under the leadership of Yashwantrao Panse and Madhavrao Panse.

The French artillery chief Bhusi and his apprentice Muzaffar Khan were considered important during Bajirao's time, which is why the Peshwas appointed Muzaffar Khan and the Panse brothers to train in artillery. The Peshwas had good relations with Bundelkhand to the north. According to a letter dated 17 August 1732, the king of Oorsha had sent Bajirao a small cannon called Tupak and this cannon was sent with the ministers of Hirdesai and Jagat Raj, the rulers of Bundelkhand. The names of the cannons are known from some letters of Bajirao's time. However, the third Peshwa, Balaji Bajirao, had reorganized the artillery well. An example of this is the artillery of the Marathas during the Panipat Battle of 1761 and Ibrahim Khan Gardi. Sadashivrao Bhau was trying hard to ensure that his artillery was efficient while fighting Abdali. In 1759, he had bought 5000 cannon balls for the cannons from Kokil, a Kasara. Abdali was actually frightened by the artillery of the Marathas, but due to the excitement of the battle and the lack of understanding of the Goolachi battle, the Maratha infantry went forward and the artillery followed it, so it was closed.

Otherwise, the outcome of the war would have been different. During the reign of the first Madhavrao, he had tried to strengthen all the weak points of the Marathi power in just eleven years.

Madhavrao had started cannon and gun factories. According to a letter of 1764, the Peshwas had made great efforts to bring the Kadak Bijli cannon to Pune. The names of the cannons of this period are also known as Jai Fatte Mubarak, Jaywanti, Jwala Bhavani. However, during the Peshwa period, due to the decline of the Maratha power and internal political conspiracies, it was difficult to pay attention to the cannons. However, occasional mentions of this are still found. The best resource book on the Peshwa period is the Wad Diary. Some of the references in it indicate that cannons were mentioned. Nana Fadnavis also made special efforts for artillery. A list of materials required for making cannons is available during this period. Also, there are references to purchasing clay, which was necessary for making ammunition.

Raghoba Dada had tried to gain the Peshwa title by rebelling, but Raghoba Dada does not seem to have the rights to the artillery. It is also understood that artillery was used repeatedly during the Marathas' battle of Kharda in 1795 AD during the reign of Sawai Madhavrao. At the time of the Battle of Kharda, the Marathas had 192 canons. Artillery was also effective during the reign of Bajirao II. The chief of artillery, Panse, repeatedly fought the British with the help of artillery during the reign of Bajirao. In the Battle of Solapur in 1818, Ganpatrao Panse's artillery was well equipped.

At this time, the Marathas had fourteen large guns. It is unfortunate that the Peshwa was destroyed in 1818. As per the above overview, the Peshwa era cannons, history of cannon production, uses of cannons, production of cannon balls, cannon factories, the laborers required for it, their salaries, the cost of artillery and religious rituals related to artillery are all reviewed here in detail. Even though the Chh. Shivkalin artillery was efficient, the Peshwas were ultimately destroyed by the modernized army of the British.

5. The fifth chapter in the research, written on the above research is war. First-hand evidence of how efficient and equipped the armies of rulers are is found in war itself, because war is the last resort of politics and rulers. The fruits of the army fall according to the victory in war. In ancient and medieval times, war was a permanent feature of life. Even though war is destructive, it seems that welfare principles have emerged

from it. The scope of these two words, war, is world-wide. War was necessary for self-defense and for the protection of the people.

The change in the method of war from the Vedic period to the Peshwa period and the important wars during the Peshwa period are discussed in the chapter. The art of warfare required for war has been practiced since prehistoric times. The epic period is considered to be a time of fierce wars. A brief review of the types of wars and the rules of war has been taken from the prehistoric period to the epic period. In the historical period, it is told how the kingdoms of ancient times and their Chaturanga Army was. During this period, the chariot force was also an important element. As soon as the equality of ancient times ended, the Sultanate and Mughal Empires emerged in India.

These powers had created divisions such as cavalry, infantry, and artillery, but the Muslim powers did not have an efficient navy. The Hindavi kingdom that emerged in Maharashtra in the 17th century was exemplary in all fields. However, the Peshwas that emerged later had changing principles over time, so the Peshwa-era warfare system also changed. A review of those changing warfare systems and principles is presented. The first battle of the Peshwa era was the Battle of Khed in 1707 AD. All divisions of the Maratha army were active in the Battle of Khed. However, since this battle was fought between the two heirs of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj, the Marathas ultimately had to suffer the consequences of this battle. Because of this battle, the seeds of the Satara and Kolhapur kingdoms were sown. The Battle of Khed was fought between the armies of Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj and Maharani Tarabai. Although this battle was a diplomatic one, diplomacy was used extensively in this battle. After this, the battle fought in 1714 AD in the context of Sarkhel Kanhoji Angre was important. This battle, which defeated the enemy without causing bloodshed, strengthened the position of Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj because it proved the supremacy of Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj over the navy. The battles during the time of the first Bajirao Peshwa were stormy and completely destroyed the enemies. Bajirao had defeated the great Sardar Nizam of the emperor at Palkhed in 1728. The Peshwas had won this battle due to their excellent war skills, guerrilla warfare, agile movements and cleverness. When the enemy Nizam once again attacked the Marathas in 1737, he was besieged at Bhopal, deprived of food and water, and forced to surrender unconditionally.

All the traditional tactics and rules of battle were changed during Bajirao's time. In both the battles of Palkhed and Bhopal, Nizam was aggressive and Bajirao was savage. However, according to Bajirao's skilful war tactics, Nizam became savage and Bajirao became aggressive. Therefore, these two battles are world famous. The Third Battle of Panipat is a story of the bravery of the Marathas. The Third Battle of Panipat, which took place in the year 1761, was fought during the reign of the Peshwas, namely Balaji Bajirao alias Nana Saheb.

The word Panipat means complete destruction, but the Peshwas changed the meaning of the word to revival because the Marathas had gained as much benefit from the capture of Panipat as the Abdali had gained from winning the battle. There is a saying in world history about this war that if they were to lose, they would be like the Marathas at Panipat, meaning that this time the defeat was more glorious than the victory. This chapter discusses the Battle of Panipat in detail, and also provides information about the numbers of soldiers on both sides and the events in the army. The military structure of the Marathas at Panipat, the military structure of Abdali, and the reasons for the defeat of the Marathas are also presented. The Battle of Rakshasabhuvan, which took place during the first Madhavrao period, had made the enemies realize that the Marathas were not finished.

When the whole of India thought that the Maratha power was over, on 10 August 1763, Madhavrao once again defeated the enemy like the Nizam. The main thing is that at this time the Peshwas had shown some diplomacy by having the Nizam on one bank of the Godavari and the Nizam's army, artillery and Vitthal Sundar on the other bank. In this battle, the Nizam was completely destroyed. Vitthal Sundar was beheaded. The Nizam had to watch the destruction of his army and artillery with his bare eyes from the other bank of the river. The Marathas had obtained a lot of loot in this war. Due to this war, the Marathas' enemies as well as their internal opponents were also under scrutiny. Once again, the Maratha power was rapidly on the rise. After this, a very important battle took place in 1795, the Battle of Kharda. This was the last battle during the reign of Sawai Madhavrao Peshwa and the Marathas. Like Panipat, this battle also tells the story of the victory of the Marathas. In this battle, the Nizam was the enemy.

The Nizam's military power was very large, but at this time the Marathas had more cannons than the Nizam. Rather than fighting the Marathas in the open field, the

Nizam had taken refuge in the Kharda fort to attack them from the Kharda fort. At that time, the Marathas were besieging the Kharda fort. They had cut off the Nizam's supplies and fired cannons on the fortifications. Finally, the Nizam had to sue for a truce. The Marathas received five crore rupees as war ransom this time. After this, the second Peshwa Bajirao came to the throne and during his time the Anglo-Maratha War started. A total of three Anglo-Maratha wars were fought. Raghobadada's actions were seen as traitorous, as his meeting with the British branded him a quisling, ultimately leading to war. This war lasted for a long time from about 1775 to 1818.

The first war was won by the Marathas, but the Marathas were defeated in the second two wars. After the third Anglo-Maratha War, the second Peshwa Bajirao ran a lot to protect the Peshwa, so during this period the Battle of Koregaon, the Battle of Gopal Ashti and the Battle of Solapur Fort were fought. Generally, the Battle of Gopal Ashti on 20 February 1818 is considered to be the last battle of the Peshwas. But it is clearly explained here that this battle near the Solapur fort was the end of the Peshwas. In these chapters, the science of war, the markets in the war camps, as well as the women and the intelligence system in the war camps are also discussed. The Pendhari tribe that came forward in the Peshwa's armies is also discussed separately. Evidence is also given of how the Pendhari Berad tribes were useful in the war of the Marathas. In these chapters, a unitary examination is also done through approximately fourteen points.

6. The sixth chapter is the conclusion according to the research methodology. In this, a concise but concise review of all the above five chapters is presented, which helps us understand the essence of the research. After reading this sixth chapter, it has been designed in such a way that you will get a brief idea of the entire research thesis. At the same time, the conclusion is presented.

Chapter-1

INTRODUCTION

Introduction:

In ancient, medieval and modern times, whenever there were attempts to establish an independent state, the military was a key factor in making this idea a reality. The rulers relied on the army. The army protected the subjects, the state, and even religion. Similarly, internal wars were also fought with the help of the army. The types of armies seem to have changed over time and according to the needs. For example, in ancient times, chariots and elephants were of particular importance, while in the medieval period, infantry and cavalry gained special importance. The type of army also depended on the type of enemy being fought. For example, Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj built a navy to fight the Western powers. This meant that the navy was also an important reason for the growth of trade and employment for the people of Konkan. During the Peshwa era, due to the policy of expanding the empire to the north, cavalry gained more importance, which means that its types in the army kept changing according to time and need.

Maratha Army During the Peshwas

If we want to learn Maratha Army during the Peshwas 1712 to 1761 we have to focus on Maratha army from Shivaji Maharaj era. To take before events in account is an integral part of research. In History effect of past events are matter when we study. Therefore, we have to take a glance on before Shivaji Maharaj era to Peshwas.

In Maharashtra there were many dynasties from ages. E.g., Satvahanas, Chalukya, Rashtrakuta, Yadav of Devagiri etc.

They all had strong armies in their command. They build, increase and expand their dynasties with the help of the army. Even in medieval era Hindu and Muslim kings and Badshahas came in power on the powerful army.

Army is an important factor when we speak of any empire. Medieval era of Maharashtra is very important in the history of India. 1206 to 1526 is pre medieval era and 1526 to 1818 is past medieval era. Between this era there were many empires came in power. Vijayanagar Dynasty after Yadav of Devgiri. As Hindu

Dynasties there were Muslim Dynasties like Sultanat, Bahamani, Badshahi and Mughals. Army was backbone

of these all Dynasties. Of course, there are more factors also important like Government, Cabinet, Treasure, Spies, Forts etc. It is mentioned by Kautilya in his book named Arthashastra as a Saptanga Theory ('Saptang Siddhant') - that more than anything the army was the most important component. This idea of Kautilya was practiced by Hindus and Muslim rulers in the Medieval Period. They gave the military a prominent position.

1206 to 1526 is a period known as Sultanshahi. When Sultans were in power in Northern India there were Bahamani Dynasty established in Southern India in 1526. Babar started Badshahi at Delhi which was in power till 1856 same era of 17th century Chhatrapati Shivaji started Hindavi Swarajya at Raigad Fort. Chhatrapati Shivaji set up a large army to oppose Muslim rule spread all over India. His army was based on infantry, cavalry, camels, elephants, bodyguards and navy. With the help of army Chhatrapati Shivaji opposed Mughals and spread Maratha Empire over a large part of the India.

There are many other factors are included in the study of the Maratha army during the Peshwas. Army rules, army laws, administration in army, army officials, salary, etc. Sections of army also important for study like infantry, cavalry, camels, elephants, bodyguards and navy.

A single word army contains - ranks in army, promotions of officers, movement of batalian, retirements and rules and regulation, spy also. All of the above points will be taken into account when the subject chosen to research.

In historical point of view establishment of Hindavi Swarajya In medieval India is important event. Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj started Hindavi Swarajya to oppose Muslim rule spread all over India is an inspirational event. Army was most important factor among all other factors in Hindavi Swarajya. Taking Shivaji Maharaj's army as an ideal, the Maratha Army was formed during the Peshwa. Third war of Panipat is mentioned in Indian history. Therefore, Maratha Army during Peshwas is chosen by me to study.

Out of the five cases, the Maratha army will be studied and reviewed. This topic will be highlighted with unpublished documents from the Pune archives.

1] Aims and Objectives

- 1) To study the nature and importance of the Maratha Army in the period of Peshwas.
- 2) Peshwa's contribution to Maratha army.
- 3) To understand the structure and unique features of Maratha Army during the Peshwas.
- 4) The role of Peshwa's Army in subcontinent.
- 5) Army is based on political economic structure.
- 6) To study the recruitment system.

2] Hypothesis

- 1) Maratha military system is highlighted.
- 2) It was highly depended on the structure of the army.
- 3) It was highly depended on leadership.

3] Scope of Study

The development of an army under the Peshwas. It is limited to Peshwa period. This study will be under Geographical, Political & Chronological views.

4] Significance of study

- 1) To understand the importance of army in Peshwa period.
- 2) To understand the process of making weapons and maintenance of weapons in Peshwa period.
- 3) To understand the contribution of Peshwa's army in making Maratha Empire strong.
- 4) To understand the detail information on Maratha Army's maintenance and structure.
- 5) This research will create a curiosity for the researchers to examine the original papers about the Maratha army.

5] Introduction

In this research proposal, the research period, the importance of the research topic, the objectives and assumptions of the research, the scope of

the research, the collection of research-assisted information, research techniques, the research methodology are detailed. A thorough study of the Maratha Army of this period can be done through this research. Taking a certain period, the matters related to the Army of that period can be studied in depth. A comprehensive review of the Maratha Army can be obtained by searching for unpublished documents. Although the term Maratha Army may seem gross, there are many things in its interior. Focusing on those matters, five chapters have been prepared as follows.

Chapter 1.

Historical Background of Maratha Army

Although this period is selected, it is important to briefly look at its background and its consequences. The military course of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj's time will be studied as background. Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj started Hindavi Swarajya to oppose Muslim rule spread all over India with help of Maratha Army. The hard work that the Maharaja took on building the army was very important.

He raised the army of Mavala from the common population of Maharashtra. With the help of this army, Chhatrapati Shivaji established the Hindavi Swaraj on Raigad. After Shivaji, Chhatrapati Sambhaji preserved the military's greatness and importance. He concerned opponents with the help of army like his father. On 11th March 1689 Badshah killed Chhatrapati Sambhaji. After him as per plan of Rani Yesubai, Chhatrapati Rajaram came to the throne. He governed during 1689 to 1700. He resisted the Mughals from Maharashtra and Jinji. Chhatrapati Rajaram died on 2 March 1700 due to heavy fighting and fragile health. Chhatrapati Rajaram started Vatandaari system. After Rajaram, Maharani Tarabai came to the throne. She strongly opposed Badshah. On 20th February 1707 Badshah died at Ahmednagar.

Mughals Released Chhatrapati Shahu from captivity. Because of this, internal conflict started and two thorns of Marathas established, one is at Satara and another at Kolhapur. Maharani Tarabai announced her 4-year-old son as heir and started ruling at Kolhapur.

After Chhatrapati Shivaji all his descendants retained the importance of the Maratha army and kept the enemy at bay. These all-Maratha emperors and rulers used unique Maratha Army technique named 'Guerilla Warfare'.

On this background, army was important in Peshwas, so in the first chapter, all the above-mentioned points will be studied thoroughly.

Chapter 2

Structure of the Army

Various divisions were activated in the Maratha Army from the time of Shivaji. Even during the Peshwa period, the Maratha Army was in very high position. During the Bajirao period, the Maratha Army's pride was all over India. In this period the Maratha empire had expanded. Therefore, Peshwas made many improvements to the Maratha Army. In addition to valor and agility, there were various divisions of the Maratha Army, like 'Bargir', 'Shiledar'. Just like Shivaji Maharaj won the battles using the Guerilla warfare, The Peshwas achieved great victory by launching a 'Gherav' (siege system). Nevertheless, it was necessary to build a rapid army to counter the various powers in the north. Peshwa Bajirao-I was famous in all over India because of his fast-moving army. Apart from the various divisions like 'Pagaa' and squadrons of the Maratha Army, cavalry, elephants were also used. 'Shiledar' owns his horse and weapon and 'Bargir' was given horse and weapon by Peshwa government. It was difficult to carry cavalry, elephants but although, these two sections were part of Maratha Army. Infantry was also there.

Army administration, military rules, officers and their salaries are also important to study. Hajari Manasabdari - the ranking was in ascending order as experience and might. The rules of the military were very strict and had to follow. There were punishments for wrongdoings or disobeying in Maratha Army. Although the Peshwas have relaxed their military rules over time, the things of each soldier's and weapons given by Peshwa were listed on every mission and return from the mission, this process was called 'Jantri'.

जसे ज्यास अश्वबल तशी त्याची वृद्धीप्रथा
तद्वदतच्च ज्याच्याजवळ आरमार त्याचा समुद्र
आज्ञापत्र (पृष्ठ क्रमांक ३६)

The one who owns horse riding fighters, owns land

Just like the one's own navy can conquer sea

Aadnyapatra (Page No 36)

Chapter 3

Department of Arms (Faraskhana)

In Maratha army Faraskhana means department of arms. Weaponry is always important when it comes to battles. Most of the houses had weapons as there was at least one person used to be serving army for Peshwa. Different weapons were used in the Maratha Army. Weapons were manufactured by the factories owned by Peshwas. 'Kasar' and 'Sonar' used to make cannon shells and 'Lohaar' used to make Iron weapons. Such people were inherently educated in armaments. It was also important that care should be taken of the weapons, with Sapindus Mukorossi, known as the 'Ritha' and Ponogamia known as 'Karanja seed oil' was used to clean the weapon.

The weight of the weapon, licenses of the weapon, handling of the weapon were equally important in Maratha Army

Chapter 4

Weaponry Training

The artillery was an independent division of the Maratha Army.

This division was there in the Shivaji Maharaj period. But in the days of the Peshwas this division became more powerful. Because during this time, the battlefield was expanding. The Marathas had to constantly fight against the Hindu and Muslim powers to the south, north and east. Artillery was in great need as fighting was rampant on flat ground. The Peshwas created a powerful artillery. There are references to Bajirao Peshwa buying cannons from the French (Ref. Shivrajya V Shivkaal - V K Bhawe - Page no. 198). Like Maratha Army, Maratha ordnance/ artillery was well known in all over India.

Maratha Army's Artillery rules and regulations, administration, officers, wages will be discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 5

War Strategies

In the Medieval era, the importance of statehood was just as important as its struggles. Just as in military history, the importance of the kings, armies, weapons, artillery as well as importance was to battle. There were battles for statehood, state expansion, foreigners, protection of the people. There are a number of battles that appear in the research period, the most important of which will be studied in detail. Here are some examples: - The battle of Varna (1708) between Shahu and Tarabai, Bajirao I era became very popular in the military wars. He never lost a single battle and remain unconquered. Battle of Palkhed and battle of Bhopal are some witty battles by Bajirao I in not only Maratha history but in world history. The battle for the defense of the king Chhatrasal is also important. Battle of Udgir, battle of Panipat will be discussed. 'Jakhmi Darbar' - treatment for wounded soldiers after battle, treated by Vaidya, Hakim will be studied in same chapter.

The money raised for the war was borrowed from the lenders. Mentions of lenders like Bhide, Gadre, Tarake, Baramtikar etc. are found in the history of the Marathas.

Thus, some of the important battles of this period will be reviewed in this chapter.

6] Plan of Work and Targets to be Achieved

- 1) In the first stage, review of literature would be undertaken and target areas of fieldwork would be undertaken (6 months).
- 2) In the second stage, for data collection and interview of the experts and scholars would be undertaken (6 months).
- 3) In the third stage, analysis and interpretation of the data will be completed (6 months).
- 4) In the final stage, a report of the findings along with suggestions will be compiled (6 months).

Chapter-2

Review of literature

Introduction:

As the subject of the research is from the Peshwa era (1708 to 1818), the references from Hindavi Swarajya are also taken into consideration. I have briefly reviewed all the Peshwas who ruled and administered the Peshwa post in Pune. From the reign of all these, I have shed light on the Peshwa army through unpublished Modi documents from the reign of all of them. I have obtained information from important texts. Following is a review of some important texts.

1. Wad Diaries: GS Wad: Selections from the Satara Raja's and the Peshwa's Diaries

Wad has written on the Peshwa period from the journals of the Peshwas. While studying the Peshwa Army, a significant part of this book series was studied

2. Marathi Riyasat: G. S. Sardesai: Popular Prakashan:2010: Mumbai

Sardesai was a great historical researcher and he has contributed a lot to history and written many books in which eight princely states of Maratha period have been very useful for my research.

3. Sanshodhkacha Mitra: G. H. Khare: Bharat Itihaas Sanshodhak Mandal: Pune

His book is a good guide for any researcher. In this book, many parts of research have been mentioned. This book has been a great support for my research.

4. Shivaji and His Times: Jadunath Sarkar: Gyan Books: 1920

Sir Jadunath Sarkar, a great historian, has written many books on the life of Marathas, especially Shiv Chhatrapati. This book was useful for the study and reference of Shiva period.

5. Rajaram Maharaj: V. C. Bender: Marathidesha Foundation: 2022

Chhatrapati Rajaram Maharaj's achievements were great at the end of Shiva period and the beginning of Peshwa. He maintained the balance of both eras; he protected the Maratha empire. The fight against the enemy with the help of the army was valuable. This made it easy to study the army of that time.

6. Sadhan Chikitsa: V. C. Bender: Bookvishwa: 2022

This book helps to understand why tools should be used for research and in what order they should be used. How is it important to study history chronologically while studying history? It was important for my thesis.

7. Marathi Vishvkosh: Laxmanshastri Joshi:

While studying the Marathi encyclopaedia, one gets a glimpse of the culture of Maharashtra. From this we can guess how the social life of the Peshwa period should have been.

8. History of Maratha: Mr. Grant Duff: Cambray and co. :1912: Culcutta

This foreign history researcher has studied the history of India and written extensively on the history of the Marathas. He has examined the historical documents of the Marathas and brought the history before the readers which made it easier for my thesis to shed light on the history of the Peshwas.

9. Aitihāsik Prastāvanā: V. K. Rajwade: Vol.1: 1850: Pune

The history of the creation of 'Bakhar' of the Marathas can be read in these books as well as he has examined other tools.

10. Setu Madhavrao Pagdi:

He has a total of eight books out of which Marathas "Marathyanche Swatntryuddh" and "Mughals and Marathas" are useful in studying the war of Peshwa period.

11. Peshwa Pahila Bajirao: Puranik: Kaal Prakashan:1999: Pune

This book gives information about Bajirao's life and various battles and war strategies

12. Paanipatcha Ransangram: Shambhurao Ramchandra Devle: chitrshala Prakashan:1961: Pune

This book gives information about Maratha war tactics during Panipat war period, military weapons, artillery, this book is very helpful for reference as this topic is my thesis.

13. Sakharam Bapuche Charitr: Gopal Kanitkar: Chitrshala Press: Pune

From this book one gets a good knowledge of diplomacy and politics of Peshwa period, as well as it is clear what efforts were made by many veterans to maintain the throne of Peshwa. This makes it easy to review Peshwa era politics.

14. Shrimant Madhavrao Peshwe: Sakharam Sahstrbuddhhe: Varda Prakashan: 2019: Pune

From this we get the information about Nizam's ride and the battle of Rakshasbhuvan as well as the qualities of Madhavrao can be seen and the authentic text of his letters can also be read. The study of this book was important for my thesis because of the authentic letters in this book that reveal the true history.

15. Vasaichi Mohim: Y. N. Kelkar: Diamond Publication: 2008: Pune

This book gives an understanding of Shivaji Maharaj Sambhaji Maharaj Rajaram Maharaj's relationship with foreigners and a picture of Maratha struggle against the Portuguese. The war strategy of the Marathas becomes clearer from the book.

Chapter-3

Research Methodology

- 1) The study will be descriptive one. A large historical approach has been adopted in the description. All the writings and documents of Peshwa's history in Marathi and Modi script constitute the primary sources. Books, research articles and critical evaluations by experts and other scholar's opinions constitute the secondary sources.
- 2) To study of Modi Script Documents.
- 3) Analysis of original documents.
- 4) To study of Maratha artillery

Interviews

Sr.No.	NAME	AGE	OCCUPATION	OPINION
1	Dr. Lata Aklujkar	73	Rt. Professor	There have been many researches on the Peshwa period before but this research is a different method by studying the army of the Peshwas in depth and using many primary sources.
2	Dr. Nabha Kakde	63	Rt. Professor	This is research on a neglected topic of the Peshwa era. This research shows how important the army is in any era and in any country for the ruler.
3	Dr. Dadasaheb Potole	56	Professor	This Subject shows deep and thorough study of the Peshwa Army.
4	Dr. Jayashree Kulkarni	50	Professor	Unpublished Modi documents are used for the study and will be motivation for learners.
5	Dr. Abhijeet Nanavre	46	History teacher	It says detail study of the Maratha Navy and references taken from Chh. Shivaji's era.
6	Dr. Ashok Kodalkar	69	Rt. Professor	This Thesis enlighten scholars in very different

				views and inspired to create interest in History
7	Dr. Pramod Borade	44	Lecturer	Priya Kulkarni visited different Peshwa arsenals for this thesis. Therefore, it will not be wrong to say that this research is preliminary in nature
8	Dr. Sachin Joshi	47	Professor	A number of ancient references have been given for this thesis on various issues. This has helped to expose the ancient principles and history to the readers.
9	Kishor Chandak	71	Coin collector	This research has come out that weapons are also important in the same way as historical coins are important in understanding history
10	Shamla Panse	66	Modi Translator	It is very important that this study has shed light on the Modi script which is disappearing.
11	Nitin Anvekar	36	Inscription Scholar	Just as the study of physical tools is essential in the study of history, the arsenal of tools and many rudimentary books also play an important role.

12	Dr. Anuradha Sonkamble	45	Government servant	The field of work is never hindered for the sake of history. Through such many theses, history lovers like us can study new aspects of history
13	Dr. Waghmare	57	Professor	This thesis proves once again that field survey is mandatory while studying history. Field survey helps to bring the lost history to the readers.
14	Dr. Lokhande	68	Rt. Professor	Ancient Medieval Modern Period is Important While Studying and Researching the History Subject This essay highlights the history of Marathas in the medieval period very well.
15	DR. Vitthal Kshirsagar	42	History teacher	Many topics in the medieval period still await researchers to study. Among such topics, this thesis written after a complete study on the army during the Peshwa period is remarkable

16	Dr. Srikant Yelegavankar	72	Rt. Professor	This thesis presenting a detailed study of the Peshwa period in this history subject where history comes with the addition of political science is the auxiliary tools of history and will be a guide for all.
17	Dr. Sunita Gajre	44	Lecturer	This thesis has explained that while studying the past in history, just as the forts, forts, and fortifications of different cities are important, the various departments in the army are also very important.

LIBRARIES AND MUSEUMS

One of the most important tools for researching any subject and obtaining a Ph.D. degree are the tools, both physical and literary in nature. As my thesis required both types of tools, I collected information by visiting important museums and libraries so that I could complete my thesis in a research methodology.

A) Museum:

1. Dr. Pramod Borade visited the weapon museum at Lonavla, Pune. This weapon museum is based on the medieval period of the Marathas, so I got to know about many weapons like swords, shields, spears and daggers in this museum.
2. Kari was the native village of Kanhoji Jedhe during Shiva period where he was a great warrior. The heirs of Kanhoji Jedhe also visited for field survey and information was found about the restored Jedhe castle, swords, armour, cannon balls where his heirs live today, in a village.

3. Deccan College Museum.

In the ancient museum of the college, prehistoric objects of caste weapons are found. I understood what are the uses of hand tools. While studying the Marathas it was seen, how humans in weapons progressed.

4. Dayanand College Solapur has a museum of history department; it has a collection of statues, coins, weapons, documents and hero stones.

A) Libraries:

1. Pune Archives

The archives are there in a stone building near the railway station in Pune. All the unpublished documents on the Maratha period are collected here. It was useful for my research as I got unpublished Modi papers from Daptar number related to the subject.

2. Bharat Itihaas Sanshodhak Mandal, Pune

Sadashiv Pethe, in Pune has this grand library of history. All the books of primary level are here for my subject. For the subject I frequently visited this museum and referred books.

3. Pune Nagar Vachnalay

This library has a collection of books on various subjects and many of them are available on their website. I used the actual library and their website for my thesis and found this library inspiring

4. Hirachand Nemchand Vachnalay, Solapur

Various books in this library were useful to me for the thesis, apart from this library in Solapur, there are many old and primary, secondary books available which was very useful for the thesis.

CHAPTER - 4

Analysis and Interpretation

Historical Background of the Maratha Army

Introduction:

The Maratha Army is an extremely extensive and significant topic of study that warrants detailed study and analysis. A quick review of the Middle Age for better context and background is hence presented, keeping in mind that the Maratha Army existed under what is now known as the Medieval Age of Indian history. No consensus exists on the exact time period of the Medieval Age. However, history can be studied according to the time period, personalities of the era, and context; history studied on the basis of context and personalities is known to have yielded limited results, whereas studying it from the viewpoint of a particular time period has always proven more effective.

According to this method, then, the Medieval Age can be understood to fall between 1206 AD and 1818 AD. While the period between 1206 AD and 1526 AD is considered to be the 'Early Medieval Age', the period till 1818 AD is known as the 'Late Medieval Age', which is when the Maratha Army is thought to have existed.

1.1 *Sultanshahi*: Emergence of Islam and Islamic Rule in India:

Mohammad Ibn Qassim is credited with ushering in the presence of Islam in India in around 712 AD. Backed by Central Asia, he conquered India starting with the Sindh province.¹ This was followed by an invasion by Mohammad Ghazni in 1001AD.² It is believed that he carried out a total of seventeen invasions in the country, in spite of which he was unable to find any long-term success. Mohammad Ghori then attempted to conquer India, his first invasion dating to around 1176 AD. His invasion attempts continued for thirty more years, but none led to sustained success.³ Various Sultans nevertheless continued their attempts to attack and conquer India between A.D.1206 to A.D.1226. In 1206, it was Qutb ud Din Aibak who successfully established his own rule on Indian territory. This period was marked by the rule of five dynasties: Ghulam,

¹ G.S. Sardesai, *Musalmani Riyasat*, Vol.1, Popular Publications, Mumbai, 2012, PP. 57 – 59.

² Ibid, PP. 62 – 74.

³ Ibid, PP. 80 - 82.

Khilji, Tughlaq, Sayyid and Lodi. The first battle of Panipat on 21 April 1526 led to the end of the rule of the Sultans in India.⁴

2. Beginning of the Mughal Rule:

Northern India was ruled by the Mughals from A.D.1526 to A.D.1707 starting with Babar and continuing with Humayun, Akbar, Jehangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. It was the British who put an end to their rule and dominance in 1856, as reviewed in great detail by G.S. Sardesai in his book *Musalmani Riyasat*, Vol.2. Mughal rule in India can be divided into two parts: the 'Glorious Period' (1526-1707) and the 'Inactive or Dormant Period' (1707-1856). Bahadur Shah II is known to be the last Mughal emperor in India.⁵ Despite its brutal end, one cannot deny the fact that they held their fort with incredible dominance in the country for many years.

Running concurrently with the Mughal rule was the establishment of the Bahmani Kingdom in Southern India in A.D.1347. Gulbarga and Bidar served as the headquarters of the kingdom during the rule of the Tughlaq dynasty. Subsequently, the kingdom was divided into five '*Shahyas*' or sub-dynasties: *Barid Shahi*, *Imad Shahi*, *Nizam Shahi*, *Adil Shahi* and *Qutub Shahi*. By this point the Muslims had established total dominance all across India. Abu Hassan Qutub Shah was the last Bahmani ruler. He was defeated by Aurangzeb in 1687 A.D and kept him captive in the Daulatabad Fort, effectively bringing an end to the Bahmani kingdom.⁶

3. Traditions of the Hindu Kingdoms:

This leads to the question "Did the Hindus not rule India anywhere at this point?" There have been various instances throughout Southern India of the successful establishment of numerous Hindu kingdoms. The Yadava dynasty established the Hindu Kingdom in Devgiri. The Yadava dynasty began with Yadav Bhillam and ended in 1318 during the rule of King Ramadeva. The rule of the Yadavas marked the 'golden years' of Devgiri⁷

⁴ Ibid, P. 181.

⁵ S.R. Sharma, *Mughal Empire in India*, Educational Publishers Agra, 1934, PP. 372 - 373.

⁶ G.S. Sardesai, *Musalmani Riyasat*, Vol.1, Popular Publications, Mumbai, 2012, PP. 270 – 271.

⁷ Pandit Mahadev Shastri Joshi, *Bhartiya Sanskriti Kosh*, Vol. 4, Bhartiya Sanskriti Kosh Mandal, Pune, 1994, PP. 427-430

In the aftermath of the end of the Yadava dynasty, the Vijayanagara kingdom was formed by the river Tungabhadra. Between 1326A.D and 1565A.D, the Vijayanagara kingdom dominated the entirety of southern India. The kingdom was brought to an end after a rigorous war at Talikota under the reign of Emperor Ramraya.⁸

This way, two Hindu kingdoms had been conquered and destroyed at the hands of the Muslim forces. Inspired by these events, Chatrapati Shivaji Maharaj founded the Hindavi Kingdom or '*Hindavi Swarajya*' in Maharashtra in the 17th century. Chatrapati Shivaji Raje belonged to the Shisode clan of Northern India. His ancestors had settled in southern India under the name *Bhosale*. Starting from Babaji Bhosale, followed by Maloji and Shahji, the clan is thought to have been employed under the Nizam Shahi dynasty. Shivaji Maharaj was born on 19 February 1630A.D to Shahaji Raje and Jizabai at the Shivneri Fort, located around 50 miles away from present-day Pune.

Shivaji Maharaja's tireless efforts shook the very foundation of the Yavani rulers in the South and the Mughal rulers in the North. Chatrapati Shivaji Maharaj performed his own coronation in Raigad in 1647A.D. The Hindavi Kingdom he established was a genuine and legitimate threat to all the Yavan forces.⁹

4. The Maratha Army under Chatrapati Shivaji Maharaj:

Various factors coalesced in his favour when Chatrapati Shivaji Maharaj founded the Hindavi Kingdom in 1647AD, the chief one being his army. In the medieval age, the army was the single biggest factor, the strength of which determined the very foundation of kingdoms. The ruler whose army was the mightiest would exert dominance on the other kingdoms.

The significance of the army can be corroborated through many historic texts, such as the '*Kautilya Arthashastra*' by '*Arya Chanakya*' goes into great detail about various army strategies, such as how and when to attack, as well as the various types of wars and weapons.¹⁰ Similarly, in chapter four of the book '*Shukraniti*' the following words

⁸ Pandit Mahadev Shastri Joshi, *Bhartiya Sanskriti Kosh*, Vol. 8, Bhartiya Sanskriti Kosh Mandal, Pune, 1994, PP. 655 – 663.

⁹ Krishna Rao Arjun Keluskar, *Kshitrya Kulavtans Chatrapati Shivaji Maharajanche charitra*, Mumbai, 1920, PP. 59, 417.

¹⁰ Veena Hardas, *Arya Chanakya: Vibhutimatva Kaarya V Rajkiy Tatvadnyan*, Part 2, Kal prakashan, Pune, 1998, PP. 317 – 341.

found: "सैन्याद्विना नैवराज्यं न धनं न पराक्रमः" meaning that neither power, wealth nor conquests can be possible without an army.¹¹

Among such books, the book 'Agyapatra' written in the Shivakalin period holds special significance. Written by Ramchandra Pant Amatya, it is the first known book solely dedicated to the topic of the army in the context of the rule of Chatrapati Shivaji Maharaj and his administration. The Hindavi Kingdom that he established in the 17th century proved to be the perfect counter to the rule of the Muslims, which was then at its dominant peak in Maharashtra and throughout the country. The Maratha Empire was officially anointed at Raigad during this time, making it prudent to recognise the contribution of Shivaji Maharaj while studying the Maratha Army.

During this period, the army was structured into two: the cavalry and the infantry. The personal cavalry of Chatrapati Shivaji Maharaj comprised 80,000 riders, while 25,000 riders made up the cavalry of the chevalier. An estimated 1,00,000-foot soldiers (the *mavalas* and *hetkaris*) formed the infantry. The names of the chevaliers and commanders-in-chief can be found in the book 'Kshatriya Kulwants Chatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Yanche Charitra' by Keluskar.¹²

Keluskar in his book has also written about the armada of ships, boats and cattle that the army possessed, nearing thousand in count.¹³ Shivaji Maharaj had also built numerous forts, which were of three types: *bhuikot* (built on the ground), *dongri* (built on a hill), *sagari* (built by the sea). V.K Bhavé says that Shivaji Maharaj formed cavalries, infantries, navy and artilleries and built new forts and captured old ones, primarily for the purposes of ruling, acquiring wealth, conquests, as well as for the security of the empire territory.¹⁴

Shivaji Maharaj also put in great efforts to ensure that the army functioned efficiently and systematically, even overseeing the army-related policies, the wage system, and the consistent maintenance of overall discipline within the army. There is also a mention of the king having an army of elephants (around 1260), even though they are not thought to have been used during battles, since given the geography of Maharashtra, they were often fought on hilltops. Instead, they could be found in all their majestic glory by the gates of the forts.

¹¹ V. K. Bhavé, Shivrajya v Shivkaal (Shivkaalin Maharashtra), Narayan Vasudev Bhavé, Pune, 1957, P. 88.

¹² Krishna Rao Arjun Keluskar, Kshatriya Kulavants Chatrapati Shivaji Maharajanचे charitra, Op.cit, PP. 615 - 616.

¹³ Ibid, PP. 615 – 616.

¹⁴ V. K. Bhavé, Shivrajya v Shivkaal (Shivkaalin Maharashtra), Op.cit, P. 188.

Additionally, around one thousand two hundred camels are also believed to have been part of the armada, most of them captured from the opposing sides while fighting wars. However, the most active parts of the army were the cavalries and infantries. Shivaji Maharaj had made painstaking efforts to strategize and train the army against different kinds of enemies and their fighting styles.

5. The Maratha Army during Chatrapati Sambhaji and Chatrapati Rajaram:

The army did not undergo any fundamental changes under the rule of Sambhaji Maharaj. Most notably, this period also marked the nine-year long battle fought by the Marathas against Aurangzeb. Such was the acumen of Shivaji Maharaj that Sambhaji Maharaj did not feel the need or the necessity to make any changes within the army. After the assassination of Sambhaji Maharaj, his younger son Rajaram Maharaj ascended to the throne. This period was marked by a steady decline of both the Marathas as well as the Badshahi rule. In order to retain all the prominent ministers and commanders-in-chief, King Rajaram started the *vetandari* system, or the system of inheritance. This caused a huge shift in the way the army was operated as compared to the way it functioned during the times of Chatrapati Shivaji Maharaj. After the death of Rajaram due to a heart condition caused by blood clots on 2 March 1700A.D at the Sinhagad Fort,¹⁵ the reins of the empire went into the hands of his wife, Maharani Tarabai. Previously, Sambhaji Maharaj had been murdered in cold blood on 11 March 1679AD by Aurangzeb near the Bheema-Indrayani Sangam in Tulapur.¹⁶

The guerrilla warfare method pioneered by Chatrapati Shivaji Maharaj proved most beneficial to the Marathas during this period as confirmed by many texts written during this period.

6. Emergence of the Peshwas:

The years 1707 to 1818 are considered to be the years of the 'Peshwai Rule'. The end of the 'Shivkalin Rule' and the beginning of the Peshwa rule can be attributed to the death of Aurangzeb. King Rajaram's wife Maharani Tarabai headed the Maratha rule from 1700 to 1707. At around twenty-four years of age, she gave a fierce retort to the aging Badshah, fighting tooth and nail, forcing him to retreat and cancel his plan to conquer the southern parts of India. The poet Devdutt describes this event perfectly through his words:

¹⁵ G.S. Sardesai, Musalmani Riyasat, Vol. 2, Popular Publications, Pune, 2010, P. 188.

¹⁶ Ibid, PP. 239 – 250.

"दिल्ली झाली दीनवाणी, दिल्लीशाचे गेले पाणी,
ताराबाई रामराणी भद्रकाली कोपली".¹⁷

The exponential development of a complex network of communication among the Marathas single-handedly foiled the grand plans of the Badshah. While camping in Ahmednagar, he decided to return northwards. While in Ahmednagar, his health began deteriorating rapidly. The result was utter chaos amongst his ministers and family. Finally, dejected by his defeat, the aged Aurangzeb died on Friday, 20 February 1707A.D, which also brought an end to the age of the Marathas and gave rise to the Peshwas.

The long-awaited return of Shahu Maharaj, the son of Chatrapati Sambhaji Maharaj to Maharashtra after being held captive by Aurangzeb on 5 November 1713 was a good sign for the Marathas. Aurangzeb, who had entered Maharashtra with the intention of overthrowing the Hindavi Kingdom, stayed in Maharashtra for as many as twenty-seven years before dying after suffering a crushing defeat in 1707AD near Aurangabad. After murdering Sambhaji Maharaj, he had kept his wife Queen Yesubai and their son Shahu in captivity since 1689A.D.

It was only eighteen years later in 1707 that Shahu Maharaj was eventually freed. Within the same period, Chatrapati Rajaram and his wife Queen Tarabai had ably governed the Hindavi Kingdom. King Rajaram had died on 2 March 1700, hence when Shahu Maharaj returned, Queen Tarabai was in charge of the kingdom. The start of the Peshwai rule is marked by the emancipation of Shahu Maharaj.

6.1 Chatrapati Shahu Maharaj:

Grandson of the founder of the Hindavi Kingdom, Chatrapati Shivaji Maharaj and son of Sambhaji Maharaj and Queen Yesubai, Shahu was born on 18 May 1682 in Gangawali, northern Konkan.¹⁸

He was born during the war between Aurangzeb and the Marathas. Chatrapati Sambhaji Maharaj was assassinated in 1689A.D. In order to prevent Aurangzeb from completely overthrowing the Maratha Empire, as an act of diplomacy, Queen Yesubai agreed to be

¹⁷ Sadashiv Sivde, Ranragini Tararani, Snehal Publication, 2017, PP. 111 – 112.

¹⁸ G.S. Sardesai, Marathi Riyasat, Vol. 3, Popular Publications, Pune, 2010, P. 35.

held captive by Aurangzeb along with her son Shahu, when he was merely seven years of age. Under captivity of the Badshah, his life was full of difficulties.

The captives had to follow Aurangzeb throughout Maharashtra, wherever he went during his conquests. Sardesai hence writes that Shahu's time with Aurangzeb was riddled with cruelties, atrocities and tough and unstable living conditions. Both Shahu and Queen Yesubai were present in Aurangabad during Aurangzeb's death. Predicting that Queen Tarabai would revolt and protest, the army of Aurangzeb orchestrated the release of Shahu near Doraha, a village near the banks of the river Narmada.

Realising that he was about to be freed, Chhatrapati Shahu corresponded with various Maratha ministers through letters and gathered a large amount of support. As the Mughals predicted, a bitter rivalry and struggle broke out between Tarabai and Shahu, in which the latter emerged victorious, which resulted in the Maratha Empire being broken into two factions: Shahu Maharaj began ruling Satara, while Tarabai was given charge of Kolhapur. This division of the empire also led to a division of the kingdom and the army.

6.2 The Coronation of Chhatrapati Shahu:

After almost a year of political and personal struggles, Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj reached Satara, where he decided to perform his own coronation, which took place on 12 January 1708. He also formed an 'Ashtpradhan Mantri Mandal', and appointed Bahiropan Moreshwar as Peshwa. During Shivaji Maharaj's rule, no official was appointed on the basis of lineage or inheritance.

However, this rule was soon broken after Chatrapati Rajaram introduced the salary system and started appointing officials on the basis of their lineage. Under forty-two years of Chatrapati Shahu Maharaj's rule, the authority of the title 'Chatrapati' had diminished, while the title of 'Peshwa' increased. ¹⁹ with the death of Shahu Maharaj on 15 December 1749, the Peshwai rule had officially started.

6.3 The Rise of the Peshwas:

The Maratha struggle for independence which started after the death of Sambhaji Maharaj ended eighteen years later with the release of his son Shahu from Mughal

¹⁹ Pramod Oak, Balaji Vishwanath Peshwe, Continental Publications, Pune, 2005, PP. 133 – 134.

captivity, and 1707 marked the beginning of Shahu Maharaj 's tenure as the king. The first Peshwa during Shahu Maharaj's rule, Bahiropanth Pingale, had proved unsuccessful in the struggle against Kanhoji Angre.

Soon after, Shahu Maharaj decided to appoint Balaji Vishwanath Bhat as the next Peshwa. An honest, hard-working and multi-talented individual from the Bhat family of Konkan, Shahu Maharaj reposed great faith in him, believing that he would prove extremely effective in settling all the conflicts that Kanhoji Angre had created. Hence, Bhat was officially appointed as Peshwa on 17 November 1713 in Manjri, a village near Pune. This is believed to have been the start of the Peshwa system.

Between 1713AD to 1818AD, a total of eight Peshwas were appointed. The Golden Age of Peshwai is believed to have been between 1712AD -1761AD. Balaji Vishwanath, Bajirao I, Balaji Bajirao aka Nana Saheb and Madhavrao, who was responsible for bringing the fledgling Peshwai rule back to its early glory after the battle of Panipat, are believed to have been the four most illustrious Peshwas. It was Bajirao who solidified the rule of the Peshwas in Maharashtra. He built the Shaniwar Wada in Pune, and declared the city to be the official administrative capital of the Marathas.

Balaji Bajirao transformed the city of Pune and played a key role in increasing its political, social, cultural, and commercial importance. Unfortunately, the battle of Panipat in 1761 proved to be a huge blow for the Peshwas. However, Madhavrao I, fondly known as '*Rudravatara*', reclaimed the lost glory of the kingdom. However, this was followed by a break in the authoritative tradition and a productive lull, with Peshwas such as Narayan Rao, Raghoba Dada, Sawai Madhavrao and Bajirao II coming to power. With each of them, the power of the Peshwas began to weaken. Nevertheless, starting from the Bhat family of Konkan, these eight Peshwas formed the years of the Peshwa rule for 105 years, from 1713AD to 1818AD.²⁰

It was during this period that the Marathi kingdom cemented its position as the mightiest across India. They also had a very significant role to play in the struggle against other foreign forces, including the Portuguese and the British. Various different forms of armies came into existence and flourished. With the Maratha army beginning to fight battles on the plains, new weaponry was invented. Artilleries gained increased

²⁰ G.S. Sardesai, *The Maratha Riyasat*, Vol. 3, Popular Publications, Pune, 2010, P. 55.

primacy. New factories for manufacturing weapons and artillery came up. Hence, it can be said that the Maratha army and developments related to it contributed greatly towards the rise of the Marathas to prominence. In spite of this, the Peshwas had to face defeat during the battle of Panipat in 1761A.D.

While the volatile situation that was created in the aftermath of the war soon stabilized, the Peshwas were had to face ordeals even more painful between 1772A.D and 1818A.D; the murder of Narayan Rao Peshwa, the unstable rule of Raghunath Rao, the ascension of Sawai Madhavrao to the throne at merely 40 days of age and his suicide at a young age and finally the rule of Bajirao Peshwa II, whose rule was largely ineffectual owing to the rise of the British Empire, which proved fatal to the Peshwai rule.

7. The reign of the Eight Peshwas:

For sake of research on the chosen topic of study, i.e., the Army during the Maratha Empire, the period of Maratha rule has been considered to be 1707A.D to 1818A.D. To study the army of this period in detail, it is very important to delve into the rule of the Peshwas. With every Peshwa, there was a division within the army, which is yet another key element to be studied. The names of the eight Peshwas are as follows.

1. Peshwe: Balaji Vishwanath (1713 to 1720)
2. Peshwa Bajirao I (1720 to 1740)
3. Peshwa Balaji Bajirao (1740 to 1761)
4. Peshwa Madhav Rao I (1761 to 1772)
- 5 Peshwa Narayan Rao (1772 to 1773)
- 6 Peshwa Raghunath Rao (1773 to 1774)
- 7 Peshwa Sawai Madhav Rao (1774 to 1795)
- 8 Peshwa Bajirao II (1796 to 1818)

7.1 The First Peshwa: Balaji Vishwanath:

Balaji Vishwanath was born in 1660 into the Bhat clan of Shreevardhan, Konkan.²¹ This part of Konkan was under the rule of the Habshis or Siddi, who

²¹ Pramod Oak, Peshwe Gharanyacha Itihaas, Continental Publications, Pune, 2001, P. 79.

suspected that the family was in support of Angre and therefore often troubled them. Harboursing immense respect for the Hindavi Kingdom or Swarajya, Balaji Vishwanath began aiming for serving his country through working for the kingdom, and soon left his home in Konkan along with his family, fed up of the atrocities and mistreatment meted out to him and his family at the hands of Siddi.

When Siddi found out, he captured all of them in Anjanvel. The Bhanu family helped the Bhats to escape from Siddi. After selling a few possessions, Balaji was finally released. Grateful to the Bhanus, the Bhats established a closer relationship with them. Balaji Vishwanath soon started living and working in Saswad under Ambaji Pant Purandare. His honesty, hard-working and loyalty had earned him a good reputation.

Soon, Dhanaji Jadhav, Queen Tarabai's chief of army, who was acquaintances with Ambaji Pant, employed him, and this marked Balaji Vishwanath's official entry into the Hindavi Swarajya. From 1695 AD to 1699AD, when Aurangzeb had set up a camp by the banks of the river Bheem in Brahmapuri, Vishwanath bravely entered it and met Queen Yesubai and her son Shahu, who were held captive by the Mughal ruler. He was made the head of the settlement accounts. In 1707A.D, Shahu was released from captivity, and this sparked off an internal power struggle between Tarabai and Shahu, which is when Balaji Vishwanath left the faction headed by Tarabai and joined the one headed by Shahu, a move in which Brahmendra Swami is believed to have played a key role.²² Balaji Vishwanath was given the title of *Senakarata* (warrior) by Shahu Maharaj in 1711A.D, and upon the recommendation of Ambaji Pant Purandare and Parashuram Pant Pratinidhi, he was given the title of Peshwa in 1713A.D. Pratinidhi gave the following order:

"यांजकडे फौजेचे वळण आहे. त्यास पेशवाईची वस्त्रे द्यावी." ²³

on 17 November 1713A.D, Balaji Vishwanath was officially appointed Peshwa in Manjari near Pune. He was entitled to various equipments and powers as a Peshwa and was also to be paid the equivalent salary of the *sardeshmukh* (tax collector) of five villages. ²⁴ Regarding this, one finds a reference in the diary of Wad:

"पेशजी सेनाकर्ते म्हणोन हुदा होता. तो दूर करून पेशवाई सांगितली.

²² Sammelan Vrut-3, Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal, Pune, (shake)1841, P. 86.

²³ Pramod Oak, Peshwe Gharanyacha Itihaas, Op.cit, P. 83.

²⁴ G.S. Sardesai, Marathi Riyasat, Vol. 3, Op.cit, PP. 100 – 101.

Right from the start of his tenure from 1713A.D, it is evident that Balaji Vishwanath worked hard to stabilize Shahu Maharaj's throne. Among his chief responsibilities were stifling dissent from those on Queen Tarabai's side, and crushing the rebel ministers who had turned rogue in light of the internal Maratha struggle, in addition to establishing and stabilising the military and economy and overseeing the fair transfer and implementation of the donations given by the Mughals to Shahu Maharaj in the form of *Chauth* (tax). In short, it was his responsibility to resolve all the pressing issues in the way of Shahu Maharaj's rule. Balaji Vishwanath performed all his duties diligently and expertly brought much-needed stability to Shahu Maharaj's kingdom by 1720. Tarabai had by then established a kingdom of her own in Kolhapur. Most notably, Balaji Vishwanath was instrumental in getting the rogue chief of the armada, Kanhoji Angre, to surrender to King Shahu and accept his follies. Vishwanath had to undergo a lot of misery in tracking the rebel and corrupt ministers and bringing them to justice; he was imprisoned in the fortress owned by Damaji and Rajaji Thorat near Hingangaon. ²⁶All his efforts and sacrifices earned him an enviable degree of respect in the court of Shahu Maharaj. From 23 May 1719, Balaji Vishwanath began living in Saswad. He had not only single-handedly curbed the dominance enjoyed by minister Sayyed Bandhu and Nizam, but he also managed to exact donations collected in the form of the Chauth tax under his authority as *sardeshmukh* from the Mughals. He even risked his life meeting Queen Yesubai and Shahu when they were under the captivity of the Mughals and helped them regain their freedom. After an illustrious tenure, Balaji Vishwanath Bhat passed away on 2 April 1720 in Saswad. ²⁷ In honour of his loyal service, Shahu Maharaj bestowed the title of '*Atul Parakrami Sevak*' or 'the incomparable and mighty pursuivant'. ²⁸

7.2: The Second Peshwa: Bajirao I

Such was the trust reposed by Shahu Maharaj in the Bhat family of Konkan thanks to the loyal service of Balaji Vishwanath, he ignored all opposition and made

²⁵ Ganesh Chimnaji Wad, Selections from the Satara Raja's and the Peshwa's Diaries I, Shahu Chatrapati, Pune, P. 42.

²⁶ Dhadphale yadi varshik iti vrutt, Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal, Pune, (shake) 1835, P. 382.

²⁷ Pramod Oak, Peshwe Gharanyacha Itihaas, Op.cit, P. 85.

²⁸ G.S. Sardesai, The Peshwa Daftar, Vol. 30, P. 236.

Bajirao Bhat Ballal or Bajirao I the next Peshwa, officially appointed him on Thursday 17 April 1720 at Masur, a village near Karad. The official announcement reads as follows:

“पेशजी बाळाजी विश्वनाथ मुख्य प्रधान होते. ते मृत्यू पावले. सबब त्यांचे पुत्र बाजीराव बल्लाळ यास पेशवाई सांगितली. छ.२० जमादिलारवर सुरसन अशरीन मया वअलफ मुक्काम वगैरे १३००० सालीना होन शिवाय सरंजामी महाल वगैरे.”²⁹

at the time of his appointment, Bajirao was only 19 years of age. He was born on Sunday 18 August in Duber. He had one brother, Chimaji Appa and two sisters, Bhiubai and Anubai. From the age of twelve, he would accompany his father on his military expeditions.

As a result, he was familiar with the politics of the north as well as the south. The rule of the Nizam in the south, the threat of the British and the Portuguese in the west, and rebel ministers were his greatest challenges as Peshwa. At the same time, the conflict between Shahu Maharaj and Tarabai persisted. His other responsibilities included collecting the Chauth tax. Strategically defeating enemies one by one, Bajirao soon established himself as a capable Peshwa all across India. He also made the Nizam suffer crushing defeats at the Palkhed and Bhopal expeditions. He brought all the ministers in the South under his control and helped stabilise the Maratha throne in Bundelkhand by assisting King Chhatrasal in his fight against the Mughal minister Bangshah and also managed to secure the third and missing part of the total income Bundelkhand back to the Marathas.³⁰ Bajirao also provided a befitting reply to the chief of army, Trayambak Rao Dabhade during the battle of Dabhai on 1 April 1731. Now aiming to extend control to the north, he undertook an expedition in 1741 A.D. This was when Nadir Shah of Iran had also reached Delhi to capture it. The Peshwas had gathered its forces to fight Nadir Shah with full rigour. However, before they could reach Delhi, he had already left. After solidifying the name of the Marathas as the greatest and the mightiest in all of India, Bajirao I passed away on 28 April 1740 in Raverkhedi by the river Narmada.

Credited with vastly expanding the Maratha Empire, strengthening the cavalries, founding the great army and increasing the might of Shahu Maharaj's empire

²⁹ Ganesh Chimnaji Wad, Selections from the Satara Raja's and the Peshwa's Diaries I, Op.cit, PP. 42 – 43.

³⁰ Pramod Oak, Peshwe Gharanyacha Itihaas, Op. cit, PP. 95 – 96.

manyfold, he is considered by many as the greatest commander in chief. Throughout his tenure, he didn't lose a single battle, and made pioneering use of guerrilla warfare techniques. He is still remembered as one of the greatest warriors from the country.³¹

7.3: The Third Peshwa: Balaji Bajirao aka Nana Saheb

The decision to appoint the son of Bajirao I, Balaji Bajirao, also known as Nana Saheb was met with widespread doubt and scepticism. However, with Shahu Maharaj having decided to appoint Peshwas exclusively from the Bhat household, Nana Saheb was officially sworn in as the next Peshwa on 25 June 1740A.D in Satara. The official announcement read:

"पेशजी बाजीराव पंडित प्रधान होते. ते वैशाख बहुल द्वादशी रौद्र नाम संवत्सरे रोजी मृत्यू पावले. सबब त्यांचे पुत्र बाळाजी बाजीराव पंडित प्रधान यास पेशवाई सांगितली ११ रवीलावर सुरसन इहिदे अबन मया व अलफ राजशके ६७ रौद्र नाम संवत्सरे आषाढ बहुल द्वादशी सौम्यवासर मुक्काम शाहूनगर १३००० सालीना होन शिवाय सरंजामी महाल वगैरे." ³²

In addition, he was also given a share in the lands and the revenue of three villages.³³ Nana Saheb was born on 16 December 1721 in Sate, a village near Wadgaon in Nanemawala. He spent his childhood in Satara and Pune. He was tutored and mentored by Ramchandra Baba Shenavi.³⁴ Under the able guidance of Chimaji Appa and his father Bajirao I, Nana Saheb learnt the art of political administration and the military in great detail. In fact, during the tenure of Bajirao I, he had already served as a minister of the military and he was honoured with stamp and dagger.³⁵ Nana Saheb had to undergo the swearing in ceremony twice, since the first time after the ceremony at Satara, he was dismissed by Chh. Shahu Maharaj due to the efforts of those opposing him, namely Babuji Naik Baramatikar and Raghoji Bhosale Nagpurkar, and reinstated, which increased Nana Saheb's importance.

Nana Saheb's tenure can be divided into two phases: during the rule of Chh. Shahu Maharaj and after his death. Chh. Shahu Maharaj died on 15 December 1749. It was Nana Saheb who in the aftermath placed Ramraja, the grandson of Tarabai on the throne

³¹ Ibid, PP. 98 – 99.

³² Ganesh Chimnaji Wad, Selections from the Satara Raja's and the Peshwa's Diaries I, Op.cit, P. 43.

³³ Rajwade, Viswanath Kashinath (ed.), Mrathyanchya Itihasachi Sadhne, Vol.2, Shankar Shrikrishna Dev, 1831, Pune, P. 89.

³⁴ Pramod Oak, Peshwe Gharanyacha Itihaas, Op.cit, P. 101.

³⁵ V.L. Bhawe, Marathi Daftar, Rumal, Part 2, P. 79.

at Satara. This was followed by an agreement between the Mughals and the Marathas in 1751A.D, under which the Mughals gave Nana Saheb complete authority as tax collector over the Chauth tax in regions governed by them as expenses for the Maratha Army. Fighting from the side of the Marathas against rogue ministers, he helped expand the limits of the Maratha Empire till the Tungabhadra River. In 1757.

Nana Saheb reclaimed the Shivneri Fort from the Mughals. He was responsible for transforming the city of Pune, driving its socio-cultural growth and significance, and successfully making it the country's major financial centre. Amidst all these successes, the Marathas suffered a devastating defeat at Panipat on 14 January 1761. Unable to bear the grief and shock, Nana Saheb died on 23 June 1761 near Parvati. One of his most notable achievements as Peshwa was destroying the armour under Kanhoji Angre with the help of the British. The tradition of firing cannons in the night and early in the morning was started by Nana Saheb. ³⁶

7.4: The Fourth Peshwa: Madhavrao I

After the devastating battle of Panipat in 1761A.D which also resulted in Nana Saheb's death, there was a lot of speculation about the next Peshwa. While Raghunath Rao, also known as Raghoba Dada had long harboured ambitions to ascend to the throne, following the rule of giving over the state administration to the eldest, Madhav Rao, the second son of Nana Saheb, was officially made the fourth Peshwa at the age of sixteen on 20 July 1761. The official announcement reads as follows:

" इसने सितेन मया व अलफ शके १६८३ वृषा नाम संवत्सरे मिति आषाढ शुद्ध ५ बाळाजी बाजीराव मृत्यू पावले सबब माधवराव बल्लाळ यास हुजूरची वख्ते दिली वहिवाट वर्षे १२." ³⁷

Alongside him, Sakharam Babu Bokil was appointed Chief Treasurer and Neelkanth Mahadev or Aaba Purandare was appointed to a corresponding post.³⁸ Having acquired this post at a very young age, everyone was sceptical about Madhavrao's abilities, though he was able to prove his mettle during the battles of Urali, Ghodnadi and Rakshasbhuvan, further proving the strength and dominance of the Maratha army. Madhavrao spent most of his tenure fighting wars; the Nizam was

³⁶ Pramod Oak, Peshwe Gharanyacha Itihaas, Op.cit, P.109.

³⁷ Ganesh Chimnaji Wad, Selections from the Satara Raja's and the Peshwa's, Diaries I, Op.cit, P. 43.

³⁸ G.S. Sardesai, Marathi Riyasat, Vol. 5, Popular Publications, Pune, 2010, P. 28.

constantly attacking the Marathas, and in retaliation during the battle of Rakshasbhuvan, Madhavrao caused the former such a huge defeat that the Nizam refrained from attacking the empire for the next twenty-five years. With the dominance of the Marathas established by Chatrapati Shivaji Maharaj at Karnataka slipping away, Madhavrao took it upon himself to severely punish Haider Ali, their chief enemy attempting to capture Karnataka. Determined to remove the blot that was the battle of Panipat on Maratha glory, Madhavrao successfully lived up to the task with his sheer grit and assistance and support from trustworthy ministers.

However, the pressures of the huge responsibility he had shouldered since such a tender age and the physical strains he resultantly subjected himself to, his body gave way and Madhavrao succumbed to an intestinal infection on 16 November 1772 A.D at the age of twenty-eight in the Ganpati temple near Pune. His wife Ramabai committed Sati.³⁹

The tenure of Madhavrao lasted only eleven years. He was renowned as an extremely capable military commander and a man with an impeccable sense of justice. Madhavrao is known to have started a number of ammunition gun manufacturing factories in Pune, Otur, Nashik and Bagalkot. The loss of Madhavrao proved to be a blow even greater than the defeat at Panipat. Historian Grant Duff says, "The plains of Panipat were not more fatal to the Maratha Empire than the early end of this excellent prince."⁴⁰

7.5: The Fifth Peshwa: Narayan Rao

Narayan Rao, the younger brother of Madhav Rao ascended to the throne next. When Madhavrao's health deteriorated during his stay at Theur, speculations started arising about the next Peshwa. While everyone predicted it to be Raghoba Dada, Madhav Rao had declared Narayan Rao to be his successor, and hence he was appointed as the fifth Peshwa on 12 December 1772, as mentioned in the official appointment letter of announcement:

" शके १६९४ नंदननाम संवत्सरे मार्गशीर्ष मासी माधवराव बल्लाळ मृत्यू पावले सबब वख्त्रे झाली वहिवाट महिने नऊ." ⁴¹

³⁹ Pramod Oak, Peshwe Gharanyacha Itihaas, Op.cit, P.121.

⁴⁰ Duff Grant, History of the Marathas, Vol. I, London, 1921, P. 577

⁴¹ Ganesh Chimnaji Wad, Selections from the Satara Raja's and the Peshwa's Diaries I, Op.cit, P. 43.

Born on 11 August 1755, Narayam Rao was the third son of Nana Saheb. Having extensively studied Sanskrit, language, and poetry, he had also acquired considerable political administration experience from a young age. He was made a treasurer by his elder brother Madhavrao in 1770A.D, which had displeased both the chief treasurer Sakharam Bapu Bokil as well as Raghoba Dada, who was unhappy with Madhavrao choosing Narayan Rao as the next Peshwa. As a result, both he and his wife Anandi Bai developed bitterness and a sense of resentment towards Narayan Rao. The fact that Narayan Rao was irrational, impulsive and even immature as a ruler did not help matters. This led to internal politics in the family, each conspiring against the other. Narayan Rao also made a lot of missteps, such as imprisoning Raghoba Dada and Anandi Bai, stripping the Prabhus of their rights to study the Vedas and perform Vedic rituals, taking away most of the powers and responsibilities of Sakharam Bapu, unnecessarily intervening in the Nagpurkar-Bhosale case, etc. All these actions invited widespread criticism, and Narayan Rao grew unpopular among the general public in Pune.

In April 1773, when Narayan Rao was visiting his mother in Gangapur, there was a huge conspiracy which involved even diplomats and disgruntled guards of the Maratha army, which resulted in the assassination of Narayan Rao on Monday 30 August 1773 at 1:30 pm, in broad daylight. This incident is considered to be one of the most shameful in Peshwai history. Trayambak Rao with the help of a Telangi Brahmin took Narayan Rao's body through the southern gate of the Shaniwar Wada and performed his last rites at Lakadi Pool by the river Mula the same night. Vijay naam sanvatsar, Bhadrapada month shudhh 13 shake 1695, (Marathi calendar year) was the day of the murder.⁴²

7.6: The Sixth Peshwa: Raghunath Rao

After the brutal murder of Narayan Rao, Raghoba Dada assumed power as the next Peshwa. However, he did not ascend to the throne through legitimate means, as seen from this official announcement letter:

"शके १६९५ विजय नामसंवत्सरे साली माधवराव नारायणराव यांस रघुनाथ बाजीराव यांनी मारून बहिवाट आपणच केली. अजमासें महिने ६. वखे दिल्याचा उल्लेख नाही." ⁴³

⁴² Pramod Oak, Peshwe Gharanyacha Itihaas, Op.cit, P. 155.

⁴³ Ganesh Chimnaji Wad, Selections from the Satara Raja's and the Peshwa's Diaries I, Op.cit, P. 44.

This led Sardesai to refer to Raghoba as the '*Kalipurush*' of the Peshwai. Finally, on 10 October 1773, Raghoba was appointed the next Peshwa. When he was out of Pune for the ordaining ceremony, Barbhai started conspiring against him. All the diplomats, even the chief justice Ram Shastri Prabhune had found out that it was Raghunath Rao who had plotted to kill Narayan Rao, and that meant he had lost support and sympathy from all sides when Barbhais's forces attacked him and forced him to go on a run. In wake of this, the king of Satara officially stripped him of the title of Peshwa on 28 February 1774A.D. Raghoba then committed another grave mistake by entering into an agreement with the British at Surat on 6 March 1775A.D, which marked the entry and resulting interference of the British into Maratha administration.⁴⁴ The only silver lining was the birth of Sawai Madhavrao II.

In reality, Raghunath Rao was a very capable individual, having led multiple successful expeditions during his tenure as Peshwa. He was also very close to expanding the reach of the empire to the north. He was reverentially referred to as '*Raghobharari*', or "the mighty Raghoba". However, rather unfortunately, his greed for power not only cost the kingdom, but also his reputation and also wasted his calibre.

7.7: The Seventh Peshwa: Sawai Madhavrao

Even though Raghoba Dada had been made Peshwa after the death of Narayan Rao, no one wanted the latter to be in power. This set off a chain of plotting and conspiracies led by Barbhai, which further intensified when it was found that Narayan Rao's wife Gangabai was expecting; the conspiracy was that if she had a boy, he would be made the Peshwa, and should it be a girl, her husband would be the next Peshwa.

However, under no circumstances was Raghunath Rao to be allowed to remain in power. Fearing that Raghoba Dada and Anandi Bai would harm her, Gangabai was taken away to the Purandare Fort for safety. Nana Phadnis, Moroba Phadnis, Bhavan Rao Pratinidhi, Sakharam Bapu, Mahadji Shinde etc. were also believed to have been part of the conspiracy. After several unsuccessful attempts to kill Gangabai and her unborn child, she gave birth to a son on 18 April 1774A.D. He was named Sawai Madhavrao and made the seventh Peshwa on 28 May 1774A.D when he was forty days old. The diary of Wad mentions the following:

⁴⁴ Pramod Oak, *Peshwe Gharanyacha Itihaas*, Op.cit, PP. 181, 188

" १६९६ जय नाम संवत्सरे साली माधवराव नारायण यांचा जन्म पुरंदरी जाला. त्यापासून वहिवाट शके १७१७ राक्षस नाम संवत्सरे अश्विन अखेरपर्यंत झाली वर्षे २६ महिने ६." ⁴⁵

When he was three and a half years old, his mother Gangabai died. As a result, he was raised by Parvati Bai, Saguna Bai and Nana Fadanvis. After the conspiracy against Raghoba Dada by Barbhai succeeded, all the diplomats involved left Nana Fadanvis in charge and left for their respective postings. Sawai Madhavrao hence grew up under the authoritarian tutelage of Nana Fadanvis, receiving an extensive education in war strategy as well as politics and administration and as he came of age, the young Peshwa soon began performing his official duties and taking administrative decisions. Madhavrao also began corresponding with Bajirao II, son of Raghunath Rao, much to the displeasure of Nana Fadanvis, who had kept Bajirao captive in Junnar.

There were regular differences of opinion and disagreements between Nana Fadanvis and Madhavrao. It had always been the former's ambition to have complete control over the Peshwai rule, owing to which he tried to keep the Peshwa under his control by asserting his dominance. Unable to cope with the pressure, Madhavrao soon fell ill and on 27 October 1795 A.D, he jumped to his death from the deck of the Wada. His suicide sent shockwaves across the city, and by now it was evident that the Peshwai rule was on the brink of collapse. ⁴⁶

7.8: The Eighth Peshwa: Bajirao II

With no other direct successor in line, it seemed like only Bajirao II was the rightful heir to the throne of the Peshwai. However, he was in captivity in Junnar under Nana Fadanvis, who had conspired to throw his father out of power after the death of Narayan Rao, and harboured resentment and grudges against the family. He tried his best to prevent Bajirao from ascending to power, at one point even attempting to make Raghoba Dada's adopted son, Amrut Rao the Peshwa. However, his efforts proved unsuccessful, and Bajirao II was made the eighth Peshwa. He was born on 10 January 1775 A.D. Having spent the first twenty-two years of his life as a captive, he did not have extensive knowledge about war strategy or political administration. Coupled with the fact that Fadanvis continuously kept an eye on him throughout his imprisonment in

⁴⁵ Ganesh Chimnaji Wad, Selections from the Satara Raja's and the Peshwa's Diaries I, Op.cit, P. 44.

⁴⁶ Pramod Oak, Peshwe Gharanyacha Itihaas, Op.cit, P. 166.

Kopargaon, Anadavalli, Shivneri and Junnar meant that his personality development was stunted and he did not necessarily have all the qualities or capabilities of a leader or ruler. ⁴⁷ Bajirao II was made Peshwa on 4 December 1796, the ceremony was held at Hadapsar. The official announcement letter read:

" शके १७१७ राक्षस नाम संवत्सरे कार्तिक मासापासून बाजीराव रघुनाथ वहिवाट २२ वर्षे. शके १७३९ ईश्वरी नाम संवत्सरे अश्विन अखेर राज्यभ्रष्ट होऊन ब्रम्हावतीस." ⁴⁸

By the time Bajirao II assumed power, the Peshwai had gone into a steady decline. There was no unity between the ministers and no commanding authority over them either, due to which factions were rapidly created, and each minister started to aim for independence of his state. The number of enemies within the administration as well as outside was going out of control. The economy was crumbling. Bajirao II had also lost public support. The British, who had aimed to conquer all of India, were determined to break apart the Peshwai rule. After careful planning and plotting, the English forced Bajirao II to accept subsidiary forces on December 31 1802. ⁴⁹

This move signalled the end of sovereignty of the Marathas. Upon realising his mistake in 1815 A.D, he tried to take help from Brahmadesh to fight the British. ⁵⁰ When the third Anglo-Maratha war broke out, none of the ministers supported Bajirao. The final battle between the Marathas and the British was fought near Pandharpur in Gopalshti. The military commander in chief Bapu Gokhale was killed, and Bajirao II was completely defeated. On 3 June 1818 in Ashirgad near Dhulkot, he conceded his defeat. ⁵¹

The British had completely destroyed the Maratha Empire. Bajirao was sent to Vithur near Kanpur in northern India where he remained until his death on 28 January 1851 and he was entitled to a yearly pension of eight lakh rupees. Before his death, he had adopted Dhondopant or Nanasaheb Peshwa II. Hence, with this, the Peshwai rule came to an end.

⁴⁷ V.K. Rajwade, Marathyanchya itihaasachi sadhne, Vol.7, Mumbai, 1716, P. 8.

⁴⁸ Ganesh Chimnaji Wad, Selections from the Satara Raja's and the Peshwa's Diaries I, Op.cit, P. 44.

⁴⁹ Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Vol.18, Poona, 1885, P. 282.

⁵⁰ G.S. Sardesai, The Maratha Riyasat, Vol.3, Op.cit, P. 484

⁵¹ Jayashri Kulkarni, Uttar Peshwekaalin Nyayalain Tatve V Paddhti, Unpublished Thesis, 2011, Solapur University, Appendix - 3

8. Conclusion:

- 1) The army assembled by Chatrapati Shivaji Maharaj helped him challenge the Muslims, who had established their empire all over the country, and successfully established the Hindavi Swarajya.
- 2) Just like how the kingdom created by Chh.Shivaji Maharaj had many enemies within, the army was also divided into various parts.
- 3) The battle between Aurangzeb and Chh.Shivaji Maharaj will undoubtedly go in the annals of history as one of the greatest and most significant. It was with the help of the mighty Maratha army and guerrilla warfare that Chh. Shivaji was able to defeat the all-powerful Aurangzeb.
- 4) Like in the case of the Devagiri and Vijayanagara empires, the army system which was created, pioneered and modified by Chatrapati Shivaji Maharaj, Chatrapati Sambhaji Raje, Chatrapati Rajaram, Queen Tarabai Chatrapati Shahu was the cornerstone of the Maratha Empire.
- 5) This system was responsible for the emergence of the Peshwai rule, which is evident through the bearings it has of the '*Shivkal*' or the times of Chatrapati Shivaji Maharaj, which continued to influence the Peshwas for years.
- 6) The Maratha Army is also credited for helping the Peshwai tide over the difficult and unstable times under the rule of Chatrapati Shahu and Balaji Vishwanath.
- 7) The periods from the rule of Bajirao I and Madhavrao I were the pinnacle of the mighty Maratha Empire. Madhavrao succeeded in making up for the devastating loss caused by the battle of Panipat on the sheer strength of the army.
- 8) While the period after Madhavrao's rule was marked by an irreversible decline, it must be noted that the army continued to be consistently strong and robust; it was the leadership that faltered.
- 9) The Maratha Army had made undeniably significant contributions to every era of Maratha history.
- 10) From the times of Chatrapati Shivaji Maharaj to the reign of Bajirao II, the Maratha Army was the lynchpin or the backbone of the Maratha Empire.

Division of The Army

Introduction:

For the Study of Maratha Army during Peshwa period, a detailed review of the medieval period and the history of the Marathas was dealt with in the first chapter of the research project. In this chapter, we have to discuss the different parts of the Maratha Army. While studying any era and any kingdom in the world, one important point always needs to be taken into consideration, that is army, army or military system. Army has always been the backbone of any state. Treasury, council of ministers and land are important factors that definitely contribute to the statehood.

However, the army that is raised on the strength of the treasury and advice of the King's cabinet, is a proof of the King's strength and governance. In short, the implementation of the welfare and expansion plan of the kingdom was actually carried out by the army, so the army is the most important factor. In the Medieval period Marathas did not only aim to build an army but also created a legal part of the army. According to the policy of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj, a kingdom should have different army types to tackle different war tactics used by the enemy. That is why Maharaja divided the army into different parts. E.g.: Infantry, Cavalry, Elephant and Camel Troops, Navy and Body Guards. In order to defeat the enemy, the first four army divisions are required, similarly, bodyguards are essential.

Protection of the king or the ruler of the state has also become an important matter in every era.

There is a popular legend that Bajiprabhu Deshpande uttered the exclamation 'Lakh Maro pan Lakhacha Poshinda Na Maro' while fighting at Pawankhind.

Military: -

1. Before looking at the various departments of the military, here is a little information about the tradition of military education. If we look at the history of India from ancient period, it is seen that there was a good tradition of military and related education. Arya and Anarya always won victories with the help of superior armies against the background of Vedic wars. Arya's superior military system was also the reason why they were always victorious. Even during Ramayana and Mahabharata

period big wars were fought with the strength of army. In the ancient, medieval and modern times, because of strong military system wars, battles and victories were a continuous sequence of events. From the ancient rulers to the medieval period, Chhatrapati Shivarai, Bajirao Peshwa and all the Peshwas after them had won spectacular victories with the strength of the army and also to establish state and protect religion.

As 'battle' was a permanent feature in ancient and medieval times, war was the lifeblood of all youths. Some women were also a part of army. Even though there were no schools for soldiers in the field, they still received excellent training through family tradition. In short, it was and is even today the Indian tradition to raise and train soldiers.¹

2. The reference information is obtained from various ancient texts. E.g., Ramayana, Mahabharata, Kautilya's Arthashastra, Sukraniti Sar, Aadnyapatra, Vaad Rojnishi etc. Arthashastra written by Arya Chanakya in ancient times gives information about army, war, battles and various types of armies. Chanakya has given an excellent discussion about how the battlefield should be, along with infantry, cavalry, cavalry and elephants.² Kautilya gives good information on how to divide the army and the formation of the army on the actual battlefield which will ensure success.³

Although there are different types of armies, it gives good information about what army the king actually had. Any king has three types of armies: own, rented and of allies. But as much as one could rely on one's own soldiers, one could not rely on the rented army or on the army of a friend because these army used to run away as soon as the war started. The destruction of Italy is evidence of such an act of retreat by rented and friend's army.⁴

3. Following the ancient era, it is important to consider some mediaeval military instances. The Sultans' long-lasting military presence in India from 1206 AD to 1526 AD helped them maintain control over Delhi. Early sultans took their armies from their warlords, but Alauddin Khilji established the custom of building one's own army.

¹ Pandit Mahadev Shastri Joshi, Bharatiya Sanskriti Kosh, Vol.10, Bharatiya Sanskriti Kosh Mandal, Pune, 1989, PP. 132-133.

² Vina Hardas, Arya Chanakya Vibhutimattva Karya v Rajkiya tatvadnyan, Vol.2, Nagpur Kal Prakashan, Pune, 1988, PP. 319-334.

³ Ibid, PP. 339-341.

⁴ B. M. Kanitkar, Raja, Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune, 1962, PP. 49-51.

Elephants, cavalry, and infantry were crucial divisions for the sultans. When the Sultans grew the army, they had two objectives in mind. The first is maintaining internal harmony, and the second is defending the populace from outside assault. Wherever necessary for military purposes, forts were also erected.⁵

4. After the destruction of the Sultans in 1526, Mughal rule began. The Mughals ruled India for a long time from 1526 AD to 1857 AD. Before reviewing Mughals military system, if we look at the reasons for the decline of the Mughal monarchy, it seems that the constant wars and the empty treasury were the main reasons for the destruction of the Mughals, which means that the misuse of military power is also not appropriate.⁶ However, the reason why the Mughals ruled for such a long period of time was their efficient military system. A characteristic feature of Mughal military formation was its deliberate approach. Apart from this, the Mughals had different divisions of the army like infantry, elephants' troop, artillery, and warships.⁷

5. Chhatrapati Shivarai's military formation is considered an inspiring history. Chhatrapati Shivarai did the task of liberating the dependent region and the people from the muslim rule only with the strength of army. Maharaja's intentions behind the creation of army found in the book "Shivcharitra Pradeep" is as follows:

"After the defeat of the Yadavas, the Muslim power was quietly accepted in Maharashtra. The Maharaja knew the power of national spirit. His term 'Maharashtrian' included everyone. Brahmins, Prabhu, Maratha Kshatriyas, Maratha Kunbis, Mawles, etc. were all taken together by Shivaji Maharaj and the national spirit was awakened in the hearts of all.⁸ Aware of the strong Muslim power around him, Shivaji Maharaj used his limited army power in a different way and adopted guerilla tactics. Due to the implementation of new but stringent regulations regarding military recruiting, camps, campaigns, and the booty from war, the Maharajas' army system came under scrutiny

⁵ Vinod Bihari lal, The Sultanate of India (711-1526 A D.), Lucknow, 1968, PP. 312-313.

⁶ Pandit Mahadev Shastri Joshi, Bharatiya Sanskriti Kosh, Vol.7, Bharatiya Sanskriti Kosh Mandal, Pune,1972, P. 523.

⁷ Ashirbadilal Srivastava, The Mughal Empire [1526 - 1803 AD], Educational Publish, Agra, 1976, PP. 488-489.

⁸ D.V. Apte and S. M. Diwekar, Shivcharitra Pradip, Bharat Itihaas Sanshodhak Mandal Purskrut Granthmala - 4, Shake 1847, Prakashak Sadashiv Mahadev Diwekar, P. 127.

during the Middle Ages.⁹ From the Pune region and the Maval valley in Maharashtra, the Maharaja had gathered his troops.

Maharaj observed that Mawle were trustworthy, devoted, diligent, and attentive despite their unassuming appearance and low demeanour. The Mavals had extensive knowledge of the forests, ghats, and secret routes in Maharashtra's highlands. Such mavals were used by the Maharaja to build his army from village to village. The Mavals held that accepting death was necessary for their lord's protection. These clans' leaders were Deshmukh. Examples are Esaji Kank, Tanaji Malusare, and Baji Pasalkar. Deshmukhs became Maharaj's best friend.¹⁰ All of them united the Deshmukhs of the Maval valley. Administratively Deshmukhs in Maharashtra had lot of respect.

As a result, Maharaj believed that these Deshmukhs should get together in order to build Swarajya. Among the Deshmukhs, Kanhoji Jedhe enjoyed the highest regard. After realising Shivaji Maharaj's purpose, Kanhoji made the decision to bring the Deshmukhs together. Kanhoji gathered all of the Deshmukhs at the Maharaj's request and read the Maharaj's idea of Swarajya to them. "My sons and I have decided to sacrifice our land and give away our lives for Maharaja and Swarajya," Kanhoji writes in a significant letter. If you have any thoughts, please be specific. Islamic kings are dishonest, therefore. We should leave their ranks immediately. Maharashtra should be created by everyone with power and courage.

Hearing these words of Kanhoji, all the Deshmukhs of the Maval valley were ready to support the Maharaja like Kanhoji, and all of them came to the Maharaja and took an oath to give all possible help to the state of Maharashtra. And at this time, it is said in the letter that the Maharaja also served meals to everyone. In this way Kanhoji helped Shivaji Maharaja to raise an army by mobilizing all the Deshmukhs in Maval Valley.¹¹ Evidence of the military formation and its system during the period of Shivaji Maharaja is proven authentic as per the facts and evidences mentioned above.

⁹ B. R. Kamble, Studies in Shivaji and His Times, Shivaji University Publication Kolhapur, 1982, P. 114.

¹⁰ Krishnarao Arjun Keluskar, Kshatriya Kulavatantra Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Yanche Charitra, 1906, PP. 94 - 95.

¹¹ V. Apte and R. V. Oturkar(ed.), Sadhan Parichay Arthat Maharashtracha Patrarup Itihaas (Marathyancha), Bharat Itihaas Sanshodhak Mandal Pune, 1941, P. 11, Letter no. 9.

2. Peshwa's Army:

It emerges that the military was the most significant aspect for the King and his reign after reviewing the methods of military creation and division of the army from ancient times to the development of self-government in the Middle Ages and the formation of the state. Because of this, Kautilya places a strong emphasis on the army in his *Saptanga Sidhant*. Because of this, Kautilya places a strong emphasis on the army in his 'Saptanga

Sidhant'. Taking advantage of the state-military structure and leadership of their predecessors, the new rulers advance. The Peshwas of the eighteenth century also constructed an army based on Shivarama's tactical scheme. Additionally, the army developed numerous sections in accordance with its needs. It will be covered in depth in the chapters that follow.

1. INFANTRY

Introduction:

The many writings in the various military divisions that have historically been used on the battlefield provide information on infantry from the Vedic time all the way up to the mediaeval period. There are and unpublished materials for infantry study available. Documents from Maharashtra's archives unpublished materials that are written in Modi script and Balshastri Haridas, G. S. Sardesai, N. Sen, Setu Madhavrao Pagdi, and V. K. Bhavé. It is helpful to consult an author's bibliography, such as that of. The following crucial context is mentioned in relation to Peshwa period infantry. Combat was regarded as a regular part of life during the mediaeval era. The masculine class made an effort to enrol both their children and themselves in military schools. Military divisions were selected based on each person's ability. The military training of the infantry is thought to be more significant when Maharashtra is taken into account, especially in light of its geographic location. The previous generation's experience prepared the subsequent one for the army in the absence of any official military training facilities.¹² Fighting techniques and the usage of combat-ready weaponry were taught in military education. Wrestling styles include jor-jodi, mallakhamb, kusti, etc. In order to win a battle, it was crucial to use weapons like a horse, a sword, a bothari, a spear, a rifle, and arrows. Battlefield demonstrations were

¹² V. K. Bhavé, *Peshwekaalin Maharashtra*, Varada Prakashan, 2010, PP. 45-46.

utilised in the Middle Ages to teach soldiers for combat. From the age of 10, so many Sardars used to show their kids these demonstrations. Children had no fear of murdering and dying because they were exposed to these procedures from a young age. The kids were trained for the army through the juxtaposition of theoretical knowledge and as much practical experience on the battlefield as feasible. The Peshwa period saw a continuation of what had occurred during the Shiva era. There are reliable references from the third Peshwa, Balaji Bajirao alias Nanasaheb, despite the fact that there is little information available about military schooling between the first two Peshwas and Chimaji Appa. Taalim was once a regular event for Balaji Bajirao himself. He had built up a very strong military code of conduct. The older Madhavrao set up Samsher Bahadur, the son of Mastani, and his younger brother Narayan Rao's military training. The Peshwa court fights were also a part of military training. There are allusions of Narayanarao Peshwa practising bothate, archery, and the javelin throw as early as age 10.¹³

1.1 Chatrapati Shivaji Maharaj's Infantry:

During the Shiva era, infantry appears to have gained more significance in terms of fighting. This occurred because more infantry was used during Maratha military actions in Maharashtra. As a result, a substantial portion of the infantry was recruited from the young people of Maharashtra's Maval Valley. Sukraneeti claimed that the army played a significant role in the emergence of the state's wealth and power. The infantry had outstanding forming in Maratha period. A Naik was assigned to lead the first formation of the unit, which consisted of just ten troops. That indicates that there was just one group of ten people. Because of this, every little thing was considered. On each of these five groups, there was one havaldar, on three havaldar there was one jumledar, on ten jumledhars there was ek hazari and on seven hazari there was one sarnaubat. They received an annual pay based on their makeup.¹⁴ During the Chatrapati Shivaji era, this infantry was armed with bow and arrows, belts, bricks, barkhas, and other items.

One would have to enlist in the military and carry the weapon they were adopt with. However, the government gave ammunition. Every soldier was carefully

¹³ Ibid, PP. 47 - 52.

¹⁴ V. K. Bhawe, Shivrajya V Shivkaal, Narayan Vasudev Bhawe, Pune, P. 188.

watched over and under control because of the army's organisational system.¹⁵ In his "Sabhasad Bakhr," Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad, the first writer of Shiv Charitra, asserts that as the wars of this era were constantly fought in hilly terrain, infantry rather than horses was more frequently employed.

The members claimed that there were 10,000 infantries during Shiva's reign. However, the number of soldiers is stated differently in each regime, according to British sources. However, there were more infantry than cavalry.¹⁶

1.2 Peshwa Infantry:

During the Peshwa era, the military and political environment had transformed. Instead of being in Maharashtra, the Marathas' political epicentre migrated to Delhi. The cavalry became especially important in the army as the Maratha forces marched gradually north across the Narmada River. so, the infantry was quite little during the Peshwa time. The same circumstance applied to the Sardars of the Peshwa. It was discovered that many chieftains lacked infantry, says Ton.

The Peshwas possessed just 10,000 infantry and 80,000 to 100,000 cavalries, according to a Portuguese manuscript from 1787. The Marathi infantry had members from various states besides Maharashtra. During wars, infantry from the Peshwa dynasty was deployed to defend against attacks by barbarian tribes such as the Bhila, Kolis.¹⁷

The Maratha army similarly enlisted Arabs, Hapshi, and Siddhis as required. According to the references gathered, it appears that these individuals were paid on a daily basis in the army in accordance with their needs rather than receiving permanent employment. Example: In 1771, 400 Arabs, 100 Hapshi, and 1000 Siddhis were needed. The Peshwa court then sent Appaji Ganesh of Ahmedabad a letter containing that demand.¹⁸

¹⁵ K. A. Keluskar, *Kshtriya Kulavantas Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Yanche Charitra*, 1906, PP. 428 - 429.

¹⁶ S. N. Sen, Sadashiv Shivde (trans.), *Marathyanchi Lashkari Vyavstha*, Diamond Publication Pune, 2020, PP. 53 - 54.

¹⁷ W. H. Tone, *Illustration of Some Institutaions of the Mahratta People*, British library, 2011, P. 44.

¹⁸ G. C. Wad, *The Peshwa's Diaries IX, Vol. I, The Deccan Vernacular Translation Society Poona*, 1911, P. 337.

Moreover, the year 1789 contains a similar mention. Portuguese soldiers in the Peshwa infantry received a monthly salary of 25 rupees, Christian soldiers a salary of 15 rupees, and local soldiers a salary of 9 rupees. A greater emphasis was placed on the Arab soldier during such recruitment. Soldiers under the Peshwa at the time received higher pay than what other rulers gave.¹⁹

Balaji Vishwanatha truly began the Peshwa infantry. Balaji worked with Vishwanath Janjirekar Siddhi before to joining the Marathas. He was already employed by an army unit as a recovery officer at the time. As a result of this knowledge, when he arrived at Chhatrapati Shahu, he placed a greater emphasis on raising an effective army for Shahu Maharaj.

The fact that the earliest Peshwas produced real military leaders and motivated the people of Maharashtra was one of their contributions.²⁰ During the Peshwa era, chieftains from the area were given 'Mukasa' (percentage of income) to join the military. By giving a percentage right to the collection of the individual villages, Mukasa means to raise an army without having to pay for it in full. This is known from an unpublished, excellent document on Mukasa that was delivered to the Khandesh villages of Chopde, Jalod, and Bhamer.²¹ During the reign of Madhavrao Peshwa, a list of Sardars who received Mukase to build an army can also be discovered in 1767.²²

Infantry- Conclusion:

It is now clear what principles were followed and which castes and tribes were used in the infantry during the reign of the many Peshwas. This indicates that the infantry did not hold a position of great importance, as the principles of military recruitment seem to have been constantly changing according to need.

2. Cavalry

Introduction:

It is vital to study why was a Horse considered an important animal for warfare.

¹⁹ S. N. Sen, Dr. Sadashiv Shivde, Marathyanchi Lashkari Vyavstha (Trans.), Op.cit, P. 55.

²⁰ Govind Sakharan Sardesai, Marathi Riyasat Vol.3, Sampadak S. M. Garge, Popular Prakashan Mumbai, 2010, P. 198.

²¹ Pune Archives Pune, Ghadni No. 402, Letter No, 1562, Modi document Appendix II, PP. 173-174

²² Pune Archives Pune, Ghadni No. 402, Letter No, 715, Modi document Appendix II, PP. 175-176

Mythically, God named Vasu created horse from the Sun God. He tied these horses to his chariot. Gandharvas, held its helm and Lord Indra rode this chariot, first.²³ Similarly, Nakul-one of the Pandavas- mastered the art relates to Horse and tongas by studying Sanskrit scriptures. In 13th century, Pashu-chikitsa -a sanskrit book- was translated into Persian. This book gives ample information regarding variety of breeds of horses and thier origins, colours, etc..²⁴

2.1 Vedic period

Horses were used for war as well as driving vehicles. It was domesticated and brought to human use. The horse was beautiful, strong, energetic, speedy and excellent animal. Therefore, it was utilized by the Aryans in the vedic period. A mare is considered quicker than a horse. Absolutely finer breed of horses is found at the south-east border of India. Horse is referred in the mythological epics like Mahabharata, Ramayana and Ashvamedha.²⁵

2.2 Ancient period

A horse's excellence depends upon its qualities. The cavalry should have horses that have good lineage, breed, well-grown, strong, fast, well trained, obedient, handsome and unfathomable.²⁶ Such evidences are found in ancient times also. Not only men but also women were officers on this fast cavalry. There is an inscription, which was found at Mangalore, of King Sindhanadeva dated 1218 in Akkalkot taluka. According to this inscription, Bhagaldevi was a female officer at the head of a cavalry unit of the Yadavas²⁷

2.3 Middle Ages

A study of Sultanate rule in the Middle Ages showed that it was not possible to rule India without a strong army. It included the cavalry. Each horseman in the Sultan's cavalry carried two swords, a bow and arrow, and a dagger. A soldier with one horses

²³ Sampadak Pandit Mahadev Shastri Joshi, Bhartiya sanskriti Kosh, Op.cit, P. 276.

²⁴ Atridev Vidyalankar, Aayurved Ka Brhud Itihas, Prakashan Shakha, Suchna Vibhag, Hindi Samiti Granth Mala 32, PP. 258 – 259.

²⁵ Sampadak Pandit Mahadev Shastri Joshi, Bhartiya sanskriti Kosh, Op.cit, P. 276.

²⁶ Veena Hardas, Aarya Chanyak Vibhutimatva Kaarya V Rajkiy Tatvdyan, Op.cit, PP. 334 - 336.

²⁷ Anand Kumbhar, Soplapur Jihlyatil Purabhilekhanch Abhyaas Rajwde Sanshodhak Mandal, Dhule, 2004, P. 15.

called 'Eak Aspa' and a soldier with two horses was called 'Do Aspa'. Unfortunately, horses were traded without Allaudin being aware of it. Thus, the practice of spotting horses started in order to identify them. (Branding of horses). In their army, there were four lakh seventy-five thousand horses.²⁸

2.4 Mughals:

Although the Mughals ruled India for a long period from 1526 to 1856, this power declined. The following information is available from the historian of the Mughals in this regard. "History is not simple information regarding the affairs of King who have passed away; but is a science which expands the intellect and furnishes the wise examples" (Tarik-e-Daudi).²⁹

Babar won the first battle of Panipat with the strength of the army to take over India. He used a gun for the first time in India. His successor, Akbar, acted democratically and gave respect to different tribes in the army. Example: Rajput and Marathas. But Aurangzeb kept a different technique in the army. Different tribes fought each other. The Mughals had a mansabdari system in the army. Also, army appointments were not hereditary. Therefore, the army was not worried about the future. The historian 'Baniyar' says that the Mughals had two lakh cavalries. Infantry was not important. Much of the money of the Mughals was spent on the army. But unlike the Marathas in Maharashtra, there was no special loyalty to the Mughal army.³⁰

The Marathas, however, gave great importance to the military department. The army was considered very important and powerful for the establishment of the state and protection of religion. That is why it is said in Sukraneeti that

"सैन्याद्विना नैवराज्यम न धनं न पराक्रमः" (Sukraneeti chapter 4).

2.5: Shivakal:

The two important divisions of the military system during the Shiva period were infantry and cavalry. Cavalry was small. Yet the Muslim historian Khafi Khan states

²⁸ Vinod Bihari Laal, The Sultnate of India (711-1526 A.D.), New building, Aminabad, Lucknow, PP. 304-305, 312-313.

²⁹ S. R. Sharma, Mughal Empire in India, Agarwal Educational Publishers, Agra, 1945, P. 446.

³⁰ G. S. Sardesai, Musalmani Riyasat Vol. 2, Sampadak S. M. garge, Popular Prakashan Mumbai 2012, PP. 310 - 311.

that "Shivaji always had ten to twelve thousands of his own excellent Kutch and Arabian horses ready." ³¹ The Maharaja had a cavalry structure based on the efficiency of horsemen and horses. At least a contingent of soldiers should be formed. There were only 25 horsemen in a troop. The total number of horse and Raut in Shiva's army was 1,05,000.³² Along with this, the 'paga' and the number of chieftains on it is obtained. The cavalry of this period was also very expensive. Cavalry wars did not happen much during Shivaji Maharaja's time because the war zone was in hilly areas.

According to Shiva Maharaj's policy, a good quality horse and weapons were essential for a horse rider. Salary is also given higher in horse riding. Maharaja had 45,000 horsemen. Still, they were outnumbered by the infantry. But the Maharaja's cavalry was able to attack both domestic and foreign enemies.

Domestic and foreign enemies were afraid of Maharaja's cavalry. In a letter dated November 19, 1648, British Rajapur writes to his friend British Mumbai that the Bijapur commander did not attack Shivaraya because he had 20,000 cavalries.³³

2. Peshwa Cavalry:

From the beginning of the Peshwas i.e., from 1713 during the reign of the eight Peshwas, 'cavalry' was a major part of the military system. Because the Marathi had started planning campaigns beyond the Narmada during this period.

2.1 Bargir and Shiledar:

During the period of Peshwas, there were two divisions of cavalry namely

Bargir:

Bargir is a government horse and horseman with weapons. The provision of bargira in the army was made by tradition for the merits of those who did not own a horse. Due to this facility, young people of Maharashtra used to join the cavalry and stay employed. Bargiras earned a salary ranging from 4 to 5 rupees to 8 to 10 rupees

³¹ V. K. Bhavé, Shivrajya V Shivkaal (Shivkaalin Maharashtra), Narayan Vasudev Bhavé, 1957, P. 189.

³² S. N. Sen, Dr. Sadashiv Shivde (Trans.), Marathyanchi Lashkari Vyavstha, Op.cit, P. 53.

³³ G. C. Wad, The Peshwa's Diaries IV, The Deccan Vernacular Translation Society Poona, Mumbai, 1909, P. 189., Letter No. 681.

according to experience. It used to count how many participants were in which batch. According to a letter from the Peshwa period, Ganesh Sambhaji, a clerk, was sent by the Peshwas to count the horses.³⁴

During the Peshwa period, women also worked in the cavalry along with men. From an unpublished and rudimentary letter, it is understood that Gunwant Bai was serving in the cavalry.³⁵ It appears that the system of one-and-a-half-month salary was also common in the immediate period. At the same time, the Bargir was sometimes given cash along with clothes and grain as salary.³⁶

Shiledars:

This is the second most important form of cavalry. Horsemen who joined the army with their own mare ready and armed were called Shiledars. The group of these Shiledars was called 'Squad' and their leader was called Squad/Patak. If they get money from the government, they say 'itlaki pathak'. Also, if the land was given for the expenses of the team, it was called 'Saranjame Pathak'. The salary of Shiledars ranged from 20 rupees to 30 rupees.³⁷ The youths of some villages were employed as shiledars by different chieftains. There are many lists of their village wise names and names of chieftains. A letter from Peshwa period is presented as an example.³⁸

During the Peshwa period, long distance cavalry expeditions were carried out on a large scale. There were 80,000 to 100,000 cavalries on the battlefield at one time. There were four divisions of cavalry during the Peshwa period.

1. Private Paga
2. Shiledar
3. Ekka or Ekanda (Third Class Horseman in Cavalry)
4. Pendhare.³⁹

2.2 Breeding-Rearing-Types of Horses:

In Maharashtra during the medieval period, it was customary to carry horses and

³⁴ Pune Archives Pune, Ghadni No. 275, Letter No. 659118 Modi document
Appendix II, PP. 177-178

³⁵ Pune Archives Pune, Ghadni No. 275, Letter No. 657877/1 Modi document
Appendix II, PP. 179-180

³⁶ V. K. Bhawe, Peshwekaalin Maharashtra, Op.cit, P. 418.

³⁷ Pune Archives Pune, Ghadni No. 402, Letter No. 1592.

³⁸ S. N. Sen, Dr. Sadashiv Shivde (Trans.), Marathyanchi Lashkari Vyavstha, Op.cit,
P. 56.

³⁹ V. K. Bhawe, Peshwekaalin Maharashtra, Op.cit, PP. 418 - 416.

weapons from household to household. Young men from every household used to go on expeditions with horses. That is why horses were bred from village to village. Ashvi village in Ahmednagar district was famous for breeding good horses. This village was named Ashvi because horses were bred on a large scale by keeping madwanis and horses. In Maharashtra, horses were bred in the areas of rivers with different velocities. Because the water of some important rivers was very suitable for horses. Example: Nira, Pravara, Bhima, Godavari and Ghod Rivers. The mares fed on the waters of the river etc. were strong, clever and honest, bright. That is why horses were named after the banks of rivers. Example: Gangathadi, Nirathadhi, Bhimathadi, Pravarathadi, etc. It is because of this that horse breeds became popular. Considering the importance of horses, house-to-house horse breeding was practiced in Maharashtra.⁴⁰

Rearing:

Just like the breeding of horses, their rearing is given importance. In rearing they had to take care of their medicine and water and the horses that were wounded in battle. Information about how much and how the life span of horses is determined. A horse's life was determined by its teeth. Also, the estimate of how many years a horse will live is also made from dentistry. A Hindi treatise sheds light on the various breeds, colors, diseases of horses, their medicines, treatment, injuries, removal of contaminated blood and their dosages.⁴¹ Peshwas had 'Ghodke', 'Vaidya' and treated them with care when they got sick.

This system was also in place in many places outside Pune. According to a letter of 1770, if the horses had a sore foot, their expense on them is accounted for. Turmeric, jaggery, dates, etc. were used for horses with broken or injured legs. It is mentioned that kaav, egg yolk and sesame oil are used to heal the horses for cough. Sometimes, the tumours on the horse's body would burst and the mare would fall ill, in which case medicinal pills would be sent from the government court to Paga. In the morning and evening, each pill is ground into millet flour and chewed. The list of ingredients in these pills is available in the letter.⁴² Horses should be given quality rations. Half a pint of gram, half a pint of flour, half a pint of ghee, a pint of sugar, two

⁴⁰ Atridev Vidyalkar, Aayurved Ka Brhud Itiha, Op.cit, P. 259.

⁴¹ N. G. Caphekar, Peshwaichya Sawalit, Bharat Itihaas Sanshodhak Mandal Purskrut Granthmala No. 34, Shake 1859, Pune, PP. 220 - 222.

⁴² Shamla Panse, Marathyancha Tophkhana, Marven Technology Pune, 2020, P. 54.

pints of pepper, grass, udid etc. were provided.⁴³ According to an authentic letter from the Peshwa period, horses were also supplied with grain, oil and 'khuraak' by the Sardars. But the date is not clear from that letter.⁴⁴

Types:

Just as the types of horses were derived from the names of rivers, so also the types of horses were derived from where the horses were purchased. Marathas mostly used Kathewadi horses. And V. K. Bhave's book "Peshwekaline Maharashtra" it is written on page no. 130 that there were horse breeds such as Arabian, Persian, Ablak, Turkish, Irani. At that time traders used to bring horses from Lahore for sale. Their prices were determined according to the breed of horses.

Not every horse was fit for battle. Horses were used for carrying loads and for transportation. Sometimes a different symbolic horse was used by Peshwas for himself. Example: Nanasaheb Peshwa had "Kumed" which means one coloured horse. More similar names are found in the original documents.⁴⁵ Generally, such horses are available for rupees one thousand to two thousand. The Peshwa's own cavalry was about ten thousand. This paga was near the Goshala in Shaniwar Wada. The Peshwa's cavalry was called "Huzurat". There were 52 such teams of Hujurati. There were Sardars such as Dhere, Dhamdhere, Pawar, Vinchurkar, Purandare, Sachiv, and Thatte etc.⁴⁶

2.3 Paga / pagya:

When several horses and bargirs are gathered together, the group is called Paga. Rulers and Sardars needed horses and charioteers. That is why horses were bred from house to house. When buying and maintaining horses was done at own expense, it was called 'Gharpaga'. Rulers and government used to buy horses and bargirs from Ghar Paga. Such is how a cavalry was formed. Pagas of the middle range governance and Sardars was formed by the house pagas. Shiledars and Bargir used to work from such pagas. Officers were appointed to maintain the order and care of the pagas. They were

⁴³ Pune Archives Pune, Ghadni No. 492, Letter No. 657877 Modi document Appendix II, PP. 181-182

⁴⁴ Pune Archives Pune, Ghadni No. 275, Letter No. 855094 Modi document Appendix II, PP. 183-184

⁴⁵ V. K. Bhave, Peshwekaalin Maharashtra, Op.cit, P. 138.

⁴⁶ V. K. Bhave, Peshwekaalin Maharashtra, Op.cit, PP. 416 - 419.

called 'pagya'. The rank of these pagas was determined by the number of horses in the cavalry. If there were 500 to 700 horsemen in a paga, then such pagas were given the same position as Sardars. They were given Naubat, Nishan, palanquin neck. Along with those facilities such as Mashalji, Naalband, Pakhali, Danekari Jasud, Gardi, Dere etc. were also provided. In short, it can be said that a great Pagya was a Sardar.

The small Page were separate households. Paga of rulers and chieftains were kept clean. Many people were working for this. Example: Payband, lagam, zanin, kharara and tobra.⁴⁷ During this period the names of Sardars with private pay and government pay are obtained from authentic Modi documents. This shows the importance of horses that grew during the Peshwa period. Because during the Peshwa period, continuous campaigns were planned on the plains and towards the north. Therefore, special attention was paid to the cavalry. In 1765 and 1767 the original documents from the time of Madhavrao Peshwas get the names of people who are Pagas.⁴⁸

A lot of money was spent on cavalry. There were things like buying mares, taking care of them, providing fodder in pastures for the horses etc.⁴⁹ Many important documents in this context are unpublished. Some of those documents are being used here to shed light on the above matters. Antaji Mankeshwar was a prominent Sardar during the time of Nanasaheb Peshwa. It is mentioned that Nanasaheb Peshwa bought horses for 44000 rupees.⁵⁰ According to a letter dated 1750, the Peshwas again seem to have purchased horses. Rs 4550 have been spent on horses, Rs 65000 on pawns and rauts and Rs 70001 on Nalband. Nalband is a wasteful spending. A letter of 1775 reveals the cost to the Pagas.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Pune Archives Pune, Ghadni No. 402, Letter No. 704 and 720, Pherist-5 A Modi document Appendix II, PP. 185-188

⁴⁸ Pune Archives Pune, Ghadni No. 275, Letter No. 655531.

⁴⁹ Pune Archives Pune, Ghadni No. 275, Letter No. 655659 Modi document Appendix II, PP. 189-190

⁵⁰ Pune Archives Pune, Ghadni No. 275, Letter No. 655095 Modi document Appendix II, PP. 191-192

⁵¹ Pune Archives Pune, Ghadni No. 416, Letter No. 655659 Modi document Appendix II, Op.cit, PP. 189-190

Analysis:

Cavalry was very important during Peshwa period. Victory in battle depended on cavalry. Hence the kingdoms tended to recruit good mares and horsemen into the cavalry. During the Peshwa period, the field of battle was not limited to Maharashtra but was extended almost all over India. Since the time of Bajirav the Great first, the Marathas regularly went on expeditions across the Narmada, and for this the Peshwas were in dire need of excellent cavalry. The importance of this is evident from the document. That is why every Peshwa paid attention to the cavalry.

3. ELEPHANTARY**Introduction:**

It is important to consider the data from different branches of the army when researching the Peshwa era army as a whole. When researching it, it is essential to assess the ideologies, philosophical systems, social mores, cultural practises, geographic, economic, and political contexts of any age. It is crucial to take the time into account in regard to that moment. The mediaeval Elephantary and the Peshwa's Elephantary must therefore be studied. Having an Elephantary in the army, in the eyes of those kings, was a sign of bravery and honour. It is challenging to take care of an elephant, manage its life, train it, and provide for it. Like the elephants, the skilled mahats who domesticated them played a crucial part.

In the past and during the Middle Ages, elephants were frequently employed in the military. This day and age, that style of thinking is outmoded. As a result, this article provides a study of the Elephantary during the Middle Ages. Everything had to be founded on the forebears of the Elephantary, even though they were to be studied during the Middle Ages. As a result, references to Elephantary in ancient and mediaeval literature are given.

3.1 Ancient Literary references:

Ancient kings made use of chaturanga sena. 'Gajdal' was a part of it. Since the Rigveda, elephantaries have been referenced. The 10th mandala of the Rigveda has information about an elephant attacking a foe. The Yajurveda details the elephant's war training. Elephants were used in warfare even if Elephantary did not exist during the Ramayana period. In the time of the Mahabharata, many kings participated in battles

with their elephant chariot. Buddhist writings also make reference to trained elephants.⁵²

The Kautilya Arthashastra will provide insight into historical politics. During the time of Kautilya, a foreign visitor named Megasthenes visited India. Additionally, he has offered information on this. During Kautilya's rule, the Indian Elephantary were so strong that even Alexander the Great could not defeat them.

During battle, the elephants were in front of everyone, paving the way through the underbrush and across the treacherous river channels. Three archers and a mahout rode the war elephant.

These elephants were used in battle frequently. The elephant had the ability to overpower the opposition's army, get through defences, and give his master the victory.⁵³

Elephantary was ruled by the Magadha Empire, Maurya Empire, and Gupta Empire in antiquity. Bimbisara had an enormous army. There is proof that the Gupta and Maurya families owned a substantial Elephantary. On the other hand, it is asserted that Harshavardhana owned 60,000 elephants. This shows how important Elephantary was in prehistoric times.

3.2: Mediaeval literary references:

Even throughout the Middle Ages, the military's separate responsibilities and the laws of war appear to have been traditions. Hindus and Muslims had sway in both the north and the south. Elephants were used by everyone in the military and in combat. The Vijayanagar monarch of southern India owned thousands of enormous elephants. The northern Mughal emperors valued elephants.

Captain Hawkins said that 12,000 elephants were in Jahangir's possession.⁵⁴ Elephants were a feature of Chhatrapati Shivaraya's Hindu Swarajya. Elephants were not used by the Marathi army, which waged guerrilla warfare from valleys, hills, and valleys. However, important forts continued to display elephants as a statement of

⁵² Pandit Mahadev Shastri Joshi, Bharatiya Sanskriti Kosh, Vol.10, Bharatiya Sanskriti Kosh Mandal, Pune, 1979, P. 250.

⁵³ Balshastri Hardas, Aaryachankya Vibhutimatva Kaarya v Rajkiya Tatvdyan, Vol. 1, Kaal Prakashan, Pune, 1967, P. 315.

⁵⁴ Pandit Mahadev Shastri Joshi, Bharatiya Sanskriti Kosh, Op.cit, P. 250.

grandeur. After the battle, many elephants were looted from the defeated foes. 65 of Afzal Khan's elephants were stolen by the Marathas after he was killed.⁵⁵ Even though the Peshwa reign began after the Hindu Swarajya, there were notable changes to the battlefield and military strategies during this time. Not just in Maharashtra, but throughout all of India, the Marathi army was on the march. As a result, actual combat gained significance over guerilla methods. Despite their limited employment in such high-stress military actions, Elephantary were still available to the Peshwas.

3.3: Peshwa's Elephantary

There is no mention of majestic Elephantary during the Peshwa era. But the Peshwa had a sufficient number of elephants to be a king. Peshwa's combat prowess might not have been compatible with the Elephantry. However, early texts mention that the Peshwas owned about 100 elephants. Two beliefs or motives led to the ownership of the elephant. The idea of Gajanta Lakshmi is the first justification. The ownership of an elephant was common among kings and chieftains. According to this nation, Lakshmi can find splendour and grace in elephants. The generals would ride the elephants' backs and direct the combat, which was another benefit of having elephants. Because of this, the cavalry and infantry could see their leader from a distance.

An illustration of this is the Battle of Panipat. On January 14, 1761, the Maratha and Abdali battle erupted in Panipat. By noon, Bhausaheb and Vishwasrao were engaged in battle on the elephant. However, Vishwasrao got down from the elephant and mounted the horse "Dilpak," while Bhausaheb rode "Chandrasen." On the other hand, Vishwasrao was shot and killed at 3 p.m. After observing the empty ambaris of Bhausaheb and Vishwasrao, the troops lost patience.⁵⁶

Elephants were also used in battle to destroy obstacles set up by the enemy. That is why long, pointed nails were used to secure the forts' main entrances. Over a hundred elephants were under the control of the Peshwas. There was also instruction in feeding, training, and maintaining the security of the elephant herd. Raw rice, ghee, jaggery, salt, masala, and rothe were all staple foods for elephants. According to records

⁵⁵ Jadunath Sarkar, Shivaji and his times, Cornell University Library, London, 1920, P. 74.

⁵⁶ Pramod Oak, Peshwe Gharanyacha Itihaas, Continental Prakashan, Pune, 2001, P. 114.

discovered in Karnataka, one elephant cost Rs. 13 and 2 annas to maintain. For his elephant, Pratap, Bhivrao Panse received sugarcane worth twelve rupees each day.⁵⁷

The Sardar of Pilkhana for the Peshwas was Bhagwant Pasarchi. Ramchandrapant Gadgil was the clerk, and Ali was the mahout. The letter sent by Krishnaji Gore at the time discusses the traits of elephants in Pune. They are:

Male Elephant: Fattelashkar, Mast, Rustangaj Mast, Vaikantapati Nava, Mahasunder, Krishnagaj, Balasunder, Mamok, Fattemubarak, Kuvargaj.

Female Elephants: Blind Elephant, Kokila, Krishna Rao, Takht Rao female Elephant, Ranba, Bachewali, Narasimhrao Vitthal, Sisful Bachib, Narsingrao.

Among the above, Fattelashkar and Fattedgaj were always cool. But Rustmagaj, the elephant, was very strong.⁵⁸ The cost of the same elephant was Rs.290 II. For the maintenance of elephants Shiledar lumpi was given Rs 67, 24 rupees bargir, 4 rupees pakhali were spent.⁵⁹ Elephant mahouts were paid between 11 and 20 for a month and a half in 1754. It is mentioned that Nana Phadnvis was ordered by the elder Madhavrao to plant sugarcane for the good health of the elephants i.e., for their fodder in the year 1769.

The elephants were treated with great care and if it fell ill, along with medicine, vows were also spoken. Carom seeds and dry ginger were given to an elephant that suffered cold, and if it had heat issues, they gave medicines like Kutki, Akkalkara and Pimpalmul.⁶⁰ The price of such an animal went up to five and a half thousand rupees according to the market price of 1719-20.⁶¹ There are also records of elephants being given as rewards.⁶²

3.4: Names of Mahuts:

Ali Mahut was the chief officer and Sardar of the Peelkhana factory in the Peshwa court. Twenty such Mahuts were known during the Peshwa period.

⁵⁷ Shamla Panse, *Marathyancha Tophkhana*, Op.cit, P. 52.

⁵⁸ V. K. Bhawe, *Peshwekaalin Maharashtra*, Op.cit, PP. 133, 138, 421.

⁵⁹ G. S. Sardesai, *Peshwyanchya Rojnishitle Utaare*, *Peshwe Daptar*. Vol. 22 Government Central Press, Mumbai, 1932, Letter Date 01/05/1731.

⁶⁰ Shamla Panse, *Marathyancha Tophkhana*, Op.cit, PP. 52 - 53.

⁶¹ V. K. Bhawe, *Peshwekaalin Maharashtra*, Op.cit, PP. 191 - 192.

⁶² Pune Archives Pune, Ghadni No. 275, Letter No. 655641 Modi document Appendix II, PP. 193-194

Their names are as follows:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| 1. Bhimrao Mohite | 11. Yashwantrao |
| 2. Dadu Mahat | 12. Ramachandra Shivaji |
| 3. Tuka Yadav | 13. Khanderao Rampurkar |
| 4. Syedji Mane | 14. Santoji Pawar |
| 5. Amritrao Gawde | 15. Chintamanrao |
| 6. Raghoji Pathar | 16. Chimaji Madhav |
| 7. Haibatrao Pathar | 17. Yashwantrao Lad |
| 8. Shivaram Lad | 18. Anandrao Somvanshi |
| 9. Gopalrao Bapuji | 19. Venkatarao Raghunath |
| 10. Laxman Trimbak Khutekar | 20. Rangrao Purushottam Panse ⁶³ |

4. Camel Cavalry

Introduction:

While looking at different types of military system in the military system of Peshwas, it is important to study which animals were used in the army and from the point of view of the army. Horses, elephants and camels, as well as mules, ponies, donkeys for transporting goods and dogs were used for protection from ancient times to medieval times. Keeping in mind the characteristics and physical strength of these different animals, rulers used the above animals as per the need and occasion in the ancient and medieval times. Among these animals, the camel is also important. Before reviewing the Peshwa camel fleet, it is advisable to know in brief about the camel.

4.1. Basic Information:

Camel is a quadrupedal animal and naturally has a tall neck and arched body. Camels usually have one or two humps on their backs. This animal is strong with soft feet and big soles. His legs are thin but powerful. This animal is used more in the desert. Therefore, nature has given him the ability to store water in his stomach. Female camels are faster and useful for travel. They are called 'Sandani'. Camels were used for carrying war equipment more than fighting. The word camel is derived from the Sanskrit word camel. According to Panini, a group of camels is called 'Aushtraka'. The term 'Untdal' may have come from this.⁶⁴

⁶³ Shamla Panse, Marathyancha Tophkhana, Op.cit, PP. 52 - 53.

⁶⁴ Pandit Mahadev Shastri Joshi, Bhartiya Sanskriti Kosh, Vol. 8, Bhartiya Sanskriti Kosh Mandal, Pune, 2010, P. 590.

4.2. Usage:

Kautilya says that camels should be used where elephants could not be used on the battlefield.⁶⁵ Such animals were also used in the army of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj in the Middle Ages. It is mentioned that the Marathas had 1200 camels during this period, but these camels looted by the Marathas from the enemies.⁶⁶

4.3. Camel Cavalry of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj:

During Chhatrapati Shivaraya's time, there are not many mentions of camels and elephants in war. Because in Maratha 'Ganimi Kava' style of war, horses were used more for fast movement. During the Peshwa period, many concepts changed, and camels were used more for transport than for war.

4.4. Peshwa Camel Cavalry:

Even in texts which throw light on Maratha artillery with the help of original documents, there is very little mention of the camel. Camels were also used to carry guns and ammunition. Such camel caravans were called 'Sutarnal'. The rider on this was called 'Sutraswar'. Camels used to be bought during the Peshwa period. It is recorded that Mahadev Veerkar bought two hundred camels. During the Dussehra procession, camels were decorated with silk garlands. Sometimes camels were hired to carry such loads.

Gosavi people also used to do the business of buying camels from the provinces and bringing them to Pune for sale. The Peshwas had a separate camel shelterhouse. Ganapatrao Moreshwar was the official on it. There were approximately 1000 camels in the same camel shelterhouse.

Camels were also used for navigation. When the royal family went on pilgrimages, camels were used to carry their belongings. An example of this is that Mahadoba Purandare wrote to Chimaji Appa a letter dated 31st January 1731 requesting that at least ten camels be sent for Shahu Maharaj's trip to Jejuri.⁶⁷

4.5. Camel diet:

Camels were given flour, ghee, jaggery, and pepper to eat. In monsoon season,

⁶⁵ Govind Gopal Tipnis, Kautilya Arthshastra Pradeep, Sakharam Govind Virkud, Mumbai, 1923, P. 147.

⁶⁶ Jaysinghrao Pawar, Shivaji V Shivkaal, Phadke Prakashan, Kolhapur, 1997, P. 245.

⁶⁷ Shamla Panse, Marathyancha Tophkhana, Marven Technologies, Pune, 2020, P. 55

only elephant spice is given to camels.⁶⁸ At that time, worship and fasting was followed very strictly. Therefore, camels were also given their meals on other days except two Ekadashis of the month.⁶⁹

5. Armour

Introduction:

It's crucial to understand what armour is before learning more about it in the Peshwa era. Can any ruler's military branch have armoury power? Reviewing the historical references that can be found in this regard is important. Earth is made up of three-fourths water and one-fourth land. Seas and oceans are the names given to the water-filled areas on Earth. Bays and large rivers are also crucial for reservoirs, in addition to this. On the ground, numerous tourism-related vehicles were developed.

In a similar vein, vehicles for use on water, or boats, were developed. Marine vehicles, fireboats, motor launches, submarines, and other inventions were made as technology advanced. In other words, sailing and armour both advanced.⁷⁰ But in that respect, India was far behind, even if we check the references from the Hindu Indus Civilization, there are many references to this. Until scientific advances in armouring were made, light timbers that floated on water were used for this purpose. In the Vedic period the deity is described from above as a deity with knowledge of the sea route. This is why the emblem of the Indian armour is

"शं नो वरुणः".⁷¹

5.1. Chronological references

Various texts contain numerous references to armour, navies, or naval power in the Late Antiquity, Ancient, Early Middle Ages, and Medieval periods. Although the Indians did not make progress in this field like the Western people were aware of the armoury's power. It seems that this power is used as per the occasion. Its chronological evidence is as follows.

⁶⁸ V. K. Bhawe, Peshwekaalin Maharashtra, Bhartiya Itihaas Anusandhan Parishad, New Delhi, PP. 149,421

⁶⁹ Pune Archives Pune, Ghadni No. 275, Letter No. 658392 Modi document Appendix II, PP. 195-196

⁷⁰ N. G. Caphekar, Peshwaichya Sawalit, Op.cit, PP. 222 – 223

⁷¹ Dattatray Ketkar, Sarkhel Kanhoji Angre, Marven Technology, Pune, 2019, P. 100.

5.2: Vedic Vangmaya

Vedic Vangmaya is universally accepted as the oldest Vangmaya of the world. It includes the names of boats or devices that float on water. A passage in the Rigveda mentions that the ship was dancing up and down on the waves. In another scripture it is said that man has created a name for the sea which has no end. The word 'Nausadhan' occurs in the Raghu vansh. Whereas in Ramayana one has to cross river Ganga in search of Sita.⁷²

The Indus Civilization also finds a lot of evidence in this context. The study of this culture is done through excavations and some remains. It is also done through some coins and ornaments. Images of fish and ships have been found on some of the shikis here. Also pictures of ships have been found on burnt khapars. Excavations have yielded replicas of ships at some locations. From this, it is believed that sailing took place in the Indus civilization.⁷³

Kautilya 'Arthashastra' also mentions Kautilya Armara. It is seen that sea trade was mainly done during the period of Kautilya i.e., during the period of Chandragupta Maurya through ship building and sea transport. Kautilya in his treatise has given the following names of authority on ships. The head of the ship was called 'Nawadhiksha'. During the time of Kautilya, ships were used to extract pearls from the sea.⁷⁴ From the Satavahana period to the Yadavas of Devagiri, there is no special mention of armour.

5.2. In 1318, the Yadavas of Devagiri were destroyed. After that there was no such powerful ruler at least in South India. In the north, however, the Sultanate started from 1206. There is no mention of armour during the Sultanate period. Even during the reign of Babur to Aurangzeb, there is no evidence of a capable armour. But since the Mughal Empire spread all over India, Janjirekar Siddhi's armoury on the west coast was under the rule of the Mughals. That is why the writer Srivastava said, "The Moguls had no navy of their own"⁷⁵.

⁷² Ibid, P. 101.

⁷³ D.R. Ketkar, Bhartiya Naukanaynacha Itihaas, Marven Technology, Pune, 2019, PP. 21 - 22.

⁷⁴ Ibid, PP. 36 - 37.

⁷⁵ Ashirbadal Srivastava, The Mughal Empire (1526 – 1803AD), Agra, 1976, P. 489.

Thus, it is assumed that the Sultanate and the Mughal Empire did not have an independent navy in the ancient and medieval period. In such a background, the beginning and progress of armour made by Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj in the seventeenth century is significant.

5.3 The seventeenth century is very important in the medieval period of India. Because in this century, Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj of Maharashtra and the establishment of 'Swarajya' happened. Shivaji Maharaj raised a powerful army to establish self-government and protect religion by supporting the Muslim power in India. Similarly, he created an armada to protect the riots on the west coast, to provide them with employment and to deter western powers from entering India. A mention of Armaar as a separate State is found in the 'Aadnyapatr' on Page No. 36. In 1659 i.e., after the victory of Javali, the construction of armour started.

In the early period Maharaja created the positions of 'Mynayak' and 'Daryasarang' as naval officers. Armored ports, armoured forts stood here. Armara is known to have produced a variety of small and large instruments that floated on water.⁷⁶ Example: Use of takht, sot, dola sticks, wood was necessary. Therefore, the wood of teak, mango, fanas etc. trees were considered to be especially important. That is why there was a royal order not to cut these trees.⁷⁷

The small and big ships that were in Shiva's armoury are found either. Thus, information is available in different parts on these ships. Although Galbat means boat, it also has many types. Galbattas made to pass through creeks were called 'bateles'. The big problem was called 'Fattemari' and 'Mahagiri'. The slope of the shallow well was called 'Tarfa'. Expert carpenters were needed for the construction of galbat. The horizontal timber taken first is called 'Mandi'. Mandi was the auspicious log of wood for building of Galbats. All these Galbats were steered by the will of the sailor, so the rudder was used. Cloth shingles were used to sway the wind speed. Sailors used sign language. Example: 'daman ghe' means to twist the shead while 'ghos ghe' means to tie a rope. The short journey of these Galbats was called 'Feri' and the long journey was called 'Safar'. Galbata's halting spot was called 'Varwa'.

⁷⁶ V. K. Bhawe, Shivrajya V Shivkaal (Shivkaalin Maharashtra), Op.cit., PP. 195 -198.

⁷⁷ R. C. Dhere, Adnyapatra, Padmgandha Prakashan, Pune, 2014, P. 106.

The Koli people used a fishing net called 'Dolkar Machwe'. Koli people were not only Navadis, Daldi were Muslims, Kharvi were Kachchi, Ambi were Kandi, the other people were also Navadis. Apart from this many names like Manji, Shipil, Panwal, Fani, Pal, Mambad were given to the ships. While Asaman, Ankada, Ubhe, Aade, Kurwak, Adavan, and many names were given to the small and large parts of the ships. Posts such as khambya, sailor, watchman were made for the maintenance of these ships. And everyone's work on the ship was ensured. All these officers had to know the entire environment at the sea. The further journey of the galbats was determined on several types of winds such as Avgwanda, Gawran, Tonda Vara, Matalaya.⁷⁸

The armour raised by Maharaj was a challenge to all the powers of that time. In order to strengthen the Armara, the Maharaja built Armari forts on the west coast. And this chain of forts completely secured the coast. A look at the map of this sea fort on the Konkan coast makes the Maharaja's contribution to armaments clear.⁷⁹ Just as 'Jaladurga' was built, the Maharaja also started shipbuilding in some important forts. Example: Sindhudurg, Vijaydurg, Gopalgad, Suvarnadurg, Kolaba etc. Although the Maharajas started armaments as a necessity, soon the expansion of their kingdoms made armaments a political necessity for the Marathas to have a firm grip on the ocean. Much of the money the Maharaja looted from the important cities was used to build armour. Such was the armour of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj.⁸⁰

After the death of the Maharaja, the leadership of Swarajya came to Shambhu Raja. At this time there were two serious challenges before Shambhu Raja. They are Bhaubandaki and Aurangzeb. As Aurangzeb himself came to the south to subvert Swaraj, the war fronts increased a lot. Aurangzeb was trying to destroy the armour of the Marathas. Aurangzeb held Janjirekar Siddhi in hand. Shambhu Raja constantly tried to capture Janjira. But there was no success. Sambhaji Raje died in 1689 after fighting Aurangzeb for nine years to protect Swarajya. We get an authentic letter about how he fought an armed struggle with Aurangzeb. It is of the year 1697 and has Janjirekar Siddhi

⁷⁸ N. G. Caphekar, *Peshwaichya Sawalit*, Op.cit, PP. 224 - 231.

⁷⁹ D. R. Ketkar, *Bhartiya Naukanaynacha Itihaas*, Op.cit, P. 148, Appendis no.1, Plate no.1.

⁸⁰ Ibid, P. 147.

In the same letter there are names of different types of ships.⁸¹ After this, during the reign of Chhatrapati Rajaram and Maharani Tarabai, Armara was neglected a lot. Still the task of managing the west coast was entrusted to Shidhoji Ghorpade. But due to Aurangzeb's invasion, it became very difficult for Shidhoji Ghorpade to manage the Konkan coast. So Kanhoji Angre, who was working with Shidhoji, came forward to take charge of Armari power.

5.3. Peshwa Armour:

Introduction:

Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj created a powerful army during the period of Swarajya and created a tremendous fear of foreign enemies and Muslim powers. The sea is ours; the armour is ours. Therefore, merchant ships other than Marathas need Maharaja's license to ply on the sea. Merchant taxes were also levied on foreign ships. The same tradition continued during the Peshwa period as well. However, Armari's progress and strength were hampered due to the Maratha War of Independence and Aurangzeb's stay in the south.

Sidhoji Gujar was appointed as the chief during the reign of Sambhaji Raja of Armara, and he was in charge of Armara. But in 1698 Sidhoji Gujar died and was succeeded by Kanhoji Angre. The Maharaja started the construction of Armar around 1658. At that time, Kanoji's father Tukoji joined Sankpal Maharaj in the armoury service. He appointed as a 'killedar' of 'Suvarnadurga'. 'Suvarnadurg' became the birth place of Kanhoji in future. There were many armed conflicts during the reign of Shambhu Raja. At that time, Kanhoji was working as an assistant to Nakadhipati Sidhoji Gujar.

Armari chiefs were called 'Daryasarang' and 'Maynayak' during Maharaja's time, while 'Navakadhipati' was called during Shambhu raja's time. After Sidhoji's death in 1698, Kanhoji assumed command of the Marathi army.⁸² During the Peshwa period, Kanhoji's armoury performance was commendable. Therefore, it is in order to

⁸¹ D. V. Aapte and R. V. Oturkar, Sadhan Parichay Arthat Maharashtra (Marathyancha Patrup itihaas), Pune Vidyarthi Gruh Prakashan, Pune, 1941, PP. 26 -27, Letter No. 25, appendix no. 1, Plate no. 2.

⁸² Govind Sakharan Sardesai, Marathi Riyasat Vol.3, Op.cit, P. 95.

take a separate review of the armour during Kanhoji's period, i.e., during the period of Peshwas.

6. Prehistory of Kanhoji Angre:

The name of Kanhoji Angre is taken as the standard of Marathi armour. Kanhoji was born on Suvarnadurga in 1669 on the eve of Gokul Ashtami. He is the son of father Tukoji and mother Bimbabai. Bimbabai took a vow to God Kanhoba and got this son. Hence, he was named Kanhoji. Born during Chhatrapati Shivaji Shivaraya's reign, Kanhoji must have benefited from the Maharaja's armour construction and dominance over the sea. Having spent all his childhood on the beach, Kanhojis never feared the ocean. The Kanhojis were traditionally trained in riverside life by their father Tukoji and uncle Rayachi. According to the astrology of the Joshi Brahmin Kanhoji used to work for in the port of Harne, Kanhoji would attain Raja Yoga in the future. Joshi Brahmin taught Kanhoji business, politics and weapons. Kanhoji was fond of collecting various types of weapons and swords.⁸³ Kanhoji had already proved his armorial prowess even before attaining the rank of 'Sarkhel' of the Marathi Armara.

6.1. Attainment of Sarkhel post:

Prior to Sarkhelpada, Kanhoji had contributed arms during the reigns of Chhatrapati Sambhaji Raje, Chhatrapati Rajaram Maharaj, and Maharani Tarabai. In 1689, Kanhoji and Bhivaji defeated Aurangzeb's Sardar Muhammad Khan at Chaul and Sagargarh. And Janjirekar had bowed to Siddhi. 1689 to 1700 was the period of Chhatrapati Rajaram and Maharani Tarabai. In 1694 Kanhoji Angre was conferred the highest title of Sarkhel in the Marathi Armory by Maharani Tarabai at the sea fort of Vijaydurg.⁸⁴ Even though Kanhoji was a chief of Tarabai's party, he treated Chhatrapati Shahu as his lord. Despite actually being under Tarabai's reign, Kanhoji was doing his duty for Shahu. This is evident from a genuine letter. That letter was written by Kanhoji himself to Chhatrapati Shahu. This letter dated March 23, 1709 becomes important as authentic evidence. It contains the information about which symbols Kanhoji sent and how much cash was sent.⁸⁵ This makes it clear that Kanhoji, who was the head of Armari power, was in Shahu's service.

⁸³ Dattatray Ketkar, Sarkhel Kanhoji Angre, Op.cit, PP. 27 - 29.

⁸⁴ Dr. D. R. Ketkar, Bhartiya Naukanaynacha Itihaas, Op.cit, P. 151.

⁸⁵ Govind Sakharan Sardesai, Marathi Riyasat Vol.3, Op.cit, P. 98.

Kanhoji had given the English and the Portuguese a good night's sleep on the beach around 1712. Kanhoji raised a new armada by plundering many ships of the Western powers.⁸⁶ Even in a very transitional state, Kanhoji Angre maintained the superiority of Marathi armour. But due to Tarabai's domestic war, Kanhoji had taken the wrong decision to go after Shahu.

6.2 Kanhoji Angre joined Chh. Shahu:

Chhatrapati Shahu started ruling in Satara from 1708. But the reign was not going well because Maharani Tarabai had started a conflict. Kanhoji Angre was an Armari Sarkhel in Maharani's party. At the instigation of Tarabai, Kanhoji decided to attack Chhatrapati Shahu. But at the same time Kanhoji was forced to surrender due to the increasing power of British and Siddhis. Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath started negotiations with Kanhoji. And mighty Armari chieftains like Kanhoji joined Shahu through the diplomacy of the Peshwas without shedding a drop of blood.

6.3 Armari Contributions of Kanhoji:

Chhatrapati and Kanhoji benefited from this after Kanhoji came to Shahu. Kanhojis got 10 seaforts and 16 mahals from Bombay to Khare Patan from Shahu. Shahu also gave the titles 'Vajartamav' and 'Sarkhel'. Kanhoji received a territory worth about 24 lakh rupees from Shahu. It was decided that Kanhoji should give Chhatrapati 12000 in cash, 12000 worth of cloth and other things every year. Kanhoji remained a superior from the Marathas. But Siddhis, British, Portuguese and other foreign powers became enemies of Kanhoji.

The British did not like this rise of Kanhoji. Because Kanhoji became a major obstacle to their trade. However, the British referred to Kanhoji as the Shivaji of the Sea due to his sea prowess. Kanhoji had a good fight with the maritime powers. Notably, Kanhoji attacked the British ship 'Godophlin' near Khanderi. Also, they attacked the ship named 'Ann' at Karwar and defeated the English captain 'Chaun'. Kanhoji was constantly capturing British and Portuguese ships.

An English ship named 'Sussex' was captured by Kanhoji. Because of Kanhoji, the British, Portuguese and Siddhis became very afraid of the Marathi army. During his

⁸⁶ Ibid, P. 97.

career, Kanhoji established the dominance of Marathi armour on the west coast. During the reigns of Chhatrapati Shahu, Balaji Vishwanath Peshwa and Bajirao Peshwa, Kanhoji maintained the strength of the Marathas by taking care of their armour. Such an accomplished armoury-chief died on July 4, 1729. His mausoleum can still be seen at Alibaug. Kanhoji also played a great role in politics as he managed the Maratha army. Also contributed in justice, social work. Kanhoji built 'Surjekot' in 1699 before Shahu came to Chhatrapati and built 'Hirakot' in 1700 in the village of Alibag.⁸⁷

After Kanhoji's death, all three of his wives performed well. Kanhoji's women were Mathurabai, Lakshmibai and Gahinabai. Also, Kanhoji had six sons and one daughter.⁸⁸ Kanhoji also had the power to levy taxes on ships. It is called 'Dustak Dene'. For this he had shed his own coins. Kanhoji's rupee was called 'Alibagi Rupee'. Kanhoji's mints were at Alibaug, Revdanda, Mandve.⁸⁹ In brief, Kanhoji worked as an able army chief during Chh. Shiva period and Peshwa period.

7. Marathi armour after Kanhoji Angre:

After the death of Kanhoji Angre, civil strife broke out in the Angre family. Actually, maintaining the west coast was a very important task for the Marathi state. Because the western powers were sitting there. But because of Angre's civil strife, Angre was not only destroyed but the Marathi kingdom was also lost. Sekhoji was in power for some time after Kanhoji's death.

After Sikhoji came Sambhaji and Manaji. Manaji was weak in attitude and also deceitful. Manaji treacherously brought the Firangi people to Kulaba and gave Divangiri to his full brother Tulaji. And took out the eyes of his half-brother Yesaji.⁹⁰ This mention is also found in Peshwa Daptar Volume-four page 41. However, the Siddhi Portuguese and the British continued to take advantage of the conflict between Sambhaji, Manaji, and Tulaji. Sambhaji was impetuous and angry. But Tulaji was responsible. Finally, the elder Baji Rao had to pay attention due to these conflicts. On the request of Manaji, Peshwa travelled from Pune to Pali in just one and a half days and came to Konkan. Staying in the camp near Colaba for two months, the Peshwas tried to settle the conflict. Finally, Manaji himself gave the title 'Vajartamav' by dividing

⁸⁷ D. R. Ketkar, Sarkhel Kanhoji Angre, Op.cit, PP. 33 - 53.

⁸⁸ Govind Sakharan Sardesai, Marathi Riyasat Vol.3, Op.cit, P. 570.

⁸⁹ D. R. Ketkar, Sarkhel Kanhoji Angre, Op.cit, P. 78.

⁹⁰ G. S. Sardesai, Marathi Riyasat, Vol. 4, Popular Prakashan, Mumbai, 2010, P. 570.

the armour of Angre into two parts. And he was kept at Colaba while Sambhaji was given the title of 'Sarkhel' and kept at Suvarnadurga. But this splits the armed forces and the conflict continued. All such conditions were during Bajirao's reign, Sambhaji Angre died at Alibaug on 20th January 1742.⁹¹ During Bajirao Peshwa's time, the history of Angre family happened as above.

Even though Armar was a main pillar as per Ramchandrapant Amatya's Adnyapatra, but the backbone of this Armar was broken during the reign of the third Peshwa Balaji Bajirao aka Nanasaheb. The west coast was protected from foreigners due to the construction of armour. The armour-building on the west coast also made it easier to keep an eye on Siddhi. But Nanasaheb Peshwa did not hold this view. Civil strife started in the Angre family during the time of the elder Bajirao and it continued during the time of Nanasaheb as well. After the death of Sambhaji Angre, the feud between Manachi Angre and Tulaji Angre continued.

The Peshwas were very hostile towards Tulaji. In fact, Tulaji was a very influential army officer. He had once again created a crack in the armour of the Marathas. But the Peshwas did not understand the importance of Tulji. In this way, enemies like the British started paying attention to this dispute. Taking advantage of this, Ramji Mahadji Bivalkar, Sarsubedar of Konkan, set up a huge conspiracy against Tulaji. And decided to sink Tulaji's armor with the help of the British. An agreement was signed on 19 March 1755 between the British officer Richard Bouchier and the Peshwa officer Ramji Pant. It was decided that the British and the Peshwas should jointly sink Tulaji's armor and that Tulaji's ships should be shared equally. During this ride, from the side of Peshwe, Ramjipant, the main Nana Pant of the Maratha army, Dinkar Pant and Samsher Bahaddar marched on Suvarnadurga. As a result of this war, Tulaji was about to be defeated because the British and the Peshwas had come together and their power was greater. The battle ended with the defeat of Tulaji and the breaking of the backbone of the Marathi army. Tulajis was imprisoned. Tulaji was imprisoned in different places till 1786. He died in the fort of Vandan. The Peshwas were definitely at fault in this case. According to senior historian Rajwade, Nanasaheb sank the armoury established by Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj with great vision with the help of foreigners.

⁹¹ D. R. Ketkar, Sarkhel Kanhoji Angre, Op.cit, P. 161.

All these events have been arranged in a formulaic manner in the Marathi princely state.⁹²

This does not mean that the Marathi armour has ended but it is true that the backbone of the Marathi armour has been broken. However, after the battle of Panipat, there was an attempt to strengthen the Marathi armour during the time of Madhavrao I. Madhavrao Peshwa was trying to fix the chaos caused by the Panipat war. Madhavrao was aware that the Western enemies could not be restrained unless the Maratha armature was created on the west coast. That is why he appointed Anandrao Dhulap as the head of armour to enable armoury system. Due to the conflict between the British and Nansahab Peshwa, the influence of the Marathi army was greatly reduced. One of the reasons why Madhavrao focused on this field but did not achieve the desired success was the rift between armour chief Anandrao Dhulap and armour officer Dharkar. Finally, the solution was that instead of Dharkar and other armour officers, the armour powers should be transferred to Anandrao Dhulap. A man named Krishnaji Narayan was appointed as armoury clerk in 1781-82. Anandrao should pay the cost of preparing an armoured fleet of 3 paal, 3 gurabs and 13 galbats from the mahal given to Anandrao. Also, those who do not have armoury Dastak i.e., license should be seized and looted and ransomed. And from that money also the armoury expenses should be paid. However, the right to appoint blacksmiths, carpenters and cobblers for armour was also briefly given.⁹³

From this reference it is clear that armour was not completely destroyed during the Peshwa period. However, the fear of armoury power did not stay on the west coast like it was in the Shivaji Maharaj's reign. That is why foreign powers like the British got a chance to establish a foothold on the west coast. Because the strength of the British was in waters i.e., in the armour. During the Shivaji's reign, the British could not move at all because of the Marathi armour. However, the Marathas' negligence of armour during the Peshwa period and the destruction of the Marathi armour during the third Peshwa period with the help of the British became very important for the establishment of British power in India.

⁹² G.S.Sardesai, Marathi Riyasat, Vol. 4, Op.cit, P. 570.

⁹³ G. S. Sardesai, Peshwe Daptar, Vol. 6, P. 195 - 196.

8. Armari references in unpublished papers:

While conducting scientific research on any subject from any period, unpublished papers on that subject are of high quality. While thoroughly studying the Peshwas' armour and keeping in mind the importance of unpublished documents in research, the study of armour has been deepened by referencing some important unpublished Modi documents here. These documents are from Pune archives and are being presented for the first time in this thesis. After the beginning of the Peshwa period, the period of the Chhatrapati's and Peshwas seem to have passed between establishing the kingdom and fighting with Mughals and Nizams. In this way the Peshwas also had to bear the brunt of the Panipat War of 1761. After 1761, however, the elder Madhavrao Peshwa revived the Maratha dynasty. Marathi armour seems to have been strengthened during his time. From the very beginning, the Peshwas took care of the axis of the armour. But some important unpublished documents from the time of Madhavrao Peshwa have been found and those documents are being used.

8.1 During the time of the great Madhavrao Peshwas, work was going on to strengthen all the areas of the Peshwas. The Peshwa himself was attentive in every subject. His work speed was very high. He also paid attention to the west coast. Not only the armoury, the armoury ships, the weapons on them, should work smoothly. The Peshwas tried to ensure proper administration in the Phadnisi (handwriting account) department as well. An example is this unpublished letter. This letter is dated 1764 and is given by Madhavrao Peshwa to the armoury officer Anandrao Dhulap. The seal of Madhavrao Peshwa is found on this letter.

According to the customs and traditions, Baji Ganesh Karve was given the right to be the Mutalik of Phadnisi. But Kesa Ballal had written that he (Kesa Ballal) should look after the affairs of mutual Phadnisi. Therefore, the Peshwa sent this edict through Dhulap, thereby seeming to warn that government affairs should remain as per government order. No one should interfere in the affairs by writing mutual private letters. In the original letter, the wording "ज्याचा धंदा त्याने करावा" is used for the work he should do.

Therefore, from the date of receiving the letter from the Peshwas, Baji Ganesh Karve should do the work of Phadnisi. Baji Ganesh Karve will manage the affairs of

Phadnisi according to the rules laid down for doing the work of Fadnisi. In this regard, the letters written to each other should be sent via Dhulap to the Peshwa court.

From this letter, Madhavrao Peshwa's grip on governance is clear, as well as how gray he looked at even the smallest details. In fact, despite this very common issue, the Peshwas took notice of it so deeply. This is special. Of course, such things were talked about and everyone was surprised. It was due to Madhavrao's work that the Marathi power, which had collapsed in all areas, was revived after the Panipat War of 1761. But unfortunately, no letter number is found on this.⁹⁴

8.2 An unpublished manuscript dated 1777 has also been received during Madhavrao Peshwa's reign. This letter sheds light on the agreement made when Tulaji Angre took the post of Sarkhel. The dissensions in Kanhoji Angre's family are famous. According to this letter, it appears that Dive Province and Srivardhan Province and the forts under them should be divided.⁹⁵ From this, it can be seen that Marathi Shahi started to sink gradually from within.

8.3 This manuscript is from the time of Madhavrao Peshwa, 1770 AD. This is a letter. This is a treaty between the Peshwa Darbar and Janjirekar, in which both of them should give up the Galbatas, Mahagiras, Dangyas and Batels that they had captured from each other. When Bhikaji Govind the officer sends the letter, these galbates etc. will circulate in the sea. The people of the Peshwa court should not catch the dastak of Janjirekar i.e., the galbats with signature stamps. This treaty was made from Vasai.⁹⁶

8.4 According to the little information available in some unpublished documents regarding armoury, the Peshwa Darbar's pact with the Janjirekars was clear. And according to this agreement, Matgad fort will be given by the Peshwas.⁹⁷ From the following letter, from the reign of the elder Bajirao Peshwa to the reign of Narayanarao Peshwa, the list of treaties made by the Pune Darbar with the Janjirekars is given in the

⁹⁴ Pune Archives Pune, Ghadni No. 275, Letter No. 646253 Modi document
Appendix II, PP. 197-198

⁹⁵ Pune Archives Pune, Ghadni No. 275, Letter No. 646154/2 Modi document
Appendix II, PP. 199-200

⁹⁶ Pune Archives Pune, Ghadni No. 275, Letter No. 646178 Modi document
Appendix II, PP. 201-202

⁹⁷ Pune Archives Pune, Ghadni No. 275, Letter No. 646145 Modi document
Appendix II, PP. 203-204

order of AD. ⁹⁸ By letter of 1778 again there are clauses of treaty between Peshwa government and Janjirekar. In this way, Janjirekar's galbates, mahagirias, and harlots, batels captured by the Peshwas will be transported to Murud port. ⁹⁹

From the above letters, it is seen that between the chain of power and the armoury power of the Peshwas, there was a reconciliation agreement and a complementary armoury policy was planned.

⁹⁸ Pune Archives Pune, Ghadni No. 275, Letter No. 646700.

⁹⁹ Pune Archives Pune, Ghadni No. 275, Letter No. 646199/1.

Weapons

Introduction:

Looking through the history of the world since time immemorial, one thing has always been important in all eras and for all rulers, and that is one who is strong is able to rule. We can create self-government (*Swarajya*) by facing the tyranny. That's why it was saying, "Might is right" This force or strength that a ruler enjoys is due to his war skills and the various weapons that he has at hand to win the war successfully. Therefore, weapons are an important factor for war, battles, strategy.

The secret of any successful ruler is to create these weapons over the period of time, to continuously increase the weapons, to continuously create weapons. Enemies of any ruler consider that ruler to be the best because of the military power. Similarly, the subjects of the ruler who has the best weapons give superiority to their king. *Kautilya's 'Arthashastra'* and Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaja's '*Aadnyapatra*' also describe the importance of weapons. It means arms are the strength of rulers, army and soldiers. In the 18th century, the Peshwas expanded the Maratha Empire with the force of weapons and the name of the Maratha dynasty became universal.

A weapon is a very rough concept. Dissecting this concept reveals a variety of weapons. In this chapter, weapons are going to be studied in a coherent manner by reviewing the period from ancient times to the Peshwa period. For this paper, some important armories will be visited. This paper has been written with the help of primary-secondary sources, through information received from manufacturers of arms archives.

1. Background of Weapons:

Along with the creation of man, the progress of man in all aspects can be explained in the same way as the progress of weapons can be studied. When man was born, his two needs came to the fore: food and self-preservation. To fulfill both these needs he needed weapons. This means that since the origin of man, he needed weapons. The primitive manmade weapons with the help of stones and bones. By giving these stones and bones a sharp appearance, man used them for food supply and self-defense.

"Man is a social animal, distinguished by culture, by the ability to make tools and communicate ideas" Such is the description of the stone age man. Also, it is clear

that in the Stone Age man was completely dependent on weapons. In short, for man their weapons were his God, his jewels, his power, his action, his treasure, his everything. With the help of these tools, he used to draw pictures on the walls of the caves and light fires. On the basis of these weapons, humans took steps of progress.¹

1.1 Mythological and ancient times:

Arms and weapons were used as a destructive tool in mythological and ancient times. This weapon can be classified into three types.

- 1) Mantra-based 2) Yantra-based 3) Paanimukta-based

1) Mantra-based:

Mantra-based weapons were created by chanting mantras or ritually invoking gods and goddesses. Such weapons are considered divine e.g., *Agniastra*, *Parjanyastra*, *Waayavyaasta*, *Brahmastra*, *Pasupatastra*, *Narayanastra* etc. Such weapons were created by the invocation of the gods and goddesses in the actual battlefield for the destruction of the enemy.

2) Yantra-based Astra:

These weapons are created in the order of method, mantra, experiment, destruction. Such weapons are called “*Chatushpada*” in *Mahabharata*.

3) Paanimukta Weapons:

Weapons like stone slings, slingshots, spears, bows and arrows, fireballs. As progress was made, throwing weapons such as spears, maces, axes, etc. were produced. These and such weapons were classified according to their throwing distance. During this period, as different names of weapons are found, different animals are also mentioned to carry these weapons, like elephants, horses, bulls, etc.

All the above weapons were used by one soldier in fighting with another soldier. This used to kill one enemy at a time. This also progressed over time. Example of this typed battle is found in *Ramayana* is *Hanuman* and his burning of *Lanka* with his tail. During *Mahabharat*, many people had to die in ‘*Lakshagriha*’. These weapons

¹ G. N. Pant, Indian Arms and Armour, Vol. 1, Army Educational Stores, New Delhi, 1978, PP. 1 – 2.

also evolved into missile-like weapons and came into use when fighting enemies at long distances. ²

“Weapons that are useful in the battlefield, weapons that protect forts and weapons that destroy the enemy's city should be prepared by the ruler from his officer. Arms should be manufactured by taking artisan craftsmen who manufacture such weapons. Arms, Armours, Helmets etc. A ruler should make various types of weapons as his main duty.

It was important not only to manufacture weapons, but also to build weapons factories in appropriate places and to take care of weapons. Classification of weapons, number, place of manufacture, characteristics, etc. of major arms of the Arms Department. Things should be kept in detail." This information shows that during *Arya Chanakya's* time, India was modern and self-reliant in terms of armaments, which is why India extended its borders to Iran. ³

Ancient weaponry seems to have depended on two important weapons. Of the two types of weapons and *astra*, a weapon is capable of seriously injuring or killing the person in front of it. *Astra* means a weapon that is chanted with the help of the ‘*Panchamahabhutas*’ (five elements). An *astra* could defeat or kill an enemy at a distance or at close range. Weapons, however, were useful against the nearest enemy. The following Sanskrit verse is helpful for the distinction between *shastra* and *astra*,

"दूरं चान्तं च यत् शस्त्रं शत्रूघातं करं भवेत्,
तदस्त्रमिती जामियादन्यथा शस्त्रिच्यते " ⁴

Regarding the weapons, we have to consider the foreign invasions of the ancient times, because the foreign invasions like Sakas, Huns, Yavanas, Kshatras, Arabs, Turks, Mughals added to the variety of weapons in India and a unique weapon heritage was created in India. The main reason for the advancement in weapons was the skill

² Vijaya Wad, Marathi Vishvkosh, Vol.17, Maharashtra Rajya Nirmiti Mandal, Mumbai, 2007, P.664.

³ Baalshastri Hardas, Aaryachanakya Vibhutimatva Kaary v Raajkiya Tatvdnyan-1, Kaal Prakashan, Pune, 1968, PP.290 – 291.

⁴ Pandit Mahadev Shastri Joshi, Bhartiya Sanskriti Kosh, Vol. 1, Bhartiya Sanskriti Mandal, 1997, Pune, P. 341.

and efficiency of the artisans.⁵ In this way, along with the creation and progress of human beings, the creation and progress of weapons is seen in ancient times.

1.2 Medieval period:

During the medieval period, India was ruled by Hindu, Muslim and Western powers in different regions. Therefore, there is a lot of increase in weapons. The medieval period can be dated from AD 1206 after the establishment of Sultanate to AD 1818. Stone and metal weapons were produced during this period. During this period too, there was a distinction between arms and weapons, as missiles were created. E.g., Guns, cannons etc.

All rulers in the Middle Ages were using weapons such as arms and missiles, these rulers also had the knowledge of making all three types of weapons. The manufacture of guns and cannonballs in India started from the 14th century. Before cannons, there was a method of destroying the enemy's fort and enemy's city by hitting it with elephants. But with the advent of guns, this task became much easier. Cannons used to injure people as well as buildings. The use of firearms increased in the 15th century. Guns were mounted with bayonets. Swords, spears, shields etc. were used in the Maratha period. Weapons of this type began to be used on a large scale. The Marathas used to manufacture cannons themselves and also bought from foreigners. During the Shivaji period, there were not many open field battles. But during the Peshwa period, the amount of field fighting increased. Therefore, cannons were widely used during the Peshwa period.⁶

1.3 Chhatrapati Shivaji's Era:

In the history of Maharashtra, Chhatrapati Shivaji's era is considered as an era of motivation. Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj overcame the difficulties with the strength of his wonderful qualities and created Swarajya despite the fact that Muslims were in power everywhere in the 17th century. As all the rulers were strong, they had adopted '*Ganimi Kawa*' (guerrilla warfare) style of warfare in the military field. Similarly, he had adopted a modern approach in the matter of weapons.

⁵ Girija Dhudhat, Shastrvedh - Madhyugin Bhartaache Shastrparv, Continental Prakashan, Pune, 2022, P. 3.

⁶ Vijaya Wad, Marathi Vishvkosh, Vol.17, Op.cit, PP. 664 – 665.

Missiles were developed on a large scale during this period to defend forts and attack enemies at long distances. Missiles include Guns, *Garnalas*, *Sutarnalas*, *Jejale* etc. weapons included. We have already seen in this paper that artillery was a separate department during this period among the missiles, guns were of particular importance. The English scholar Friar of this period and Grand Duff also mentions that the Marathas had guns. During Chhatrapati Shivaji's era there were types of guns like *Farmasi*, *Lahuri*, *Narvari*, *Chapa*, *Toda* guns etc. However, there is not much information available about the place where the guns manufactured in the Chhatrapati Shivaji's era. The Shivaji Maharaja had adopted the policy of buying guns as well as cannons from the western powers.⁷ But foreign powers used to sell old and scrap guns to the Marathas. The British policy was that the Marathas should remain weak in arms and never produce arms independently.

The most important weapons of this period were sword and shield. Edged and straight swords of iron and steel and shields were made of tortoise back, rhinoceroses' skin, iron and steel. Similarly, spears and bows and arrows played an important role in missile category. *Khanda*, *Pepkawach*, *Katmari*, *Zambia*, *Mandu*, *Saga*, *Gurguz* (small mace) etc. Weapons were also used by the Marathas in war. The Marathas were also getting such weapons from the booty of the Muslims during the war. Like many factors, weapons also contributed to the establishment of Swarajya.⁸ Apart from the above-mentioned weapons, there is also information about other weapons in Chhatrapati Shivaji's era. E.g., *Kadabin*, *Sota*, *Tirkamatha*, *Panchahatyar* etc. Moreover, when the Marathas left for war, *Dudumbi*, *Krachak*, *Kahal*, *Panava*, *Gomukh*, *Singhe*, *Danka* etc. Military instruments were played.

The spear was the main weapon of the Marathas. The wood used to make spear sticks was available in the Sahyadri region. Dadaji Narasprabhu and Bajiprabhu Deshkulkarni had obtained sticks suitable for spears from the *Kavala* Forest.⁹ Even though many such weapons are mentioned in the period of Shivaji, considering the politics, warfare and geographical conditions of the period of Shivaji Maharajas used

⁷ V.K. Bhavé, *Shivrajya v Shivkaal*, Narayan Vasudev Bhavé, Pune, 1957, PP. 189 – 198.

⁸ B.R. Kamble, *Studies in Shivaji and His Times*, Shivaji University, Kolhapur, 1982, PP. 113 – 121.

⁹ V.K. Bhavé, *Shivrajya v Shivkaal*, Op.cit, PP. 140 – 143.

infantry and swords more. Reliable information about swords comes from primary texts.

During this period, the enemy was very afraid of the Maratha swordsmanship as well as Shivaji Maharaj's *Bhavani* sword. While striking with a sword, the strength of the arm increases with practice, it is called *karsya bal*. It is because of this that the words *Karbal*, *Karwal* were converted into the word *Talwar*. The sword was used everywhere. About sixty types of swords were in vogue during the Shivaji period and the swords of each region were known by different names.¹⁰

1.4 Peshwa Period:

When looking at the Peshwa period in terms of weapons, it is seen that the same weapons used during the Shivaji period were used continuously. The only difference was in the method of warfare and the enemy. During the Shivaji period, warfare was planned only for Maharashtra, so there were constant battles in the high plains and hilly areas. However, during the Peshwa period, the policy of expansion of the empire towards the north was planned from the Bajirao I, so the battles were more frequent in the plains and the movement of the army was faster. Due to this, cavalry and similar weapons as well as artillery were widely used. This does not mean that the weapons of the Shivaji period were not in existence during this period.

During the Peshwa period, the important enemies of the Marathas were the emperor of Delhi, the Nizam of Hyderabad, and foreign powers on the west coast and enemies on the north-west frontier. Various weapons were used during this period while fighting with them. Weapons were modern and in use according to the times which guaranteed victory. Just as planning, agile movement, various divisions of the army were considered important to win the war, weapons and ammunition also played a very important role.

The ruler who knew which weapon to use in which battle and with which enemy was victorious e.g., Bajirao Peshwa I. As Bajirao Peshwa I used to attack very fast on horseback and after defeating the enemy, he returned quickly, *Bakharkar* says about

¹⁰ Mukund Kale, *Itihaasache Sakshidar*, Manovikas Prakashan, Pune, 2007, PP. 85–86.

Bajirao I, that "Bajirao I and his army fought on horseback and rested on the horses."¹¹ Different and important weapons in this period are reviewed below.

2. Arms and Ammunition:

Although the use of weapons varies from person to person and from time to time, no separate era of weapons can be determined, yet the importance of each weapon never diminishes. In this background let us know about different weapons.

2.1 Sword:

Swords hold such an important place in weapons that the origin of this weapon can be traced directly to the Harappan civilization. According to Mackey, the remains of the sword were found in the excavations of 1930-31 AD in the Harappan culture. However, another researcher named Marshall says that there was no sword in the Harappan culture.¹² Although there are two opposing views about the swords of the Indus civilization, the Indus civilization was a progressive civilization in terms of time. Therefore, the opinion that there was no sword in Indus culture cannot be maintained. Because if we examine the history of human wars in any era and in any country, the sword was present in every era and in every war. Being a weapon of extraordinary efficiency, it is certain that it was used everywhere.

That is why many ancient texts refer to swords. E.g., in *Kautilya's Arthashastra*, he has given information about various swords. *Mandalagra*, *Asiyashti* etc. *Asi*, *Khadga*, *Asidhara* are names of swords in Vedic literature. Similar to the literary evidence, various forms of swords are also seen through reliable tools such as sculptures and coins. Swords are frequently mentioned from the Indus Civilization to the end of the Middle Ages, but the appearance of swords seems to have changed over time.¹³ After looking at this background of the sword, it can be concluded that the medieval period of India is considered to be the golden era as far as the sword is concerned. During this period, the Hindavi Swarajya led by Shivaji Maharaj in the 17th century

¹¹ Ibid., PP. 91 – 92.

¹² John Marshal, Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Valley Civilization, Vol. I, London, 1931, P. 35.

¹³ Girija Dhudhat, Shastrvedh- Madhyugin Bhartaache Shastrparv, Op.cit, PP. 70 – 73.

and the Maratha Empire led by the Peshwas in the 18th century were the important states in India. During this period, swords were widely used in continuous wars. The greatness of the sword begins with Shivaji Raja's *Bhawani Talwar*. Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj had three important swords named *Tulja*, *Jagdamba*, and *Bhavani*. As *Tuljabhavani* was the goddess of the Bhosale family, the swords must have been named after her. The practice of naming swords has been in practice since ancient times. As one of the supreme god *Vishnu's* swords was named *Nandak*. Similarly, there are different types of swords. *Khanda*, *Dhop*, *Firang*, *Patticha*, *Teg*, *Samsher* etc. In the book 'Girija Dudha's' *Shastravedha*, different types of swords are discussed in detail.

let's see the information about *Khanda* and *Dhop*. *Khanda* was a historical but important weapon. In the 12th century, *Khandera*, a Sardar of Prithviraj Chauhan, created this weapon and it probably got its name as *Khanda*. The *Khanda* sword was widely used in the Panipat War. The edge of this weapon made of steel was very sharp.¹⁴

2.1.1 Dhop:

This type of sword was also the favourite sword of the soldiers during the Peshwa period. Its blade will be straight and flexible. Cavalry chiefs used this type of sword. *Dhop* is single-edged and double-edged so it can strike the enemy from the front and back. The *Dhop* type sword doesn't have any joint anywhere, it was one piece sword. If *Dhop* is produced abroad was called *Firang*. Due to this reputation of the sword, the sword was favourite main fighting tool for centuries.

While making any weapon, the weapons were created keeping in mind the exact body part of the enemy to be hit. The arms, legs, neck and waist were struck by the sword, these parts of the body were disabled due to the blows of the sword,¹⁵ so the sword was the number one weapon during the Peshwa period as well as during the Shivaji period.

2.2 Javelin:

The word Javelin originated from Arabic language. That word is 'sinam'. Its front is called 'sunain' and the middle is called 'bunain'. However, according to Shakespeare, the word spear may have come from the Sanskrit language. From the word '*Bhalla*' the word *Bhala* may have come into use in the dialect language. There are

¹⁴ Sampadak Pandit Mahadev shastri Joshi, *Bhartiya Sanskriti Kosh*, Vol. 2, *Bhartiya Sanskriti Mandal*, Pune, 2004, PP. 620 – 630.

¹⁵ Mukund Kale, *Itihaasache Sakshidar*, Op.cit, PP. 87 – 90.

different opinions regarding the size and measurement of this weapon. A horseman's spear was of a narrow blade. Some spears were seven cubits long or ten and a half feet long.

There is variety in its length and there are also many types of blades and shape of the spear. Some blades were double-edged with long and sharp points. While the spears in the hands of the soldiers were decorative in the courts. Down on the battlefield, these spears were always held by soldiers facing the sky.¹⁶

There were many forms of this weapon, among which the spears of infantry soldiers were called "*padatikunt*". This spear was thrown from the top, killing the enemy with a single blow. The spears in the hands of the horse-throwing soldiers were called "*ashvakunta*". However, the *Ashakunta* spears were designed to be short and flexible to make it easier to spear the enemy in front of them by throwing the horse fast. A spear which would be hurled at the enemy while riding on an elephant was called "*Gajkunt*". It was long in size.

The spear was not a throwing weapon. The spear was thrust into the enemy's body and drawn out again, as each spearman carried a single spear. The Bajirao Peshwa I changed the fighting techniques and also changed the weapons, so spears were widely used during the Peshwa period.¹⁷

2.3 Wita :

Like a spear, Wita were a weapon designed to penetrate the chest of an enemy from a height of fifteen feet. The Wita structure consisted of a seven to eight-foot rope tied tightly to the back of the wita and to the rim. The other end of this rope is tied to the right wrist of the wielder of this weapon.

The wita would be thrown and the rope would be pulled back towards soldier, but the enemy would be completely injured in this throw. Wita was a free form weapon. 'Shiva Kashid' is named as the famous *Witekari* of Shivaji period.

Throwing wita at the enemy with precise aim and bouncing them back without harming oneself was indeed a skilful but risky task. That is why 'Witekari' were respected in the army.¹⁸

¹⁶ William Irvine, *The Army of Indian Mughals*, London, 1903, PP. 81 – 83.

¹⁷ Mukund Kale, *Itihaasache Sakshidar*, Op.cit, PP. 92 -93.

¹⁸ Girija Dhudhat, *Shastrvedh- Madhyugin Bhartaache Shastrparv*, Op.cit, PP. 35 – 36.

2.4 Dandapatta:

Another special weapon of the Marathas is Dandapatta. History does not know who invented it and when it was first used due to lack of resources. But this much is certain that this weapon was fully developed during the Maratha period. During Shivaji Maharaj and Afzal Khan's visit Syed Banda, who was an expert in wielding Dandpatta, was killed by Jiva Mahal and protected the Maharaj. This weapon called Dandapatta is an advanced state of the sword. Dandapatta is a weapon that can be wielded up to the wrist. Its blade is very long and have edge on both sides. This weapon was not useful in hand-to-hand combat. Dandpatta has to be wield parallel to the ground. Some of the mighty warriors were skilled in fighting with a Dandpatta in both hands.

The sling he would have to wield as the mould to hold the weapon was made to fit the soldier's hand. Moreover, this weapon should be made keeping in mind the physical capabilities of soldier. A warrior wielding a Dandpatta had to have a very sharp eye. Dandapatta could fight five to six enemies at a time, but if the blow missed, the soldier himself would die. Dandpatta was called a 'gauntest sword'.

The hollows of the Dandapatta were named *Vyaghramukhi* (tiger faced), *Varahmukhi* (boar faced), *Gajmukhi* (elephant faced) according to its shape. Dandapatta's blade was up to three and a half feet long. This weapon was used in historical times. Also, in modern times, the demonstrations of ancient sports also feature Dandapatta games. Regular practice is required to wield this mighty weapon.¹⁹

2.5 Lamb Pallyachi Toph:

Another deadly weapon used in the medieval period which can be classified as a 'Lamb Pallyachi Toph' like missile. There are private contractors who make 'Lamb Pallyachi Toph' for the Peshwas. In the Peshwa period, the cost of one fire arrow was five rupees. It is assumed that the wars carried by camels and mounted on camels may have been during the Peshwa period. After the British came to India, the use of 'Lamb Pallyachi Toph' started on a large scale. Just as ammunition was made, 'Lamb Pallyachi Toph' was also made. These iron weapons like calandric shape were filled with gunpowder.

After throwing this 'Lamb Pallyachi Toph' towards the enemy, it would explode and cause huge damage to the enemy. Bamboo was attached to propel the 'Lamb

¹⁹ Ibid, PP. 157 – 161.

Pallyachi Toph'. Skilled warriors used to use 'Lamb Pallyachi Toph' from a long distance or from a height. It was impossible to survive the rain of 'Lamb Pallyachi Toph'. 'Lamb Pallyachi Toph' was used in the battle of Panipat. Mughals used 'Lamb Pallyachi Toph' to scare elephantry. 'Lamb Pallyachi Toph' was used to blow up the ammunition of the enemy. 'Lamb Pallyachi Toph' was an important and effective weapon during the Peshwa period.²⁰

2.6 Bow & Arrow

Among missiles, bows and arrows have been an important weapon since the Vedic period. Atharvaveda, Aitareya Brahmana describes bows and arrows and their different parts. In Atharva Veda the arrow is called Shalya. In ancient India, Bana was referred to as Teer or Baan. Bows and arrows were used in ancient times in foreign countries as well as in India. But its names were different. E.g., In Persia the bow and arrow were called paiken. According to Dhanurveda Samhita there were ten types of arrow tip. Even in Sanskrit literature, it is mentioned that the tip of the arrow was called Trishul or Tridanda. According to mythology, Trishul or trident is the weapon of Lord Shankara. Shiva always has a trident in his hand.

The bow which used the arrow was also a common weapon. Bows were made from wood, animal horns. Both ends of the bow were tied with a rope. A curved part is placed in the middle to hold the bow. It is called handle. The rope tied to it was shorter than the bow. Various parts of the bow are discussed in Sanskrit literature. Dhanurveda Samhita discusses how to string the bow. Silk thread is used for the bow string. This thread was dipped in deer, cow and buffalo fat to make it shiny. Instead of silk thread, deer muscle was sometimes used as a bow string.

Hero stone of ancient times is a good example of bow and arrow being used for hunting animals and self-defense in the undeveloped stage of man. A sculpture of both men and women using bows and arrows for hunting has been found on Hero stone. This Hero stone fell in 'Animal figurine carved type' Hero stone. this hero stone is found at Mahalung village of Solapur district. Sometimes the arrows used for bows were poisoned. The Rigveda mentions poison being applied to the tip of the arrow, only the

²⁰ S. N. Sen, Sadashiv Shivde (trans), Marathyanchi Lashkari Vyastha, Diamond Publication, Pune, 2011, PP. 58 – 59.

tips of arrows made of metal were poisoned. In the Atharvaveda also, we find evidences of using this type of arrow. Dhanurveda describes how poisoned arrows were made.²¹

There were arrow factories during the Peshwa period. we found this reference in the letter dated 1765-66 AD of Madhavrao Peshwa. Bala Khanderao, a Peshwa officer, used to live in Nashik. To set up an arrow factory and send 270 arrows per month to the Durbar, Bala Khanderao was given certain amount from the Peshwa Darbar at Rs.5 per arrow. This is a letter from the Peshwa Darbar asking Bala Khanderao to help in that regard as acacia wood is needed for arrows.²²

From this letter it is clear that the bow and arrow were used during the battle during the Peshwa period. Depending on the weight of the rope used for the bow, the type of bow was determined. A book called Kodandamandan mentions eight types of bows.

Like the bows, there were different types depending on the weight of the bow. The weight of the bow ranged from two Palashas to a thousand Palashas. During the Swayamvara in epic period, heavy bows of this type were made, which were very difficult to lift. E.g., Lord Krishna's Sharang and King Janaka's Shivdhanushya.²³

2.7 Katyar (Dagger):

A very important and only Indian-made weapon is the Katyar. There is no evidence of this weapon in any country except India. Katyar was used from common people to rulers as it was very handsome, unique in design and easy to use. Moreover, Katyar was a small weapon that was easy to carry. This weapon has a hilt to hold it in the hand. The blade of the knife is exceptionally sharp and is triangular in shape with a sharp edge on both sides. There is a sheath to hold the knife. Due to its small size, the Katyar could be hidden in the sleeve of one's clothes.

²¹ G. N. Pant, Indian Arms and Armour, Vol. 1, Op.cit, PP. 97 – 116.

²² Ganesh Chimnaji Wad, The Peshwa Diary IX, Peshwa Madhavrao - Vol. I, The Deccan Vernacular Translation Society, Poona, 1911, P. 332., Letter no. 365.

²³ Sampadak Pandit Mahadev shastri Joshi, Bhartiya Sanskriti Kosh, Vol. 4, Bhartiya Sanskriti Mandal, Pune, 2023, PP. 549 – 555.

The enemy was injured in a moment by striking the ribs, stomach and neck with a Katyar. The best example of this is the killing of Afzal Khan. As Kattyaris are made in different states, they get different names. E.g., Maratha Katyar, Hyderabad Katyar, Mughal Katyar, Rajasthani Katyar etc.

Just as a Katyar was used to stab an enemy, a Katyar would be used as a display when honoring a person or to be paraded in a ceremony. Such a katyar is called Maankari katyar. Genuine gold, diamonds, emeralds, pearls etc. are used to decorate these katyar. Valuables were used.²⁴

2.8 Wagnakh (Tiger Claws):

In the history of the Shiv Chhatrapati of the seventeenth century of the Middle Ages, the story of Afzal Khan's killing with Wagnakh (Tiger Claws) is common and well-known. A tiger is a symbol of power, its claws are its weapon, so Wagnakh (Tiger Claws) were used as ornaments as well as weapons. Especially, two Wagnakh (Tiger Claws) were worn in the neck ornament. It was customary to hang Wagnakh (Tiger Claws) around children's necks as an amulet.

From different Sanskrit texts like Shivabharata, Abhilashtirtha, Chintamani, Harshacharit etc. Wagnakh (Tiger Claws) are mentioned. Shivbharatkar poet Parmanand says that the tiger claws around Chhatrapati's neck were studded with emeralds and were woven in black thread.²⁵ Both of them embrace each other, as Khana had fired his weapon at Maharaj, Raja killed by left hand Wagnakh (Tiger Claws) in the stabbing Khana's stomach.²⁶ This weapon was used by Shivaji Maharaj once. There is no evidence in history that any other ruler used the Wagnakh (Tiger Claws) after the assassination of Afzal Khan. Five sharp tiger claws were attached to a steel bar while making this weapon.

This band was placed on the wrist with the help of five rings and a bangle. Another type of tiger claw was designed to be mounted on only two finger rings, with five sharp tiger claws attached to an iron bar.²⁷ However, a special and important type

²⁴ Girija Dhudhat, Shastrvedh-Madhyugin Bhartaache Shastrparv, Op.cit, PP. 115 - 129.

²⁵ Sampadak Pandit Mahadev shastri Joshi, Bhartiya Sanskriti Kosh, Vol. 4, Op.cit, P. 552.

²⁶ Govind Sakham Desai, Marathi Riyasat, Vol. 1, Popular Prakashan, Mumbai 2010, P. 193.

²⁷ G.N. Pant, Studies in Indian Weapons and Warfare, Army Educational Stores, New

of tiger claw was to attach four tiger claws to a steel bar and leave room for two finger rings on the bar.

2.9 Gupti: This one weapon was used by everyone for self-defense. Weapons were hidden in a stick that was held in the hand while walking. There were different types of such Guptis. Sometimes while making a Gupti, this weapon was made by combining a pointed gun and a sharp long blade.²⁸

2.10 Shield:

In India for many centuries, an important weapon of self-defense, a weapon of the pair of swords, called the shield, has been prevalent in martial arts. Kautilya's Arthashastra as well as the Mahabharata give a detailed description of how shields were made in ancient times. During Kautilya's time shields were made from creeper, bamboo, wood and leather. Even in the medieval times, these defensive weapons were made from the same material.

During the Mahabharata period shields were also made from the skins of tigers and bulls. Sometimes it is decorated with jewels and gold. The shapes of shields were different. Some shields were round, elliptical and some were crescent shaped. There were three types of shields.

- i) Parrying Type ii) Round iii) Curved Oblong ²⁹

A shield is a weapon useful for self-defense against enemy weapons. That's why Dhali is called "Shariravarakam Shastram" in Sanskrit meaning the weapon that protects the body. There are many alternative names for the word Shild. e.g., Falcharma, Falaru etc. Tortoise backs, rhinoceros' skins and other animal skins were used to make this weapon. The shields of rulers and chiefs were covered with gold, silver, brass, copper. Sometimes the shield was so big that soldiers could hide behind it. The shield is usually round and has a handle on the inside to hold it. Four or more nails were driven into the center of the face of the shield, which could wound the enemy.

Delhi, 1970, P 185

²⁸ Ibid, P. 190.

²⁹ P. C. Chakravarti, The Art of War in Ancient India, Calcutta, 1941, PP. 175 -177.

In ancient times, soldiers used to tie a large garment around their arms to protect themselves from the enemy's weapons on the battlefield. Later this was transformed into the science of shield. In the Middle Ages, Shah Alam, an emperor, had a shield made of rhinoceros' skin. Due to this shield, even a gun bullet could not harm him.³⁰ This shield, popularly known as a pair of swords, was used in all wars during the Peshwa period.

3. Other weapons:

There are different types of weapons. After reviewing the important major weapons, it is necessary to take a brief look at what the other weapons were. There are many types of weapons such as sastras used for self-defense, missiles to be thrown at the enemy, weapons for striking. Humans have used their hands, feet, teeth and nails for self-defense for millions of years. In course of time, he came up with the idea of making weapons out of stones, bones, wood.

It was from this that the primitive manmade progress by making stone pointed weapons, slings, axes. The same legacy was carried forward by humans with armors, helmets, daggers, jambia etc.

For self-defense created different weapons like Sticks, swords, maces, spears, chakrams, bows and arrows etc. Weapons were used. Later, it progressed to fire arrows, guns, cannonballs etc. Weapons were developed. Patta, Sura, Jamdhar, Sanga, Bana, Kukri etc. in the Middle Ages. There were other weapons. Weapons were prevalent according to the weight, size, length, width and edge of each weapon.³¹ The documents of the Panipat war mention the weapons used during the Peshwa period. When the Marathas marched to the battlefield, the entire army was prepared to face Abdali after preparing the battlefield.

The army was decorated with ghugya, bakhatre, top, armor, tinya, birje, clothes, takti, muktamala, mastkiture, kalgya, twelve ornaments of angi and abdagiri (umbrella) of zari. At this time, the Maratha army at Panipat had weapons such as Patte, Gurguz, Firangani, Bichwe, Katyari, Peshkabje, Vaghankhe, Bhale, Koyte, Berchya, Gundam and Garbhandi (gun). Elephants, horses and camels were also decorated for fighting.

³⁰ Sampadak Pandit Mahadev shastri Joshi, Bhartiya Sanskriti Kosh, Vol. 3, Bhartiya Sanskriti Mandal, Pune, 1999, PP. 784 – 785.

³¹ Sampadak Pandit Mahadev shastri Joshi, Bhartiya Sanskriti Kosh, Vol. 9, Bhartiya Sanskriti Mandal, Pune, 2000, PP. 230 – 232.

Jambure, Rekle, Jejara, Suratnale Vathorli bhandis (guns) were approximately one and a half thousand.³² From this description, it is clear which weapons and animals were used during the war during Peshwa period. Not all weapons were used in every war. According to the type of battle and the enemy in front, the Marathas used the appropriate weapons as per the need.

Peshwa cheaf Angre's navy was operating on the west coast during the Peshwa period. Navy being an independent state, naval forts, small and large boats, armored cavalry, infantry, ammunition and weapons were stockpiled. Guns were especially needed on Galbata. Swords, daggers, bows and arrows were also used on warships. "Bundukchi" means armed troops were also in Navy.³³

3.1 Weapon worship:

Being an integral part of the life of the Marathas, weapons were also important in the religious sphere. Weapon worship is a practice that has been practiced in every era. Rulers, chiefs and soldiers used to worship weapons before going into battle. Weapons were worshiped especially on Vijayadashami. Ashwin Shukla Navami, also known as Khandenavami, had a tradition of weapon worship.³⁴

3.2 Armor:

A device called "Chilakhat Kavach" dates back to Vedic times as a weapon used to protect one's own chest from the enemy in battle. Kavacha or armor is consistently mentioned in various ancient scriptures. Armor was made from metal, metal wire, or leather. Kautilya has described various types of armor in his book. Armor was either full or half. Half armor was used to protect the chest only and full armor was used to protect the chest and back. Armor was used in medieval times as well as in ancient times. Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj killed Afzal Khan wearing "Jarikurti" meaning armour.³⁵ Armor has other names like Bakhtar, Kankan, Kotha.

3.3 Helmets:

³² Keshav Kulkarni, Raghunath Yadav Virachit Paanipatchi Bakhar, Chinmay Prakashan, Aurangabad, 2007, P. 107.

³³ S. N. Sen, Sadashiv Shivde(trans), Marathyanchi Lashkari Vyastha, Op.cit, P. 137.

³⁴ Sampadak Pandit Mahadev shastri Joshi, Bhartiya Sanskriti Kosh Vol. 3, Op.cit, P. 230.

³⁵ Sampadak Pandit Mahadev shastri Joshi, Bhartiya Sanskriti Kosh, Vol. 2, Bhartiya Sanskriti Mandal, Pune, 2004, PP. 192 – 193.

An iron device used to protect the head is a helmet. Different types of helmets are also found in different countries. E.g., Khud, Baaydah, Chichak, Tarq, Kulaah etc. This tool was made from metals. The helmet was made with the help of metal strips and metal mesh. The helmet was shaped according to the size of the person.

The use of helmets started in India from the time of Babar in the Middle Ages. The helmet and armor of medieval Shivaji Period warrior Kanhoji Jedhe is preserved by his heirs in the historic palace at Kari.

3.4 Other Protective Arms

To protect different parts of the body, protective armors were made according to the human body. "Bajuband" worn from wrist to elbow, "Dastan" or "Balitraan" worn from wrist to fingers, "Raak" worn from knee to shin, "Moza-e-aahani" (socks) or "Mojya" worn from knee to foot, the netted device was a protective weapon called "Paadtran"(Footwear).³⁶ Thus, various weapons made of metals were in vogue to protect the whole body.

4. Maintenance of weapons:

Many weapons have been reviewed in this chapter, all of which were not used by anyone on a daily basis. All these weapons were used on the battlefield during the war. For that it was important to keep all these tools in good condition, as there are many factors that can damage the weapons. E.g., Natural factors such as climate change would corrode the weapons and the wood used in the weapons would rot. These weapon losses are due to man-made factors; War damage to weapons such as breakage, missing parts of weapons is called operational damage. Therefore, weapons had to be monitored.

Rusty weapons are cleaned with oil. If the weapons have engravings, they should be cleaned with a soft brush-like tool. After cleaning, the weapons were chemically coated for protection. A powder of various natural substances should be prepared and spread like an insecticide on weapons in which wood is used. The grooves, scabbards, stands or boxes in which the weapons were kept, also required cleaning.³⁷

³⁶ Girija Dhudhat, Shastrvedh- Madhyyugin Bhartaache Shastrparv, Op.cit, PP. 121 -193.

³⁷ Girija Dhudhat, Shastrvedh- Madhyyugin Bhartaache Shastrparv, Op.cit, PP. 246 – 247.

Weapons were conserved and conserved in the Middle Ages by doing all the above processes.

5. Conclusion:

This chapter has discussed in detail the weaponry of the medieval period. The greatness of weapons from time immemorial has been spelled out through various texts.

1. Weapons have been an important element associated with human life for centuries.
2. Primitive man skillfully invented weapons for self-defense, food acquisition, and living. He used human bones, wood, and stone as tools.
3. Necessity is the mother of weapon creation, that is why various weapons were created out of necessity in the Middle Ages as well.
4. According to the requirements, the type of battle and the strength of the enemy, different types of the same weapon were created.
5. Different arms had to be produced for different divisions of the army. E.g., Cavalry, infantry, elephantry etc.
6. Armaments were prepared as needed keeping in mind that elephants, camels, horses and other animals were also used during war.
7. As the method of fighting changed, missiles, fire arrows, cannonballs, guns began to be manufactured and used.
8. As weapons are also very important for the ruler, commander, army to win the war, special attention was given to this weapon department.
9. Weapons cannot be distinguished according to time or dynasty.
10. Traditional weapons were used with slight variations in the Middle Ages.
11. The weapons required for battlefield warfare and armored warfare were different.

Artillery

Introduction:

Artillery was seen as an important department in Maratha army. Artillery seems to have always acquired a unique general importance in describing a prosperous army and a prosperous division. We get information about artillery since the Vedic period until Peshwa period. However, the name of this weapon has changed over time. Cannons were called weapons. Possession of artillery was a very important dimension of a state. Looking at the very brief history of artillery, it is seen that the cannons of the Mahabharata period were called Bhande, Garbhande. When man, progressing from barbarism, began to establish states, he automatically created an army for defence and war, and among the various forces of the army came artillery as a destructive weapon.

Turkey is mentioned in the books of 12th-13th century with reference to the production of artillery. Turks won many wars with the help of cannons. But there is disagreement as to whether the explosives used in cannons were first developed in China or in India. 'Tarvhen', who came to India in the 8th century, says that explosives originated in India. The art of making explosives went from India to foreign countries and came back to India. To confirm this opinion of Tarvhen we find evidence in the Mahabharata too. The Kauravas planned to kill the Pandavas by building Lakshagriha. That is, during the Mahabharata period, Laakh was a flammable substance.¹

Guns were used in India by the Bahamani Sultans during the medieval period. Cannons were first used in 1368 during the Battle of Adoni Fort in Karnataka.² Similarly, in 1484, Muhammad Begada used cannons to capture Pavagadh and Champaner in Gujarat.³ However, the Mughal Emperor Babar used artillery during the First Battle of Panipat in 1526. He had 700 guns. The practice of using cannons in

¹ Shamla Panse, Marathyancha Tophkahana, Marven Technology, pune, 2020, P. 10.

² Laxmanshastri Joshi, Marathi Viasvkosh, Vol.7, Sachiv Maharashtra Rajya Sahitya Sanskriti Mandal, Mumbai, 1977, PP. 513.

³ G. S. Sardesai, Musalmani Riyasat, Vol.1, Popular Prakashan, Mumbai, 2012, PP. 194 - 195.

warfare is believed to have started from here. Therefore, many researchers believe that Babar brought artillery to India in 1526.⁴ This shows that artillery was used by Muslim rulers in Medieval times as an important fighting technique.

1. Cannons of Shiva period:

During the medieval period, Marathas also have mentions of guns and artillery. Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj, the founder of Hindu Swarajya in Maharashtra, also had cannons. Also, there were guns at Galbat and Jaladurga. During the Shivaji's period there were modern guns and ammunition. Because the British would supply them with ammunition and sell guns. In the year 1674, Shivaji Maharaja got 88 guns and 3000 mounds of lead from the French was taken⁵. This tradition of cannons continued during the reign of Chhatrapati Sambhaji Maharaj. The conflict between Chhatrapati Sambhaji and the Portuguese continued for many years. The Marathas often used artillery against the Portuguese in the conflict. This is evident from a letter dated 24th November 1683.⁶

This proves the tradition of artillery. Guns are also mentioned in the commandments in the same way. Ramchandra pant Amatya, while writing about Shivaji Maharaj's administration in his book 'Aadnyapatr' highlights the use of armada says that guns were used to defeat the enemy one must use armada. Every armada must have cannons of different weights. One can gain supremacy over the enemy as they would fear of cannons. Thus, victory over the enemy becomes easy. Mr. Pant refers cannons as bhandi. He mentions that cannons are useful for merchant ships too.⁷

2. Peshwa Period Artillery:

During Peshwa period, there was a change in the type of weapons used by the army in Peshwa period as compared to Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj period, because during Peshwa period, the expansion of the Maratha Empire started in the North instead

⁴ G. S. Sardesai, Musalmani Riyasat, Vol. 2, Popular Prakashan, Mumbai, 2012, P. 10.

⁵ V. K. Bhavé, Shivrajya aani Shivkaal, Narayan Vasudev Bhavé, Pune, 1957, PP. 198.

⁶ S. S. Desai, Shivshahi Portuguese Kagadpatre, Shivaji Vidyapeeth, Aitihāsik Granthmala 6, Kolhapur, 1977, P. 101., Letter No. - 102.

⁷ R. C. Dhéré, Ramchandra pant Amatya, Pranit Swarjyaniti Aadnyapatr, Padmgandha Prakashan, Pune, 1966, PP. 104 - 107.

of being limited to the South. During the reign of the first Bajirao Peshwas, the foundation of the empire's expansion to the north was laid. The use of artillery was useful for the Marathas in fighting on the plains of the north, so artillery contributed to the Marathas from the first Peshwa to the last Peshwa.

2.1 Balaji Vishwanath and Mughal Artillery:

Balaji Vishwanath Bhat, the first Peshwa of Chhatrapati Shahu, was working from 1713 to 1720. Balaji Vishwanath did the work of setting up all the accounts of Chhatrapati. During the war of independence i.e., from 1679 AD to 1707 AD, the Marathas also had many enemies. The era is in a sense a 'kingdom without a king'. Therefore, some rebellious chieftains of the Marathas had started hooliganism at various places. Damaji Thorat was one of them. While still employed by Chhatrapati, Chandrasen Jadhav brought Damaji Thoratas to Tarabai's party in 1711 AD. Tarabai gave him the title of 'Rustam Rao'. This damaji's jagir was at Supe and Patas in Pune province. As Damaji Thorat started harassing the people by taking extortion, So Chhatrapati sent Balaji Vishwanath with military to attack them. Damaji imprisoned Balaji Pant and Abaji Pant.

At that time Chhatrapati Shahu rescued both of them. When Chhatrapati Damaji Thorat and Balaji Vishwanath met at Jejuri, Damaji said that we should be rewarded so that we will not commit hooliganism. Even at this time the Peshwas had an army and artillery but Damaji was not an upright leader. In 1714 AD Balaji Vishwanath went with his family to the fort of Hingangaon to reconcile Damaji and Chhatrapati Shahu and Balaji was arrested along with his family. Remembering the humiliation of being released on August 5, 1716 after paying a very high ransom, Balaji obtained his artillery in 1718 AD with the help of the Syed brothers of Delhi. The importance of artillery is also understood from the fact that the Peshwas destroyed the fort of Hingangaon with the help of Mughal artillery and turned the donkey plod there.⁸

2.2 Artillery during Bajirao Peshwa:

Although these Peshwas extended their empire northward, they were aware of guns and artillery, although there are no references to their having a large artillery and actually using it in battle. The Nizam's Mogli artillery would create obstacles to the expansion of the empire, so the Peshwas defeated the Nizams in 1728 AD by fighting

⁸ Pramod Oak, Balaji Vishwanath Peshwe, Continental Prakashan, Pune, 2005, PP. 178 - 185.

against the artillery in the Battle of Bhopal in 1737 AD.⁹ This means that the Peshwas had complete knowledge of artillery, but they were unable to build artillery in a very rushed period. Shahu Chhatrapati had repeatedly instructed the Peshwas regarding the construction of artillery. Therefore, Bajirao decided to build his own artillery and appointed Yashwantrao Panse and Madhavrao Panse for this purpose. The artillery of Bajirao's main enemy, the Nizam, was formed under the command of the French sergeant 'Bussy'. Muzaffar Khan, trained under Bussy, was appointed by the Peshwa to train the Panse brothers.¹⁰

The Peshwa used to ask for small and big guns from some northern rulers. There seems to have been a lot of correspondence after the first Bajirao's relationship with Bundelkhand. One such letter is dated 17th August 1732, which suggests that Raja Amar Singh wrote this letter to Bajirao. One such letter is dated 17th August 1732, which suggests that Raja Amar Singh, King of Orchha wrote this letter to Bajirao. In this letter 'Tupak' means small cannon was sent to the Peshwas along with Asaram, the minister of Hirdesai and Jagat Raj who ruled Bundelkhand.¹¹

From this, Bajirao was dealing with cannons from time to time, from some documents of Bajirao, the names of the cannons of that time are known.

2.3 Artillery during Balaji Bajirao Peshwa period:

The elder Bajirao Peshwas expanded the empire, but the third Peshwas took care of it. More than the first two Peshwas, the remarkable work of Balaji Bajirao Peshwas was the reorganization of the Maratha artillery. A vivid example of this is Ibrahim Khan Gardi's artillery during the Panipat War of 1761 AD. At the time of the battle of Panipat, Sadashivrao Bhau Peshwa had given Ibrahim Khan the custody of the artillery. Sadashivrao wanted his artillery to be efficient for a possible war with Abdali, so in 1759 AD he ordered 5000 cannonballs from 'Kokil'.¹²

2.4 Madhavrao Peshwa's Great Artillery:

After the great defeat at Panipat, when all the powers believed that the Marathi

⁹ G. S. Sardesai, Marathi Riyasat, Vol. 3, Popular Prakashan, Pune, 2005, PP. 291 – 293.

¹⁰ V. K. Bhawe, Peshwekaalin Maharashtra, Bhartiya Itihaas Anusandhan Parishad, New Delhi, P. 425.

¹¹ B. G. Kunte, Selection from Peshwa Daftar, The Department of archiver govt. of Maharashtra, Bombay, 1979, P. 8., letter No. 5.

¹² V. K. Bhawe, Peshwekaalin Maharashtra, op.cit, P. 425.

power was over, the Madhavrao Peshwa I came to the throne to revive the Marathi dynasty. In a period of only eleven years from 1761 AD to 1772 AD, Madhavrao strengthened the weak areas of the Marathas with extraordinary speed. In Panipat, despite the artillery of Ibrahim Khan Gardi, the Marathas were unsuccessful, so Madhavrao started some factories for guns and firearms. But during his reign cannons could not be used in warfare as desired but Madhavrao's efforts were instrumental in transforming the Peshwa's army.¹³ Some authentic documents show that Madhavrao Peshwa was trying to make his artillery more powerful. It becomes clear as follows, The Peshwa sent a Sanad to Ramchandra Nagnath Kamavisdar to bring the 'Kadak Bijli' cannon to Pune in 1764 AD.

Similarly, since the Peshwas need cannon balls, a letter is also received about 30,000 cannon balls for 18,000 rupees. Visarjee Keshav was appointed to keep these cannon balls in the port of Kalyan. Also, in AD 1764 - 65, a letter was sent to Anandrao Bhikaji from the Peshwa Darbar asking that the guns named Jai and Fate Mubarak from the Government Artillery should be handed over to Gopalrao Govind and the guns Jaywanti and Jwala Bhavani should be brought to Pune.¹⁴ From this we understand the names of Maratha guns.

2.5 Post-Madhavrao Peshwa Artillery:

The first Madhavrao Peshwa tried tirelessly to annex Panipat while reorganizing the Marathi power, he paid special attention to artillery. But after his death, as the Marathi power began to decline, the artillery was gradually neglected. Because there was more power struggle in Peshwas for example Raghunathrao Peshwa's desire for Peshwa post, Narayan Peshwa's murder in Shaniwar Wada, Sawai Madhavrao Peshwa's nominal Peshwa post, Conspiracies of Nana Phadnis, Bajirao II's declining career and the end of Marathi Shahi in 1818 AD. The question is how much the rulers will be paying attention to the artillery during such political situations. However, in the period from 1772 AD to 1818 AD, there are mentions of guns, cannon balls, and artillery. Although there are some mentions of guns and cannonballs in the Wad Diaries of the Madhavrao Peshwa I, the actual records were included in the diary of Raghunathrao

¹³ G. S. Sardesai, Marathi Riyasat, Vol. 5, Popular Prakashan, Pune, 2010, P. 118.

¹⁴ G. C. Wad, Peshwa Madhavrao - I Wad Diary Vol. 1, Deccan Vernacular Translation Society, Pune, 1911, PP. 327 – 328., note no. 356 - 358.

Peshwa Balaji Janardhan alias Nana Fadnavis. There are mentions of this in entries No. 360, 361, 362 in the Wad Diary. This reference dated into 1765 – 66 AD and contains information about cannons and the manufacture of cannons. A letter came from the Peshwa court to Balaram Joshi to prepare 75 cannons which should have good holes with good internal cleaning. 15 out of 75 guns were ready and were handed over to the Peshwa's clerks in entry No. 360 as in entry No. 361, Devset Kasar was sent to Nogothane. The record of the performance of making the same cannonballs states that Devset Kasar and his subordinates were given grain for their daily need and materials required for the manufacture of cannonballs. From this it can be seen that minute details were kept in the court of Peshwa. In entry No. 362, it is mentioned that the Government Artillery should be entrusted to Murarao Yadav, who should be in charge of the Artillery under Bhikan Khan and pay an annual salary of Rs.150.¹⁵

The importance of Nanas Fadnavis in Peshwas was greatly increased. Balaji Janardhan Bhanu aka Nana Fadnavis also has many mentions of artillery in his daily diary. However, since it was during the reign of Madhavrao Peshwa, the increase is directly included. A cannon ball factory was started at Ambe Gavan in Shivneri taluka. A letter was sent from the Durbar in the name of Ramchandra Narayan about the delivery of 50 khandi bran to Ambe Gavan of the material required for making cannon balls.

Similarly, an ammunition factory should be set up at Baghdkot as soon as possible as ammunition was required in the Peshwa's office. Since fifty khandis of gun powder are required for this ammunition, this charter was sent to Kamavisdar Anandrao Bhikaji from the Durbar asking them to bring an inquiry to the pargana of Bagdkot where it can be purchased at an economical price.

The Pune Darbar had sent a letter to Ramji Mahadev that a new gun factory had been set up in Pune and that it needed good soil for making chondasi. If such soil is not available in the village of Wadvali in the Sashti province, it is mentioned that a factory should be set up in the village where such soil is available and on receipt of this letter one thousand pieces of Chondshi should be sent to Pune immediately. Such mentions

¹⁵ G.S. Wad, Peshwa Madhavrao I, Wad Diary Vol. 1, Op.cit, PP. 330 – 331., note no. 360 – 362.

are found.¹⁶ The reign of Narayan Rao, who succeeded Madhavrao, was only eight months, so there are no new mentions of artillery. Barbhai's intrigue started after the killing of Narayan Rao. During this period, many diplomats from the Marathi kingdom had gathered. Barbhai's main goal was to resist Raghunathrao alias Raghoba Dada. In such a political situation, an encounter between members of Bar Bhai and Raghoba Dada took place on 1 February 1774 at Kankel on the banks of the High Agriva River near Raidurg. In this encounter between Bhawanrao Pratinidhi and Raghoba Dada, the artillery was present but Raghoba Dada did not use it.¹⁷

After Raghoba Dada, the intrigues of Bar Bhai, the birth of Sawai Madhavrao and his career, etc., the Peshwa was moving forward. As soon as the Peshwas had artillery, it was used only on occasion. Since Sawai Madhavrao was young, there are not many examples of artillery being used in battle during his reign. This does not mean that there was no artillery. Sawai Madhavrao's reign contains some significant references to artillery. During this period, there was a Marathi gunnery under the Sardars Panse during the battle of Kharda, there is a mention of Madhavrao Panse and Ganpatrao Panse fighting on the side of the Marathas with 212 guns in the Marathi Nizam conflict. The Nizam was defeated in the battle of Kharda and it is mentioned that Sawai Madhavrao gave two lakh rupees to Madhavrao Krishnarao Panse for the maintenance of artillery.¹⁸

During the reign of Sawai Madhavrao, there was a battle related to artillery which was the Battle of Kharda in 1795 AD. The Battle of Kharda was the last victorious battle in Maratha history on 11th March 1795. There were many Maratha warlords vs. Nizams in which cannons were consistently used by the Marathas. English Hastings Fraser has given the exact information about the strength of the Marathas in the battle of Kharda.

Marathas had 84,000 cavalry, 38,000 infantry and 192 guns, which also proves the use of artillery.¹⁹ Also, in the battle of Khardya, there is a proof about how effective the Marathi artillery is that in this battle, the Marathi artillery made Nizam's problem so much that the Nizam's troops were deprived of food and water. Sawai Madhavrao

¹⁶ Ibid, PP. 332 – 335, note no. 366, 368, 370.

¹⁷ G. S. Sardesai, Marathi Riyasat, Vol. 5, Op. cit, P. 348.

¹⁸ Shamla Panse, Marathyancha Tophkahana, op. cit, P. 96.

¹⁹ G. S. Sardesai, Marathi Riyasat, Vol. 7, Popular Prakashan, Mumbai, 2010, PP. 451 - 455.

Peshwa himself was looking after the gunnery. Once when he went to visit the gunnery at Gultekdi, an elephant called Rudra Ganj got loose and killed one but Sawai Madhavrao was not harmed. A letter of such content is also received.²⁰

During the reign of Peshwa II Bajirao, the artillery was also in operation. After many political upheavals, the Peshwa II came to the post of Peshwa on December 5, 1796. This was a very difficult period for the Peshwas, while the British were trying to subdue the Peshwas, the British had cut off all the Marathi chieftains from the Peshwas by disapproving adoption legislation and subsidiary force. In such a situation, all the areas of Peshwas were weakened which meant that Peshwas started to decline. Negligence in state affairs, dominance of caste system, Marathi Sardars' selfish attitude and love of weed and policy of breaking the Peshwa's car was on the brink of collapse.²¹

Despite this, the Maratha artillery functioned competently, and the outstanding performance of the artillery in the battles fought during the last period of the Peshwas is evident. In general, the third British-Maratha war began in 1817 AD, the Battle of Khadki, the Battle of Yerwada, the Battle of Koregaon, the Battle of Gopal Ashti and the last Battle of Solapur were all fought between the British and the Marathi. The artillery of the Marathas also contributed well like the Marathi Army. The Panse family who operated the artillery on the side of the Marathas was a loyal family and the last general of the Marathas, Bapu Gokhale, also fought with his life against the British. On November 5, 1817 AD, the battle of Khadki took place. At this time, Elphinstone was a British officer. Sardar Bapu Gokhale was fighting on the side of the Marathas. In this battle there were 14 guns and infantry in the centre. The battle of Khadki was mainly fought with the help of guns.

This battle was won by the Marathas, also in the battle of Yerwada on 16 November 1817AD Marathi artillery was there. But taking advantage of the fact that it took eleven days for the Marathas to move this artillery across the Mula Mutha river, the English officer Smit crossed the Mula-Mutha river with the guns on November 1817AD and encamped at Ghorpadi. This made the Peshwas impatient and they left for Purandar. On the next day, the Marathi-British war started again, despite the Marathas having artillery, the British artillery was superior due to lack of proper decision and the Marathas were defeated. On 17 November 1817, the British hoisted their flag at

²⁰ Satara I.S.M.A.L., Shindeshahichi Rajkarne 1774 – 1794 AD, Satara, 1934, P. 366.

²¹ G. S. Sardesai, Marathi Riyasat, Vol. 8, Popular Prakashan, Mumbai, 2010, PP. 1 – 6.

Shaniwar Wada. In the battle of Yerwada, Panse also used Mahakali cannon against the British, after which the battle of Koregaon took place, there is no mention of artillery in this battle, because this battle was splendour and circular, statesman G. S. Sardesai says.²² The last battle of the reign of Bajirao Peshwa II was fought at Gopal-Ashti near Pandharpur on 20 February 1818. At this time the Maratha forces were divided into two parts with artillery and infantry in one. The first part of this army started moving towards Nipani and the second part of the army moved behind the British towards Kavthe village. The British and the Marathas had a lot of running with the army. After settling Solapur properly, the Peshwa came to stay at Gopal Ashti on 19th February 1818. On February 20, Bapu Gokhale, a general on behalf of the Peshwas, fought a fierce battle with the British at Gopal Ashti.

Marathas had artillery. Unfortunately, Bapu Gokhale was killed in this battle. This is considered to be the last battle of British Marathas in true sense but after the battle of Gopal Ashti, Bajirao Peshwa came to Solapur and stayed in the fort for some time. As the strength of the English forces increased, the Peshwa went north handing over the Thane and fort of Solapur to Ganpatrao Panse, after which Ganpatrao Panse prepared to fight the British with the Marathi artillery.²³

The outstanding performance of the Marathi artillery in the very last period was the Battle of Solapur on 14th May 1818. In this battle the British forces were very large. The Hindu Battalion Rifle Cores were on the right side and they must be around 1060. In the middle row are 1110 soldiers who belong to the 2nd Battalion of the Madras Network Infantry. The left brigade had 1430 soldiers and artillery. Such a large military fort was brought by the British for Solapur fort.²⁴

Peshwa's army was also very large 5500 infantry, 800 to 900 cavalry and 1400 guns was the last battle, the head of artillery was Ganpatrao Panse.²⁵ Despite this great Marathi power, there was no success, Ganpatrao Panse's artillery was very active. But in the tumult of the battle, one of Panse's cannons exploded, Panse was injured and his mare was killed, so on 14 May 1818, the fort of Solapur was captured by the British. It is clear from the above battles that the later Peshwa Artillery was also contributing well

²² Ibid, PP. 502 – 527.

²³ Y. N. Kelkar, Aitihasik Powade, Vol.2, Thokal Prakashan, PP. 127 – 128.

²⁴ Ganesh Pandhrinath Kulkarni, Solapur Nagarpalika Shat sanvtsri Granth, Solapur, 1953, P. 7.

²⁵ Laxmanshastri Joshi, Marathi Vishwaskosh, Vol.7, Op.cit, PP. 512 – 513.

to the Marathi power but unfortunately for the Marathas the Peshwa was sunk despite the active artillery.

3. Examination of guns and artillery:

After looking at the detailed information about Peshwa period artillery, it is necessary to discuss the issues like artillery guns, their introduction, their uses, etc.

3.1 Guns:

Gun is a weapon that has been used since ancient times till modern times. During the Mahabharata, guns known as Bhande, Gar Bhande were used as explosives. The evolution of mankind in co-ordination with nature made guns and artillery an inevitable part of necessity which proves that guns and artillery have timeless legacy. These weapons were always used for security purposes as they are destructive in nature.

3.2 History of creation of guns:

To prove and sustain the existence any ruler must build up a sound military system. Weapons had a prominent role in this process. As guns and artillery were included in these weapons an abbreviated history of its creation can be studied as following:

Veda, and the epics like Ramayana and Mahabharata also have evidence of the usage of these weapons. After conquering the Adoni fort, in 15th century Muhammed of Gujarat used these guns and artillery. Baridshah warehoused guns and artillery in the fort of Bidar from 1542 to 1580. These weapons were used frequently in southern India because of the political relations between Muslim Sultans, Turks and Iranian rulers. An evident example of this was the abundance of the Turkish guns in artilleries of the powers prevailing in southern India.

The Muslim rulers in Kashmir also used these weapons. Babar invaded India and that led to the promotion of guns and artillery. Mughal emperor Akbar made various developments in guns with the help of western powers which made his artillery famous. In such a manner all powers used more or a smaller number of guns and artilleries in medieval period which explains that specifically India and also other countries knew much about guns and artillery.

In 8th century, a French traveller named Tarven visited India. According to him, the origin of explosives is India. However, this knowledge travelled abroad in countries

like China and Turkey.²⁶ There are references in ancient Indian scriptures for what Tarven advocates. In the Mahabharata, the Kauravas plotted to kill the Pandavas by building Lakshagriha. From this it is clear that there was knowledge of flammable substances even during this period, many sages of India had studied herbs and aayurveda extensively.

From Vedha, Upanishads and Puranas we get information about explosives. As the foreign invasions started on India, the knowledge of many Indian subjects started going abroad, in it, information useful for artillery may have reached the foreign country. At the same time, the invasions of India by the Huns, Kushans, Muslims and Western powers in the BC and AD show that cannons were used for self-defence, trade growth, and attempts to establish a state. From the above discussion it is clear that for many years guns and artillery were known to India and other countries.

3.3 Usage of Guns:

Guns being the main weapon and fighting technique, they seem to have been used by all the rulers in almost all periods. Cannons were used in war in different ways, where the forts had moats, cannons were used to break the moat planks during battle. Artillery was useful in disrupting the movement of troops but could be used in any season and on any battlefield. Small guns were mounted on camels and elephants to make them mobile artillery. The artillery on the camel was called 'Sutarnal' and the artillery on the elephant was called the gunner 'Gajnal'.

The big guns were carried on bullock and elephant carts. Artillery was not particularly useful in infantry fighting and the infantry had no need for artillery. Although at least 250 oxen were needed to pull the artillery, the artillery moved only five to six kilometres in a day because the Indian guns were very heavy, so their performance on the battlefield was not very satisfactory. On the contrary, the Britishers seem to have harassed the Peshwas by using light guns.²⁷

However, the Peshwas used to bravely face the British regarding cannons. During the reign of the Peshwa Bajirao II, the Peshwas wanted to bring the 'Mahakali' cannon located at Purandar to Pune. This super heavy cannon was brought to Pune in 1803 with the help of the British and later the Peshwa succeeded in placing it in front

²⁶ Shamla Panse, Marathyancha Tofkhana, Op.cit, PP. 10 – 11.

²⁷ Laxmanshastri Joshi, Marathi Vishwaskosh, Vol.7, Op.cit, PP. 514 – 515.

of Shaniwar Wada. The Mahakali cannon was well used by the Marathas in the battles of Khadki and Yerwada in 1817 AD.²⁸

3.4 Study of Peshwa Guns and Gunnery:

How cannonballs were manufactured, how cannons were manufactured, the care and administration of gunnery, and religious views on guns are discussed under this topic.

3.4.1 Manufacture and Weight of Cannonballs:

An important substitute for cannon fodder is cannon balls. Firing a cannon means firing a cannonball from a cannon. Cannonball is fired by keeping the cannonball in place. The cannon gets energy. The cannonball is fired. While making these cannon balls, Marathe used stones, lead and iron. Some of these cannon balls were called Rejari, Jamburge, Danda, Garbhchhata, Garnala. The British cannon balls were called shot, canister shot, round shot, exploding shot.²⁹

The explosives to be used in the manufacture of cannonballs will be measured. During the Peshwa period, Bapuji Ganesh was appointed as Kothidar of such a factory. For making cannonballs Wax, Yarn, Twine, Tankankhar, Sesame, Paper, Katha, Garlic, Sora, Sulfur, Hartal, Coal, Glue, Cartridge, Lokhandi Yer, Geru, Jezali Pills, Iron pills used to be a fixed quantity.³⁰ Achandan Khan Daruwala used to supply the required explosives for this cannon balls. He was from Vaijapur.³¹

Many such people used to supply liquor, Aini Karnali, Lead, Zinc, Pancharsi, Bidi, Lokhandi, Dagdi, Chaufami, Charmi, Garnali, etc. Many names were given to cannonballs, among them, Keshav Sheth Vasaikar was a kasar who made bidi balls.³² Just as there would be a 'Darukhana' of the Peshwa's court, there were also private 'Darukhana' establishments. Raghunath Peshwa had such a private 'Darukhana' that explosives were made into cannonballs. A list of the expenses and items required for the ceremony like thread ceremony, wedding ceremony is also found in the factory where the explosives required for the fireworks are also prepared.³³

²⁸ Suman Vaidya, Akhercha Peshwa, Pragati Prakashan, Nagpur, 1994, PP. 276 – 277.

²⁹ Sachin Pendse, Maratha Armaar ek anokhe Parv, Marven Technologies, Pune, 2017, P. 23.

³⁰ Pune Archives Pune, Ghadni No. 262, Letter No. 627449.

³¹ Pune Archives Pune, Ghadni No. 262, Letter No. 627449.

³² Shamla Panse, Marathyancha Tofkhana, Op.cit, P. 34.

³³ Pune Archives Pune, Ghadni No. 262/1, Letter No. 6276026 – 6276028.

While preparing the cannonballs, their weight will also be taken into consideration, just as the British used the Hundredweight for cannonballs, the Marathi also used the Sher weight. The cannon balls of Marathas ranged from 7 shares to 20 shares in weight. The Indian cannon balls were likely to explode when loaded into the cannons, hence the custom of taking cannon balls from the British.³⁴

3.4.2 Artillery - A Factory:

Like Shiv period, also during Peshwa period, there were 18 factories including gunnery, in which factories made guns, cannon balls, explosives and gun explosives etc. The artillery had several sections where the raw materials would be stored. After the cannonballs and gunshots were prepared, they were dried and stored in the cellar. 'Toph Lagwad' was the term used to refer to the factory where guns were manufactured as well as repaired.

Filling explosive into the cannon was an important task in this 'Toph Lagwad'. To fill the hole in the top of the cannon was lit, then the cannon was heated and the balls were thrown out. That is why the enemy used to put nails in these holes of the cannons and fix them. Gunnery will also be referred to as the Iron Jewellery. Flags were mounted on cannons in this factory.³⁵

During the Peshwa period, there were gun making factories in many places. Just as Peshwas had factories, Sardars also had cannon factories. Malharrao Holkar had bought explosives for cannons from a factory in Nashik, on which Holkar owed the government 1 lakh 64 thousand rupees. Gopal Hari was sent to collect it.³⁶ Sometimes skilled laborers had to be called from the surrounding villages to pour the gun, and the kasars were largely used in this work. They were paid a decent salary but also got information about the weight of cannon balls that were required to be loaded in the cannon that were manufactured in the factory.

Three Sher, five Sher, and ten Sher of weight are needed for cannon balls, and for that, a gun that is equally powerful is used to make a gun. The people of Konkan and Pune used to prepare a metal in liquid form to make guns.³⁷

³⁴ V. K. Bhawe, *Peshwekaalin Maharashtra*, Op.cit, PP. 424 – 425.

³⁵ Pune Archives Pune, Ghadni No. 262/4, Letter No. 627622.

³⁶ Pune Archives Pune, Ghadni No. 262, Letter No. 628995.

³⁷ Pune Archives Pune, Ghadni No. 264/3, Letter No. 630801, 630803, 630804.

There were different types and names of cannons. Among them, the Garnala type guns were placed on the forts because they were small and light in weight. The Garnala gun factory was located at Ahmedabad, Otur Junnar, Nashik, Pune and sometimes the guns were also ordered by the British. This work was assigned to the Sashti provincial officer. The task of making guns and cannon balls was given to the Kasars, so the Kasars got this new business along with a business of traditional bangles. A gun manufacturing factory was started in Pune in 1769 AD.³⁸

There were gun factories in the Konkan, as the sea coast was armed with cannons. There were also factories in Nagothane, Balamore, Vijaydurg, Ratnagiri. Cannon balls are also made from this. Arrangements will be made to deliver the guns made in Konkan to hilltops. As this work is responsible, correspondence will be done from place to place. Through a letter, Rajshree Ranoji Balakawade seems to have been given the responsibility to deliver the gun to hilltop.³⁹

After the guns are made, they are given names like Ramban, Sambhu Prasad, Hanumant, Pancharasi, Dhakdi Bidi, Nagin, Padmeen, Ranmandal, Jaywanti, Jwala Bhavani, Jai Fatte Mubarak etc. While the guns are being used in actual use, the small quarters built for them in the fort are called 'Dhamdhama' or 'Bateri'. This shows that during the Peshwa period, Tofkhana was a very efficient factory when the right decisions were made for cannon balls and cannons.

3.4.3 The Labourer:

To work in the artillery, different types of labour are required. Gunnery also required a lot of men during battle while preparing the guns for firing and moving them. From the original documents available, it appears that people from various castes and tribes i.e., 18 Pagad castes were working in the gunnery. For example, Cobbler, goldsmith, Maratha Brahmin, woodcutter, waterman, cartwright, bowler, sailor, tailor, etc. Also, the traders who supplied the raw material for the gun were from different castes and tribes, but while making the gun, Brahmins was also used to worship the fire and huge stoves. From this it appears that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the gunnery was a factory that operated without any caste restrictions. Among these labourers, the men required to carry guns from one place to another have to be trained. Raghunath Dada Peshwa had kept Nadip Firangi and Engraj Suratkar as blacksmiths in

³⁸ V. K. Bhawe, *Peshwekaalin Maharashtra*, Op.cit, PP. 424 – 425.

³⁹ Pune Archives Pune, Ghadni No. 262, Letter No. 627450 – 627451.

the artillery, while around 23 Firangis were injured in a battle in Ahmedabad. The salary of artillerymen was paid on the full moon. This salary used to be paid by Dewan, Fadnis, Sabnis, Mujumdar. This salary will be given in three forms:

1. Daily Salary
2. Monthly Salary
3. One and Half Month Salary

At that time, the Shamji Trimbak had a monthly salary of twelve rupees, his salary increased by one rupee in a month so his salary calculation looks like this 97 =, that is 97 rupees two annas.

Daulat Khan Balram also a One and Half Month Salaried person, the man who fired the cannonballs was called 'Golndaaz'. Golndaaz' who fired cannon balls very well were also rewarded.⁴⁰ Similarly, workers who were injured while working in the artillery were compensated. The amount of compensation will be decided according to the extent of the damage. For example, when Farid Sheikh Hazam Jamadar's finger was broken while taking out the Barahati cannon from narrow path, it is recorded that he was paid aath aana [•||•] compensation.⁴¹

Among the different types of labourers employed in the artillery, the carters on bullock carts were important. Carter was a separate department and Laxman Shankar was the chief carter and other carters worked under his authority and they got one and half monthly salary. For example, there are mentions that six carters were employed on a salary of Rs.5, six carters were employed on the lavakha gun on a salary of five rupees each, it is mentioned that two carters were hired on the Futkadi gun on a salary of five rupees per month. It is recorded that Laxman Shankar employed 35 men on the hired carriages and on the carriages and paid Rs. 233 per month.⁴²

3.4.4 Artillery and Rituals:

Peshwa period means the 18th and 19th centuries, during which religious rituals played a very important role. Even in daily life, religious matters were taken care of diligently. Worshiping nature, agriculture, governance, army, battles was always the prime factor in this era. The role was that the artillery was a factory of weapons of mass

⁴⁰ Pune Archives Pune, Ghadni No. 262/1, Letter No. 626925, 627054, 627057.

⁴¹ Pune Archives Pune, Ghadni No. 264, Letter No. 630294.

⁴² Pune Archives Pune, Ghadni No. 262/1, Letter No. 626938 – 626942.

destruction, but it was still protecting the state. Therefore, the original documents of the expenditure required for the gunnery were also worshipped.

Coconut, Turmeric, Kunku, Shendur, Garments, Sarees, Blouses, Shawls etc. were very essential items for which the cost details are given. Many pujas were performed right from lighting the hearth to making the cannon, even after preparing the liquid metal required for the cannon.⁴³ Like puja, vows were also spoken for cannons, and the document records the expenses incurred for paying the vows. A vow was also taken to make a cannon last very well, and the cost of the rituals to fulfill that vow was twenty-five rupees to the Khandoba of Jejuri and five rupees to the Moreshwara of Ranjangaon. Also, if a new place is taken for the gunnery, then nineteen and a half rupees have been spent for the rituals of that place.⁴⁴ Just like cannons were worshipped, processions were also taken out on festival days, especially on Vijayadashami, processions were carried out by slinging cannons.⁴⁵

3.4.5 Artillery and expenses:

The details of the expenditure to be incurred during the puja of the cannon are found in the original documents of the Peshwa Durbar. At each place the Puja of the Gunnery used to cost 1 rupee 25 paisa which included the items needed for the Puja. Carriages were also worshiped if new carriages were made for cannons. Sarees, blouses and shawls were given as donations for this, which cost 6 rupees 50 paise, and for the gun procession of Vijayadashami, the cost of puja was 7 rupees. The cost incurred while repairing the gun was called 'Lagwad' cost and was included in the gunnery cost. The 'Lagwad' cost was increased from Rs.5.⁴⁶

3.4.6 Making the cannon:

There were five major parts of a cannon that determined the technique of how to design the cannon while making the cannon. It consists of tube, meeting suction system, distance, detection and device hole. A cannonball was fitted with a stopper at the mouth of the tube to resist the impact of high-velocity cannonballs. Due to such a recoil system, the gun did not move backwards. Due to the range and sighting device,

⁴³ Pune Archives Pune, Ghadni No. 262/1, Letter No. 626944, 626956.

⁴⁴ Pune Archives Pune, Ghadni No. 264, Letter No. 630265.

⁴⁵ Pune Archives Pune, Ghadni No. 262/1, Letter No. 626957.

⁴⁶ Pune Archives Pune, Ghadni No. 262/1, Letter No. 626956.

the gun barrel could be turned up, down, right and left. The design of the cannon was that the cannonballs were placed firmly in the crater. ⁴⁷

After getting the information about Peshwa period artillery in this chapter, some important points come up while examining the artillery.

- 1) The Marathas did not pay as much attention to artillery as they did to cavalry and infantry.
- 2) During the Peshwa period, as the territorial limits of the imperial expansion increased, it became difficult for the Marathas to use heavy and cumbersome weapons like artillery in long-range campaigns.
- 3) It seems that all the Peshwas tried to maintain Tofkhana as an important factory during the Peshwa period as it was during the Shivaji Maharaj's period.
- 4) Much of the Maratha military division was damaged in the Battle of Panipat in 1761, and the artillery also suffered extensive losses.
- 5) Looking at the details of the gunnery, it is seen that the Peshwas paid close attention to all aspects of making guns, producing cannonballs, their labour, their salaries, worship, the counting of guns, the cost of the gunnery.

That is why Peshwa artillery is seen as an important feature of warfare at that time.

⁴⁷ Laxmanshastri Joshi, Marathi Vishwaskosh, Vol.7, Op.cit, P. 513.

Wars

Introduction:

Of all the variables that should be researched for the Peshwa army, war is the most crucial. In politics, king, state, adversary, empire growth, victory-defeat, and invasion, the outcome of a war are crucial components. What form did the winners and the defeated receive it in once all the factors considered by the army were combined and found on the battlefield? This is a distinct subject. But warfare remained a constant feature of life during the ancient and mediaeval periods.

War is never beneficial. Because of its destructive character and the numerous positive welfare concepts that it produces, the tradition of war has endured.

What is warfare? Self-defence is the remedy. Whether it was a private or public defence, wars were waged. Despite being a two-syllable word, "war" has an extremely broad definition. It includes: two opposing armies, weaponry, animals, and a number of different weapons.

If we observe across time, the nature of conflict has changed. Everything has changed, but the term war hasn't, as the proverb "Kalai Tasmai Namah" says. For this reason, it is necessary to briefly review the changes in wars and war methods from the Vedic period to the Peshwa period, and the factors that were included in the war also changed according to the time and needs, so the study of the pioneers of war, military weapons, battlefield, rules, animals, instruments, etc. will be presented in a brief form.

1. Warfare:

The art of war started from the origin of man. Human struggle was the main cause of war. Other causes are egoism, lust for dominance, excessive wealth, land ownership, economic competition, power competition, religious or caste differences and basically aggression are the causes of war since time immemorial. War is an innate human emotion. It is not reduced even by the preaching of great saints and gentlemen. In short, the history of the human race is a history of war.¹ Even from prehistoric to modern times, war seems to have been an integral part.

¹ Pandit Mahadev Shastri Joshi (ed.), Bhartiya Sanskruti Kosh, Vol. 7, Bhartiya Sanskruti Kosh, Pune, 2004, P. 643.

1.1 Prehistoric Period:

Before Aryans came to India, civilized people lived in India. They built forts and forts for self-defense, that's why weapons such as swords, spears, daggers, bows and arrows, maces, slings etc. have been found in the remains of this period. There were constant wars between Arya and Anarya. These wars are mentioned in the Vedas.

Two divisions of the army namely Rathi and Padati. Horses and elephants were used for chariots. During this period the Aryas had a permanent army. Bows and arrows were used more in war. This was called Dhanurvedya and the entire science of war was called Dhanurveda. Dhanurveda is considered to be a sub-veda of Yajurveda, that's why there is a reference in Rigveda about man as a weapon:

" धन्वगा गा धन्वनाजिं जयेम् तीव्राः समदो जयेम्,
धनूः शत्रोरपकाम कृणोति सर्वाः प्रदिशो जयेम् अन्व". (Rucha. 6.75.2) ²

The meaning of this verse is that with the help of the bow we will conquer the enemy's possessions, defeat the strong army and defeat the enemy's illusions and definitely win over all the enemies. This shows that the art of war was developed during prehistoric times.

1.2 Epic Period:

One of the most important periods in Indian history is the epic period. The stories of Ramayana and Mahabharata are not only religious and mythological, but many subjects are included in them. The wars of this period are a must for the study. In both these periods, there seems to be a similar struggle against the demonic tendency and against the sacrificial culture. The Aryas had spread the Yajna culture throughout India but the Rakshasas found that culture alien.

Out of hatred they started attacking the yajnas and this led to many confrontational incidents which culminated in war. Ram and Ravana war are famous which lasted for 85 days. In this war, the army had infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephantry. That is why this army was called Chaturanga Bal.

The various weapons used during this period were sword, spear, bow, vajra, mudgar, shul, axe, chakra, trident, mace, etc. But still bows and arrows were used extensively and mantras were used while shooting to make the arrows invincible.

² Ibid, P. 644.

During Ramayana, soldiers were given good training in weaponry. For soldiers there were rules for war as for scriptures.

Martial arts were more developed in the Mahabharata as numerous kingdoms were established during this period. So, there was constant competition and war. Famous history researcher Vaidya has said. Every state of this period had a permanent army. Soldiers were trained. Shanti Parva Chapter Nineteen of the Mahabharata states that an uneducated army is useless against a trained army.

Not only weapons, but climbing a tree, riding a horse, archery from an elephant or a chariot, and entering the fort etc. were taught. Narada told Yudhishtira that the soldiers should be given adequate wages and proper allowances, it is mentioned in the Sabhaparv of Mahabharata.³ Thus, here are references to the wars of the epic period.

1.3 Types of War:

During the epic period, wars were fought with the help of Chaturanga Sena. Like soldiers, animals are also covered with protective armour. There was also variety in the type of warfare and the weapons used in the war. Example: duels, fist fights, wrestling, mace war, war with stones, Tantra war, loop war, Chakra war, animal fights, etc. are given detailed information on pages no. 845 to 847 in the seventh volume of B. S. Kosha.

1.4 War rules:

Like the type of war, the rules of war have been practiced since ancient times. No one could possibly break these rules, and if the rules were broken, it would be considered an unholy war and the person and the state would be boycotted. From the Puranic period to the medieval period the rules were generally the same and were as follows:

Do not use poisoned and pointed arrows. Chariot should attack chariot, elephant should attack elephants, horseman should attack horseman. If the opponent is unarmed, unarmoured and vehicle destroyed, do not attack him. The rule of the war was to spare the wounded and the surrendered.

But in a secret war, these rules were not followed. Fighting between armed and unarmed was prohibited. For war, troops, training, regional information were needed.

³ Ibid, PP. 644 - 645.

It was necessary for a king to have knowledge of the art of war. Besides, he could not route the enemy, choose a base for the army, choose a battlefield, guide the army, and successfully besiege the cities. It was necessary to constantly think of war even in times of peace. For this Philopoemen, king of the Athens, was famous. ⁴ In this way, information about war in prehistoric times and epic times has been presented and described.

2. Historical period:

In the historical period, there were many ancient dynasties like Maurya, Gupta empires. Developed martial arts existed during this period as well. Cavalry, the Elephantry and the Infantry were the main divisions of the army. During this period, if 'Chaturanga Sena' (four division) army is considered, chariots were also brought into use. Probably, the same rules of war of prehistoric times existed in this period as well. The war systems of different ancient dynasties were created according to their needs. Vardhana was the last dynasty which was famous as a war skilled dynasty.

Foreign invasions of India started from ancient times. The Delhi Sultanate and the Mughal Empire, which were formed due to such foreign Muslim invasions, also had a 'Chaturanga Sena' (four division) army. But the Muslim rulers seem to have given special importance to the cavalry. The Mughals had five major divisions of the army from the point of view of war. They were:

1. Infantry
2. Cavalry
3. Elephantry
4. Artillery
5. Navy

But Navy was not very efficient. Challenging the Muslim power, the independent power of the Marathas came into being in Maharashtra in the seventeenth century under the leadership of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj. From the point of view of war, the Marathas had this Chaturanga army, but during the Maratha period, an important war technique was developed which was Guerrilla warfare.

In the 17th century, the Marathi army was associated with the Hindu Swarajya, but the Peshwas, which emerged in the early eighteenth century, were everywhere different. The Peshwas did not have a permanent army, but feudal chieftain forces

⁴ B.M. Kanitkar, Raja, Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune, 1962, PP. 61- 63.

prevailed. Different chieftains of the Peshwas used to participate in the war according to the authority given to them and with an army of twenty to twenty-five thousand.⁵

3. Peshwa Period Warfare:

Introduction:

One of the most important aspects of military system is warfare. Because the main reason for the formation of the army was the formation of the state, defence of the state, expansion of the state and the wars of the enemy party was for the welfare of the people. This important reason seems to have been going on since prehistoric times. During the period from 1707 AD to 1818 AD, the Peshwas ruled Maharashtra, but extended throughout India. Therefore, during the Peshwa period, there is a change in the formation of the army and the method of warfare. A brief study of these changes will shed light on the Peshwa's style of warfare by presenting a brief description of the few but important wars fought in the Peshwa.

3.1 Changes in war principles after the Maratha freedom war:

Hindu Swarajya, it seems that the period from 1689A.D to 1707A.D was a war of independence for Maharashtra. After the capture of the Chhatrapati Sambhaji Raje, the whole of Maharashtra became a war zone to protect the Hindu Swarajya. The rulers, the Marathi chieftains and the people were everywhere fighting the Mughal forces. During these eighteen years, the warfare of Shivaji's time had changed. During the Shivaji's period, the Maratha army stood as the national army. Every soldier in every force was directly bound to the Maharaja but during the war of independence many chieftains all over Maharashtra raised their own armies and fought due to the resumption of patrimony system. It is certain that the purpose of Swarajya protection was the same as during Shivaji's period, but the principles seem to have changed with time.

1. During the Peshwa period there was not a national army but an army of Sardars.
2. The salary of the soldiers was paid through the citizens rather than from the government treasury.

⁵ Pandit Mahadev Shastri Joshi(ed.), Bhartiya Sanskruti Kosh, Vol. 7, Op. cit, PP. 647 – 651.

3. For this salary the landlords of chieftains were paid a percentage of recovery in their jagirs.
4. This was the percentage as per the rule of the Maratha Mandal established by Balaji Vishwanath Peshwa I. ⁶
5. According to this percentage, during the Peshwa era, different Sardars used to collect and submit the fixed portion to the government and from the remaining amount, they used to fulfill the duty of their homeland and the people.
6. Due to this, the army of the Peshwa period was an army of citizens.
7. This led to a radical change in the war system of the Peshwa period. From this, the origin of the changing warfare was in the independence war of the Marathas. This war was to teach patriotism and discipline. Despite the attachment to the homeland, they were the ones who taught opposition to the Mughals and protection of self-religion and self-government like Chhatrapati Shivaji'.⁷

3.2 Peshwa War:

The study of changing warfare during the Peshwa period will present important wars from the first Peshwas to the last Peshwas and the changing rules and nature of these wars. Example: Internal war, war with warlords who rebelled against Chhatrapati, war of division of the state, war with Mughal warlords who tried to hinder the expansion of the state, war between Muslim warlords fighting against Hindu warlords, war to save India from foreign invasions, British rule Wars against Sardars, wars fought out of power-hungry attitude, Maratha wars fought against the British for survival, Peshwas fought for survival, etc. In each of these wars, the period of different Peshwas can be studied and the evolution in the war system can also be studied.

Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj fought a war in Maharashtra with the help of hilly valleys for the creation of Swarajya and expansion of Swarajya. The war was successful due to the combination of the guerrilla tactics and the agile army, but as the kingdom expanded, so did the battlefield. Marathas stepped out of Maharashtra and started fighting on a flat plain. This led to changes in their warfare, army divisions,

⁶ G. S. Sardesai, Marathi Riyasat, Vol.3, Popular Prakshan, Mumbai, 2010, PP. 164 -168.

⁷ Ibid, PP. 315 - 320.

regulations. The wars of the Marathas were against themselves, against the Mughals, and against foreigners. Therefore, the Marathas were forced to adopt different tactics to face the enemy in front.

4. War of Khed: (1707)

Chhatrapati Shahu, who was imprisoned by the Mughals for 18 years, was released at Daroha on the banks of the Narmada. This day was May 8, 1707.

Chhatrapati Shahu was strongly opposed by Maharani Tarabai in Maharashtra. Tarabai raised the rumour that Chhatrapati Shahu was a fraudulent. Tarabai sent a huge army to stop Chhatrapati Shahu. Chhatrapati Shahu's army and Maharani Tarabai's army confronted each other in October 1707 and the first major war between the two heirs of Chhatrapati Shivaji took place at Khed. This became the famous battle of Khed village. Before the battle Balaji Pant alias Balaji Vishwanath Bhat, who was working under the authority of Dhanaji Jadhav, convinced Dhanaji Jadhav that Chhatrapati Shahu was the real Shahu and he was the owner of Swarajya. Chhatrapati Shahu won this succession war at Khed as Dhanaji Jadhav, the general of Tarabai, turned to the side of Shahu.⁸

In this battle, not only were there cavalry, infantry, artillery, etc., involved but also all the weapons of the time. As this battle was between two heirs of Chhatrapati Shivarai, it was a kind of succession war. It is mentioned in Chitnis Bakhar- a narrative Chronicle of historical events- that this is a deceitful war which was fought with distinction due to more use of diplomacy and deceit in this battle than in war.

Diplomacy was also used extensively by Balaji Vishwanath in this battle. It was he who had diverted the general of Tarabai i.e., Dhanaji Jadhav Shahu's side. So, the battle of the Khed village becomes a battle of diplomacy.⁹ The prevailing form of warfare was hand-to-hand combat and conquest by weapons. But in the battle of Khed, the enemy was defeated by the principles of diplomacy and deceit. This changed the definition of victory and defeat as well as the principle of battle.

5. War with Sarkhel Kanhoji Angre: (1714)

This battle of 1713 AD during the Peshwa period turns out to be a special

⁸ Pramod Oak, Peshwe Gharanyacha Itihaas, Vol. 1, Continental Prakashan, Mumbai, 2014, PP. 91 - 93.

⁹ G. S. Sardesai, Marathi Riyasat, Vol.3, Op.cit, P. 46.

battle. This battle was to subdue the Armari Sarkhel, who had rebelled against the Chhatrapati's, and to bring them to the side of the Chhatrapati's and to make the Chhatrapati's lordship known on the west coastal area as like the land. Kanhoji Angre was a loyal servant of the Marathas but during the war of independence he was a leader of Tarabai's army. Chhatrapati Shahu began to rule in Satara and Maharani Tarabai in Kolhapur. But Maharani Tarabai continued to follow treachery against Shahu.

She also pitted Kanhoji Angre against Shahu. Kanhoji Angre called for a war against Shahu in 1713AD. When Angre with his army reached at the base of Lohgad fort, Balaji Vishwanath, as the first Peshwa of Chhatrapati Shahu, also came to the base of Lohgad with three to four thousand troops.

Kanhoji and Balaji Vishwanath had a good family relation. At the base of Lohgad, a great battle could take place resulting into massive bloodshed, however, the first Peshwa, Kanhoji, negotiated with Angre and convinced him to join hands with Chhatrapati Shahu.

Accepting that Shahu was the real owner of Swarajya, Kanhoji went to Satara, met Shahu Maharaj and swore allegiance to Shahu. Chhatrapati gave Kanhoji Sarkhel good post in army, seals and sword of pride. This battle took place on February 8, 1714 a strong chieftain like Kanhoji Angre only through diplomacy. This Balaji Vishwanath had won this battle without bloodshed by defeating war also proved the value of using diplomacy without bloodshed.¹⁰ This led to a new principle that coordination could be achieved without harming either party.

6. Battle of Palkhed:(1728)

Bajirao Peshwa came to power as the second in 1720A.D. Although Chhatrapati Shahu had a lot of faith in him, Chhatrapati Shahu's court in Satara was completely against Bajirao. Because he was young and not very experienced. Like his father, during Bajirao's time there was adversity in all fields. Although the charter of Swarajya and Sir Deshmukh came from the emperor, and from Balaji Vishwanath, it was not implemented. Tarabai and Nizam were opposed to this. Bajirao did the work of breaking the opposition of both of them. The Battle of Palkhed in 1728 AD is a testament to Bajirao's military prowess. The Nizam, the imperial chieftain, denied the existence of the Marathas. He was selfish and diplomatic. He established independent

¹⁰ Ibid, PP.106 – 110.

rule in Hyderabad in 1724 AD. He named it is 'Asafjahi'.¹¹ The Nizam frequently harassed the Marathas. He was constantly trying to break the courage of the Marathas by attacking Pune.

He had great artillery. However, since the Marathas did not have that much powerful artillery, the Nizams had to engage in very fast-paced battles by using a different fighting technique, where the Nizams artillery could not be used. The legendary capital of the Nizam was at Aurangabad.

Bajirao was on his way to Surat. The Nizam had also gone after him. The Nizam invaded Pune in 1727AD to appease Bajirao. The Nizam was sure that Bajirao would come to Pune to protect his capital. But Bajirao introduced new fighting techniques. Instead of going to the defence of Pune, they marched on the Nizam's capital, Aurangabad. The Nizam was greatly shocked and followed Bajirao to reach Aurangabad. In this battle, the invading Nizam became the prey. The Nizams were surprised by raids from all sides. And the Nizams were drawn to the battlefield of Palkhed near Aurangabad, which Bajirao wanted. On 25 February 1728, the Nizams were besieged by the Marathas.

At Palkhed, the Nizam was put in a dilemma for three days and his communications was cut-off. Grains, food and water are also cut-off. So, the Nizam was very disappointed. The artillery on which the Nizam had become so powerful remained on one bank of the Godavari. And the Nizam stood on the other bank and had to see with his naked eyes the destruction of his army and artillery. Nizam surrendered to Bajirao. And Palkhed battle ended with a treaty at Mungi-Shegaon.¹² The battle was a battle of artillery against guerrilla tactics. Also, Bajirao had completely violated all the techniques and rules that were followed by traditional warfare.

The Nizam's main strength was artillery, that is why Bajirao created a huge territorial gap between the artillery and the Nizam at Palkhed and ended the Nizam's stay at Palkhed without the artillery. Bajirao's Battle of Palkhed highlights Bajirao's war skills, guerilla skills, nimble movements and shrewdness. Even after defeating an enemy like the Nizam, the Marathas were not at peace because Shahu Chhatrapati was

¹¹ S. W. Khade, Mahadji Shinde Yanche Peshwe, Nizam, Rajput v Engraj Sambandh, Ek chikitsak Abhyaas, Jalna, 2011, P. 153., (unpublished thesis)

¹² G. S. Sardesai, Marathi Riyasat, Vol.3, Op.cit, PP. 296 – 301.

being harassed by Sambhaji from Kolhapur. Therefore, a battle took place between Chhatrapati Shahu and Chhatrapati Sambhaji at Warana and the Swarajya of Chhatrapati Shivaji's was sealed on the two thrones of Satara and Kolhapur. The Treaty of Warana gave Chhatrapati Shahu a major victory, but the Marathi kingdom was divided. Honesty and loyalty were also divided between regions, chieftains and armies. Later the British took advantage of this.

7. Battle of Bhopal: (1737)

Even after being defeated by Bajirao in the Battle of Palkhed, the Nizam's attitude of fighting and resisting the Marathas did not end. The Nizam left for Delhi in 1737 A.D with grievances against the Marathas. A rapprochement was established between the Emperor of Delhi and the Nizam. From this, the emperor took away the Subhedars of Agra and Malwa from Bajirao. And he gave it to Nizam's son 'Gaziuddin'. The Nizam raised 30,000 troops in Delhi against the Marathas and captured the Mughals' artillery. Due to this, the Nizam's army started increasing. The Peshwas had entered Pune when the Nizam reached Delhi. Bajirao and Chimaji Appa marched towards Malwa with a large army as soon as they learned that the governorship of Malwa had been taken away from the Marathas. In order to prevent the Peshwas from reaching him in the north, the Nizam conspired that one of his sons, Nasirjung, should stop the Peshwas at Aurangabad itself. If the Peshwas came towards north, the Nizam had planned to capture Peshwas with from both sides with his two different armies: Nasirjung would capture from Aurangabad and the Nizam would trap Peshwa around Bundelkhand. But this plan of Nizam was turned against him by Peshwa. Chimaji Appa was sent to stop Nasirjung. And the Peshwa himself came near Bhopal, galloping fast. So, the Nizam also followed the Peshwas to Bhopal.

In December 1737, both Bajirao and Nizam came face to face. Nizam was waiting for Nasirjung. And in the ramparts of Bhopal, the Nizam was encamped in a defensive posture. As Bajirao made the city of Bhopal crazy, the Nizam was very worried. All tactics of battle failed. Nizam was trying to catch Bajirao red-handed. That strategy failed and the Nizam himself got caught up in Bajirao's mess. Nizam's condition deteriorated to such an extent that elephants and horses had to feed on bark of trees and roots from ponds. Grain became four times expensive. Nizam's patience was exhausted. It was then that he realized that his son Nasirjung could not come to his rescue. It is intercepted by Chimaji Appa. Due to this, the Nizam finally

surrendered to Bajirao. This is a repetition of the battle of Palkhed. The Battle of Bhopal ended with a treaty at Durai-Sahrai.¹³ In this battle too, Peshwa's unparalleled military strength and intelligence was proved. It was because of Bajirao's cleverness that the Marathas were able to defeat two enemies at one time. Also, Bajirao forced the Nizam to make a treaty despite his huge army artillery. In this battle too, as always, Peshwas overturned all the rules of war. The name of the Marathas became universal.

8. The Third Battle of Panipat: (1761)

The battlefield of Panipat in North India is also known as 'Kurukshetra'. The Mahabharata war was fought on this battlefield. Also, three important battles were fought in the battlefield of Panipat during the medieval period. The first battle of Panipat was fought in 1526A.D between Mughal Emperor Babur and Sultan Ibrahim Khan Lodhi of Delhi. The second war took place in 1556A.D between Hemu and Sher Shaha Suri, Prime Minister of Mughal Emperor Akbar. And the third war was fought in 1761A.D between the Emperor Ahmad Shah Abdali of Iran and the Peshwas.¹⁴

Examining these epic battles in history and their background over the years, it seems that each battle was fought in just one day. The word Panipat means complete destruction, but the Peshwa's army changed that meaning to a step towards revival. This is an event worth noting in the history of Marathas, and it has become a living history even today. From the time of Chhatrapati Shahu, the practice of Marathas protecting the Mughal Empire continued. An agreement was reached that whenever Delhi was attacked by powers outside India, the Peshwas would defend the emperor with military force.¹⁵ Accordingly, this was the battle of Panipat of 1761A.D.

This war was during the time of the third Peshwa Balaji Bajirao alias Nana Saheb. The Peshwa's cousin Sadashivrao Bhau and son Vishwasrao were leading this war. If we look at the background of the war, Ahmad Shah Abdali, the ruler of Iran who came to power after the emperor Nadir Shah of Iran, repeatedly attacked Delhi He wanted to establish power in Delhi. And Delhi was to be plundered continuously but this could not be achieved here because of the Marathas.

¹³ Uday Kulkarni, Vijay Bapye (Trans), The Era of Bajirao, Mula Mutha Publishers, Pune, 2020, PP. 222 - 231.

¹⁴ S. N. Sen, Sadashiv Shivde (Trans), Marathyanchi Lashkari Vyastha, Diamond Publication, Pune, 2005, PP. 123 - 131.

¹⁵ Pramod Oak, Balaji Vishvanaath Peshwe, Continental Prakashan, Pune, 2005, P. 118.

Chhatrapati Shahu and his Peshwas continued their strategy of imperial expansion and continuously attacked the northern Hindu region. Due to this, Maratha tyranny and interference in politics increased in North India. In this way, due to the Peshwas Bajirao the Maratha borders reached up to Delhi. But due to this, some powers in the north went against the Marathas. The third battle of Panipat was the explosion of northern winds and politics of Shinde, Holkar, Raghoba Dada during the reign of Balaji Bajirao aka Nana Saheb Peshwa who came to the throne after Bajirao.¹⁶

The reasons for the Battle of Panipat can be found in Abdali's constant attacks on Delhi and the 'Ahmadiyya Treaty' signed between the Emperor of Delhi and Holkar, Shinde on 23 May 1752. And the battle of Panipat completes the first phase.¹⁷

On March 14, 1760, the Marathi army headed by Sadashiv Bhau Peshwa marched north to counter Abdali's invasion. Even though the fighting force with Bhausaheb was approximately 50,000, by the time the Marathi reached Panipat, the same number had gone up to two and a half lakhs. Rather than seeing the detailed reality of war, it is important to see the techniques, weapons, and military structure of this war. After many events, from 1760 to 14th January 1761, i.e., for almost two and a half months, the Marathi army stayed at the Panipat battlefield.¹⁸

8.1 Maratha Army Formation at Panipat:

The Maratha army formation in the Third Battle of Panipat is assumed to have been similar with slight differences when viewed from different reference sources. The great people who were present in this war have described the incident as they witnessed it. Many had sent letters to the south. The real truth of this war is also obtained from that letter. And the history of Panipat is understood from the Chronicle, the context of writing. Bhausaheb's Bakhar-Chronicle is a reference tool. Its author was Phadnis of Shinde Sardar. This means that the information in this comes true.

Vishwasrao Bhausaheb rode on an elephant. Parvati Bai, his Matoshree and other maids also rode on elephants. Further, on the right flank of the Maratha army was

¹⁶ Raghunath Yadav, Keshav Kulakarni (ed.), Panipatchi Bakhar, Chinmay Prakashan, Aurangabad, 2007, PP. 45 - 46.

¹⁷ G. L. Bhide and Dr. Vijay Nalawade, Marathi Sattecha Vikas v Hrass, Phadke Prakashan, Kolhapur, 1999, P. 90.

¹⁸ Raghunath Yadav, Keshav Kulakarni (ed.), Panipatchi Bakhar, Op.cit, PP. 54 – 55.

Ibrahim Khan Gargdi's artillery. By his side was Shinde, Holkar. On the left were Damaji Gaikwad, Antaji Mankeshwar, Yashwantrao Pawar, Vitthal Shivdev, and Samsher Bahadur. Behind them were the non-combatant army. This is how the sphere is established. The Marathas targeted Nobati, Choughde, elephants.

Some of the cannons are selected to fire towards the enemy. There was an army behind also. This was the overall arrangement of the Marathi army. The Maratha military formation was spread over a mile and a half long. The horses and other belongings in the camp of the Marathas were abandoned at the base.¹⁹ When the Maratha army went out to fight, there were three main elephants in the Maratha army. One of the elephants, Shubhrakunj, the second Shamsundar and the third Gajananbaksh, which Abdali himself presented to Bhausahab, had Maratha marks on them.

Sadashivarao rode on Shamsundar elephant, while Vishwasrao rode on the elephant named Gajananbaksh.²⁰ But in the actual battlefield, both of them got down from the elephants and rode on horses. Bhausahab was on the horse named Bor and Vishwasrao rode on the horse named Dilpak.²¹ This is how the Maratha army was structured. But Bhausahab must not have explained the circular structure of the war to his chieftains. Because if the war had been fought according to this design, perhaps the history of Panipat would have been different.

8.2 War structure of Abdali:

Considered as the main mastermind of Panipat, Abdali's military structure was significant. Abdali had his own army of 70,000. Mansoor Ali aka Najib Khan was standing on the left and Shujaudddaula was standing on the right. Abdali stayed at the base with his reserve force of 50,000. But his sons Taimur Shah and Najim Khan were in the front with 50,000 each. Abdali's army was larger than that of the Marathas. The structure of the camp they made must have been about seven miles.

Like the Marathas, Abdali also had various weapons.²² Thus the third battle of Panipat was fought on 14 January 1761. The Marathas bet on prowess. But the gods

¹⁹ M. S. Kanade(ed.), Bhau Sahebanchi Bakhar, Snehvardhan Publishing House, Pune, 1993, PP. 242 - 243.

²⁰ Raghunath Yadav, Keshav Kulakarni (ed.), Panipatchi Bakhar, Op.cit, PP. 125 -126.

²¹ M. S. Kanade, Bhau Sahebanchi Bakhar, Op. cit, P. 145.

²² Raghunath Yadav, Keshav Kulakarni (ed.), Panipatchi Bakhar, Op.cit, P. 130.

of the Marathas had moved. A very heavy defeat was inflicted on the Marathas. Bhausaheb, Vishwasrao, many chieftains and the great army of the Marathas were sacrificed and the raging battle of Panipat was calmed down. There were several reasons why the Marathas brought their own defeat closer.

Example:

1. Delay in journey from Pune to Panipat.
2. Engaging in religious rituals.
3. There was no control over mercenary.
4. Had they turned back to Pune from Delhi, the disaster would have been averted.
5. After the capture of Kunjpura, the Marathas stayed on the Panipat battlefield for almost two and a half months without immediately attacking the exhausted Abdali.
6. This extended stay resulted in the plight of animals and troops.
7. Neglect of logistics and communication systems.
8. The war that saved the Abdalis and the winter that killed the Marathas was the war in the month of January, which really led to the downfall of the Marathas.

9. War at Rakshas Bhuvan: (1773)

The third Peshwa Balaji Bajirao alias Nanasaheb died on the 'Parvati' as a result of the Panipat attack. Raghoba Dada made many conspiracies for the vacant post of Peshwa. However, they were of no use. On 30 July 1761, Madhavrao received the robes of a Peshwa at Satara. Madhavrao's career began under very adverse circumstances. Due to the terrible war like Panipat, the Marathas suffered a lot in all areas. Also, the enemies of the Marathas were eager to take advantage of this opportunity. There was internal opposition to Madhavrao. Raghoba Dada in particular was constantly obstructing Madhavrao because of his desire for the title of Peshwa. As he did not get the title of Peshwa, Raghoba Dada connived with the Nizam. This is a bigger misfortune than Panipat.

As Madhavrao was young, no one had faith in his responsibilities. In such a situation, the battle of Rakshasbhuvana on 10 August 1763 during Madhavrao's era

becomes very important. This battle was fought between the Nizam and the Peshwa, the great enemy of the Marathas. Raghoba who conspired with the Nizam, the same Raghoba was deceived by the Nizam. So Raghoba now stood against the Nizam. The artillery of Vitthal Sunder, the Nizam's chief warlord and one of the men from 'SADE TEEN SHAHAE' of the Peshwas, and the Nizam's army were to prove a challenge to Madhavrao. Madhavrao, who was still oblivious, trapped the Nizam at Rakshasbhuvana.

At this time, many Maratha chieftains stood with Madhavrao. Nizam's army was divided on the banks of Godavari on the battlefield of Rakshasbhuvana. That is, when the actual battle took place, the Nizam was on the other side of the Godavari and his army was near the cannons and Vitthal Sunder at Godavari. The Nizam's army was completely destroyed by the Marathi army. Vitthal Sunder was beheaded. The Nizam unfortunately had to stand on the other bank of the river and watch the destruction of his army and artillery. The Marathas won a great victory over Rakshasbhuvana. The Nizam was severely defeated. War materials, 15 elephants, 25 guns, many animals were looted by the Marathas. Many battles were fought between the Marathas and the Nizam in the past but the battle of Rakshasbhuvana was one of its kind.²³

After the defeat of Panipat, this victory for the Marathas was truly an eye-opener. Madhavrao proved that the Marathi power was not over by defeating a generational enemy like the Nizam at Rakshasbhuvan. They had done it again. This battle taught a good lesson to the enemies as well as the internal opponents. The battle tactics used by the Peshwas in this battle were very unique. By creating a gap between the Nizam and his army, the Nizam was forced to see with open eyes how his own army was defeated. The Nizam was taken a back.

10. Battle of Kharda: (1795)

Battle of Kharda (1795) during the reign of Sawai Madhavrao Peshwa is the last but proudest battle in Maratha history. Just as the third battle of Panipat tells the story of the defeat of the Marathas, the battle of Kharda tells the story of the final victory of the Marathas.

Battle of Kharda (1795) during the reign of Sawai Madhavrao Peshwa is the last but proudest battle in Maratha history. Just as the third battle of Panipat tells the story

²³ G. S. Sardesai, Marathi Riyasat, Vol.5, Popular Prakshan, Mumbai, 2010, PP. 62 - 63.

of the defeat of the Marathas, the battle of Kharda tells the story of the final victory of the Marathas. The Nizam was the age-old enemy of the Marathas. He was troubling the Peshwas by joining hands with the British. In January 1795, the Nizam left Bidar for Pune. Kharda was a place between Pune and Bidar. The British did not help the Nizam. Shinde, Holkar, Parshuram Bhau, etc. were among the famous Sardars with the Marathas. Sawai Madhavrao Peshwa himself was present on the battlefield during this battle. The main reason for this battle between the Nizam of Hyderabad against the Maratha Empire was the demand of the Marathas from the Nizam for the quarter share of the tax. As soon as the Nizam's ministers rejected this demand, Peshwas, Shinde, Holkar, Bhosale marched on the Nizam's territory. At this time the Marathas had more military strength than the Nizam. The Marathas had 84 thousand cavalry, 38 thousand infantry, and 192 guns. Nizam had 45 thousand cavalry, 44 thousand infantry and 108 guns. As it was not possible to fight against the Marathas in the open field, the Nizam took refuge in the fort of Kharda.

The Marathas besieged this fort and cut off the Nizam's food and water supply, making it difficult for the Nizam to survive. Also, guns were fired all around the fort. The Nizam was defeated in the battle but he appealed to the Marathas for a treaty. According to the treaty, the Nizams had to pay the Marathas one fourth arrears and five crore rupees as war tribute. The fort of Daulatabad and its surrounding area had to be given to the Marathas. Sawai Madhavrao Peshwa's performance in this battle was an eye-opener, so when the Peshwa arrived in Pune, he was given a warm welcome.²⁴ Sawai Madhavrao died and after many conspiracies the second Bajirao was appointed as Peshwa on 4th December 1796. During his stay at Hadapsar, he was given the robes of the Peshwa. After Madhavrao Peshwa, it was not until Bajirao II ascended the throne that the first British-Maratha war became important.

11.1 Anglo-Maratha first War: (1775 to 1782)

First British-Maratha War: After the killing of Peshwa Narayan Rao, Raghoba declared himself as Peshwa but was not accepted by Marathi power. For this reason, motivated by personal interest, Raghoba joined hands. First British-Maratha War: After the killing of Peshwa Narayan Rao, Raghoba declared himself as Peshwa but was not

²⁴ Kashinath Narayan Sane (ed.), *Khrdyachya Swarichi Aani Sawai Madhav Rao Narayan Rao Peshwe Yanchi Bakhar*, Varada Prakashan, Pune, 2021, PP. 21 - 48.

accepted by Marathi power. For this reason, motivated by personal interest, Raghoba joined hands with the British. And on March 6, 1775, the Treaty of Surat was signed. According to this treaty, the British entered the Maratha politics legally. The internal strife of the Marathas always provided an opportunity for the desperate British to sink the Maratha kingdom. Taking Raghoba with him as per the treaty in power, the British attacked Pune under the leadership of Colonel Keating.

This was the beginning of the first British-Maratha war. This first war lasted for seven years from 1775 onwards. Most of the Maratha territories were brought under British rule. The objective of the British was to capture many places of the Marathas. In this war, Nana Phadnis defeated the Britishers with great performance. During the war between British and Marathi, his establishment of Chatuh Sangh became a great war strategy. There were four rulers like Peshwa, Nizam, Hyder Ali and Nagpurkar Bhosale.

Waran Hastings and Goddard led the British in the first British-Maratha war. But after the victory of the Marathas, the Treaty of Saalbai was signed on 17 May 1782 and the first British-Maratha war ended. In this war, just as the British understood the war strategy of the Marathas, the Marathas understood the internal conflict, selfishness, and internal hatred. Moreover, the British also got an estimate of the Maratha military strength and obsolete weapons.²⁵

11.2 Anglo-Maratha Second War: (1803 to 1805)

The Second British-Maratha War took place between 1803 AD to 1805AD. History repeated itself. Raghoba dada signed the 'Treaty of Surat' while Bajirao II signed the Treaty of Vasai.²⁶ and aspired to attain the post of Peshwa with the help of the British.

In this war, Bajirao and the British were on one side and warlords like Maratha Sardar Shinde and Holkar were on the other side. Wellesley, Gérard Lakh, James Stevens were the English generals while Daulatrao Shinde, Yashwantrao Holkar, Raghoji Bhosale, were the Maratha generals. The British were victorious in this war and the Marathas lost the territory of Gujarat and Orissa along with their defeat. In this

²⁵ G. S. Sardesai, Marathi Riyasat, Vol.6, Popular Prakshan, Mumbai, 2010, PP. 228 – 253.

²⁶ Pramod Oak, Peshwe Gharanyacha Itihaas, Vol 1, Continental Prakashan, Pune, 2014, P. 223.

war, the British used artillery and the units of the Marathi army also. Diplomacy of the British and divisiveness of the Marathas were seen. In the Second British-Maratha War, the British realized the decline of the Marathas in all areas.

11.3 Anglo-Maratha Third War: (1817 to 1818)

Although the Third British-Maratha War was fought in a single year, 1817-1818, its background dates back to the end of the Second British-Maratha War. As the grip on the Peshwas began to loosen and British dominance began to increase, Bajirao Peshwas began to feel a sense of superiority. Thus, on 13 June 1817, the Treaty of Pune was signed and Bajirao ended his rule over the Sardars. Also, the British increased the number of deployed forces under the Peshwas. That is, Bajirao was made weak by the British. Therefore, to repay this slavery of the British, the Peshwas started increasing their own army by making alliances with Shinde, Holkar, and Bhosale. All the secret news of the Peshwas was earlier passed on to the British by Balaji Vishwanath Pant. Bapu Gokhale, the general of the Peshwas, was honest. Bajirao decided to fight the British for the last time. The Battle of Khadki and the Battle of Ashti were decisive in the Third British-Maratha War.

On November 5, 1817, Bapu Gokhale attacked the British camp in Pune. Khadki was also attacked. This battle is known as Battle of Khadki or Ganesh Khind. During this battle, Bajirao II was watching the battle from a mountain through binoculars. The Marathas were defeated. The Peshwa went with the army to Purandar. The telescope through which the Peshwa was watching the battle was gifted to the Peshwas by British officer Lord Valiantia.²⁷ Clashes were going on continuously between Bajirao and the British. Eleven days after the battle of Khadki, the battle of Yerwada took place. The Marathas were defeated in this battle. Bajirao left Pune and went to Purandare. It was easy for the British to take control of Pune. On November 17, 1817, Balajipant Natu, on behalf of the British, hoisted the flag of the British on the Delhi Gate of Shaniwar Wada.²⁸

12. Battle of Koregaon: (1818)

After the battle of Yerwada, Bajirao continued to hide with his army. His flight is known as circular flight. Bapu Gokhale, the loyal commander of the Peshwas, was

²⁷ Pramod Oak, *Peshwe Gharanyacha Itihaas*, Op. cit, PP. 225 - 226.

²⁸ G. S. Sardesai, *Marathi Riyasat*, Vol.8, Popular Prakshan, Mumbai, 2010, PP. 513 - 517.

protecting the Peshwas. But like the British, the strength of the separatist chieftains also increased. The famous frontier commanders of the British were trying with all their might to defeat Bajirao. While this war was going on, Marathi and British clashed on January 1, 1818 at Koregaon on the banks of Bhima River.

In this too, the Maratha artillery performed well in the war. But unfortunately, the Marathas were defeated in this battle too. The British had won the battle despite a small army. Therefore, the British erected a victory pillar at Koregaon. The Peshwa left for Satara by way of Jejuri.²⁹

13. Battle of Gopal Ashti: (1818)

This battle marks the last battle of Bajirao Peshwa's era. After the battle of Khadki, the Peshwas were constantly on the run. Marathi troops were also running with them. For almost nine months the Peshwa ran helplessly. And resisted the British as much as possible. G. S. Sardesai called this run of the Peshwas as running siege.³⁰ On February 20, 1818, a final battle between the Marathi and the English took place at Ashti, while the Peshwa was on his way to Purandar. General Smith from the British while Bapu Gokhale from the Marathas were the commander in chief in this battle.

In this battle, Bapu Gokhale defeated the efforts and trapped the British. This gave the Peshwas time to flee to Solapur. The battle of Gopal-Ashti ended in the defeat of the Marathas. Bapu Gokhale died in this battle. The British looted all the belongings of the Marathas. In the loot the British got Peshwa's treasure worth one crore. But the British did not find Bajirao Peshwa. He had left for Solapur and from there to the north.³¹

12. Peshwa's last bow to Fort Solapur: (1818)

The Battle of Gopal Ashti in 1818AD proved to be the last battle between the British and the Marathi. However, the new research states that the end of Marathi power was not at Gopal Ashti but at Solapur fort. After the battle of Gopal Ashti, the Peshwa stayed at the fort of Solapur for a few days because it was a strong fort under the control of the Peshwas. Chhatrapati Pratap Singh of Satara and his brothers were in the fort of

²⁹ Suman Vidya, Akhercha Peshwa, Pragati Prakshan, Nagpur, 1994, PP. 248 - 251.

³⁰ Pramod Oak, Peshwe Gharanyacha Itihaas, Op.cit, P. 217.

³¹ G. S. Sardesai, Marathi Riyasat, Vol.8, Op.cit, PP. 520 - 524.

Solapur³², hence the Peshwa took shelter there with all his troops and war equipment. After giving appropriate instructions to the officials here, the Peshwa himself left for Madhya Pradesh with his family. Ganpatrao Panse was the chief of artillery and the Peshwa's chief of infantry was Major Pinto, a Portuguese officer.³³

After Gopal Ashti, the fort of Solapur and Solapur became the battlefield of the battle. To give the final blow to the Maratha rule, the British marched their army towards Solapur in May 1818. The military strength of the British was great. Mainly they had 1060 Hindu battalions and rifle corps brigades. Around 1100 Madras army was joined under the name of "Madras Native Infantry". Also, a battalion of 1430 soldiers had come from Bombay. There were 330 soldiers as artillerymen and laborers. General Frizler and General Monroe were the commanders of the British. The Marathas had 5500 infantry and 1200 Arab soldiers. A troop of 800 to 900 horsemen. There were also 1000 soldiers who were always in the fort.

Ganpatrao was ready for the battle with 14 big cannons. The British army that left Belgaum entered Solapur city on May 9, 1818 via Sangola, Gherdi, Siddapur, Pathri. The British army had crossed the Bhima and Seena rivers with great effort. Solapur city had high fortifications. The British had camped five kilometres away from Solapur. Mainly, the Nizam of Hyderabad sent a warlord named Dulekhan to help the British. The British used the policy of divide and rule, to bring the Marathas to a standstill. From May 10 to May 14, fierce fighting took place. The British had long-range brass cannons. They stormed the ramparts and broke through, and gained access to the fort. The Peshwa's artillery was actively engaged. But Panse was wounded by the British shot and the Maratha army was disorganized as the Maratha cannon broke. Panse's mare was also killed. The resistance of the Marathas subsided and the British got the fort of Solapur on 14 May 1818.

A five-clause treaty was signed between the British and the Maratha and the ownership of the Solapur fort was retained by the British. In real sense, this was the end of Marathi power. As soon as the Solapur fort fell, Bajirao II surrendered to the British at Dhulkot, that is, Marathi power paid its last bow in front of Solapur fort.³⁴

³² Lata Aklujkar, Kille Solapur, Sankalp Prakashan, Solapur, 2012, P. 76.

³³ G. P. Kulkarni, Shatsanvstari Granth, G. P. Kulkarni, Solapur, 1953, P. 7.

³⁴ Lata Aklujkar, Kille Solapur, Op.cit, PP. 76 - 87.

13. War: Preparation:

After reviewing the important wars of the Peshwa period, let us try to throw some light on how the Marathas prepare for war before the war and when they are encamped.

13.1 Knowledge of war:

In ancient and medieval times, war was a constant aspect of life and every ruler had to know the art of war. Governance could not be managed and the state could not be protected without mastering the strategy and science of warfare. Martial arts means that a king should always keep his army strong. And the army must be disciplined. Better training should be provided. The king along with the soldiers should acquire the habit. The king along with the soldiers should acquire the habit of hunting in order to get good health. Knowledge of the surrounding area, mountains, valleys, plains, rivers, streams, swamps, etc. are essential in war science.

A king who has such knowledge should easily defeat the enemy. The science of war included the essentials of choosing one's army base, guiding the army, choosing the right battlefield and successfully laying siege to the enemy's positions. In order to achieve continuous victory and increase his kingdom, a ruler should study history and get information about famous heroes who have passed away, and how they won their war should be closely studied. The king should constantly try to increase his strength and war materials without ever being lazy.³⁵

13.2 War Camp: Bazaar:

The most important point in the art of war is the camp of the army. Camp should be arranged according to Vaastu Shastra. The contribution of generals, carpenters and astrologers was important in this. Army camp should be round, oblong or square. This camp should be surrounded by a moat and a rampart. The camp should have four gates, six roads. And for the army base, nine divisions should be designed.

It should have arrangements for the king, officers, garbage, animals, vehicles, granaries, labourers, artisans, grain sellers and artisans etc. There should also be arrangements for spies and spies to watch over spies. Changing of the guard is

³⁵ B. M. Kanitkar (trans.), Raja, Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune, 1962, PP. 60 -63.

necessary. There should be strict rules for those coming and going in the camp. Quarrels, drinking, chaosar or saripaath and meetings should be completely banned. The main thing is that any such camp should have water system.³⁶

The ruler of any era rules according to the experience of the past. This experience was also useful during war. From the time of Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj, from 1708 AD to the end of Peshwa, it is necessary to see the war system. This includes war campaigns, military camps, military movements, etc. Chhatrapati Shahu was imprisoned by the Mughals for eighteen years, so his war campaigns were influenced by the Mughal wars. That is why their war campaign looks like a festive procession.

The campaign becomes very slow. so, the elephant and the horse would tread slowly, followed by 40-50 elephants of the chieftains. Janankhana was in Shahu's riding. This became a good example of how the Marathi power was moving away from the principle of Chhatrapati Shivaraya. Artillery, cavalry, infantry, chariots, camels were also there. Servants, weapons, musicians, private servants, marksmanship, gun-carriers, etc. were all necessary. Water was spread on the footpath everywhere to prevent dust. Servants, weapons, musicians, private servants, marksmanship, gun-carriers, etc. were all necessary. Water was spread on the footpath everywhere to prevent dust.

That is why such expeditions used to travel only three to four miles a day. That is why it is mentioned in Malhar Ramrao Chitnis Bakhar that Shahu deliberately imitated the Mughal's method. Commenting on Shahu's campaign, William Henry Tone says that the army of this period was divided into three divisions. The entire infantry is a simple army. He says this simple army was behind the saffron colours' signs or flags. The middle reserve is called Beech Lakshkar. It contained baggage, ammunition and unnecessary equipment.

The rear forces are called Jinasa or Banga. Whenever there were war camps during the reign of the Peshwas, the Biniwales used to select a camp site for the Peshwas

³⁶ Veena Hardas, Aarya Chankya Vibhutimatva kaarya v rajkiya tattvdyan, Vol. 2, Kaal Prakshan, 1988, Pune, PP. 317 - 318.

and live in a circle around the Peshwas' army. And they used to put a small mark to know the location of Peshwa's camp. In front of the tents of the Peshwas, there were markets and tents of small chiefs. Every Sardar used to wear a mark for identification.

Sometimes even senior chieftains used to have big bazaars in the camp. James Forbes, while in the camp of Raghunathrao Peshwas, writes that the tents of the Peshwas were regal, and flamboyant. When the wives and children of the Peshwas were on expeditions, these tents were even more comfortable. So, they preferred to live in a tent rather than a house.³⁷ All the tents together are called Devadi. The war camps existed for several days. So, the market was necessary. Here you can find goods of different styles and materials and for people of different walks of life. Shops used to be lined up in front of each other. A three-four-mile-long road was automatically formed in between. Along with the shops, there were tents of chieftains on the side of the road.

To set up a shop in the camp, a license letter and taxes had to be paid. The markets of Raghunathrao Peshwa, Shinde, Holkar etc. were so big that they used to sell like a city. Goldsmiths, moneylenders, cloth merchants, medicines, confectioners, carpenters, tailors, tent makers, millers, blacksmiths, coppersmiths, mailers, acharyas, etc. There were places of worship in the camp. Festivals were celebrated there in the Hindu way, but cleanliness was completely neglected in such bazaars. When the Peshwa himself was on a campaign, his tents and those of the Sardars used to pitch on the Garpira. They used to camp on Garpira itself for fifteen days. Shiledars of villages used to come to Garpeera and join the campaign. Peshwa used to visit Parvati, Theur, Jejuri, Moreshwar and Kurakumbh during the stay.

Marathi army used to march only after the visits to these temples. Jones says of the discipline of the Marathas that the army, the infantry, commoners, swarmed the camps like flies. In order to get water supply to the camp, the expedition used to move along watercourses and riverbanks as much as possible.

It was necessary to keep different kinds of animals in these campaigns. But the animals were not properly cared for. Their health, food and drink will be neglected, that's why many animals used to die due to disease. Due to improper disposal of dead

³⁷ S. N. Sen, Sadashiv Shivde (trans), *Marathyanchi Lashkari Vyastha*, Op.cit, PP. 112 - 113.

animal diseases used to spread in the camp.³⁸ A good example of this is the Third Battle of Panipat.

13.3: War Camp: Women

Considering the medieval war camps, it seems that women were included in these camps over time. As far as the Maratha camps are concerned, there was a strict rule during Chhatrapati Shivaraya's time that no one should take women of any caste with him on any war expedition. During the Peshwa period, the principles of Chhatrapati Shivaraya gradually started to be discarded. Therefore, the existence of women was accepted in field of war as well as in politics. Almost all Peshwas and their officers accompanied women on campaigns. Women were largely a part in the Panipat War.³⁹

A different reason for including women in the war camp is found in Kautilya Arthashastra. Specialization of women as spies: Widows should be appointed. Widows should be appointed. These widows would lure the enemies to gather secret information from them, and the women prepared good food and drink and gave rousing speeches to the soldiers,⁴⁰ but the number of such women was very low. During the Peshwa era, however, there seems to have been no restriction on the presence of women in campaigns.

13.4 War Camp: Spy:

A spy is described as the 'ears and eyes' of the king in many texts. That is why Chhatrapati Shivarai created a separate spy agency. Bahirji Naik was the head of spy department during Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj's period. It is well known that Chhatrapati Shivarai had launched and succeeded in many campaigns due to spies. But during the Peshwa era, there was no independent spy agency.

However, an independent spy force, which was trained, was a part of the army.⁴¹ They used to work as message vehicles for espionage pairs. And spies used to work in pairs. Jasood Jodi, Kashid Jodi are mentioned. One of these raids was during the

³⁸ V. K. Bhawe, Peshwekalin Maharashtra, Varda Prakashan, Pune, 2010, PP. 426 - 453.

³⁹ S.N. Sen, Sadashiv Shivde(trans), Marathyanchi Lashkari Vyastha, Op.cit, P. 114.

⁴⁰ G. G. Tipnis, Kautilyay Arthshastra Pradeep, Varada Prakashan, Pune, PP. 151 -152.

⁴¹ V. K. Bhawe, Peshwekalin Maharashtra. Op.cit, P. 118.

Peshwa period. Their names were Navaji Naik and Rangoji Naik.⁴² They had good knowledge about the roads, also they could disguise very well. But in the battle of Panipat, the Marathas suffered heavy losses due to the lack of control over the spy system.

14. Pendhari in Maratha Army:

Pendhari was a separate concern in Shivaji and Peshwa armies. But during Shivaji's period Maharaja did not include Pendhars in his army because the original occupation of Pendhar was looting. During the Peshwa period, Bajirao Peshwa alias Nanasaheb started appointing Pendhari in the army. Pendhars were an independent tribe. They used to plunder on the way of expedition for their master. So Pendhari was not a fixed source of income.

It was the ancient practice of appointing robbers in the army. Kautilya, Brihaspati and Sukraniti mention that robbers like Pendhari should be appointed in the army. These were nomadic clan. They used to protect themselves by giving a share of the loot to the state and the remaining amount was used for themselves. Pendhars did not belong to any particular caste or tribe, also their residence was not fixed. Like Pendhar, Bidari and Bedar were also such tribes.⁴³ such pendhars were used as private pay to the Peshwas. Pendhars used to get arms and war materials from the government.

The Peshwas had a similar special pay during the Panipat war. Among them, Dost Mohammad, the leader of Pendhari, is mentioned in a letter dated 1753-54. This letter was sent by Peshwa to Dattaji Shinde.⁴⁴ The diaries of the first Madhavrao Peshwas provide rudimentary information about the Pendhars in the Maratha army. A letter in this regard reveals that Shivchand Prem Singh, Mohan Singh, Hiranman and Bhupat Beldar had requested the Peshwas that they had allowed looting on the part of the enemy. Also, permission has been given to stay in the camp of Marathas. "For this we had written a letter of permission from the Peshwa to collect many looters and beldar families to join our service.

Then Peshwas gave permission to Pendhars to stay in the camp. Also, a rent of five rupees for each tent was imposed on Pendhari. New shields were given to them

⁴² Pune Archives Pune, Ghadni No.262/4, Letter No. 627700.

⁴³ Manuchi, Storis-do-magor, Vol. 2, London, 1907, P. 459.

⁴⁴ Ganesh Cimmaji Wad, Peshwe Rojnishi, Vol. 3, Deccan Vernacular Translation Society, Pune, 1911, P. 178.

for this work. However, the goods such as horses, palanquins, jewels, emblems, etc. obtained from the loot which the Pendharis will loot should be deposited by the Pendharis to the Peshwa government. From this it is evident that Madhavrao Peshwa not only used Pendhari for his army but also gained control over them. According to the letter written to Trambakrao Dhamdhere, the Pendhari tribe was allowed to keep only 50 families in the Maratha camp. But if there were more families than that the rent for each Pendhari's tent was three rupees. Such rent was called Palpatti.⁴⁵ Madhavrao Peshwa's foresight is also evident from that letter. The above letter was to prevent them from misusing the permission given to the Pendharis.

There are many reasons why the Marathas used to keep the Pendharis in the army camp. Their horse riding was fast. The Pendhari method of using weapons and spears was very different and precise.

Pendhari used to live in gangs. They looted with great agility and delivered the booty to the right place. If the situation arose, they would run away for a long distance or would immediately gather at the site. Maratha chieftains also had pendhari. Especially the Holkars had more straws. Pendhari was also used by the Marathas during the Panipat War.

15. Camp: A Comparative Study:

Peshwa war camps are depictions of medieval battlefields. In the Middle Ages, like the Peshwas, the Muslim rulers used to have their war camps at different places. As the camp fell, it becomes important for the study to observe the existence of the Muslim rulers in the camp, their behaviour and the condition of the chieftains and troops around them.

The camp of Aurangzeb, the greatest of Muslim rulers, was camped at Galgali in Bijapur district on the banks of the Krishna River in 1695. At that time, the French traveller doctor John Francis Gamelli Carrey had gone to this camp. He has described this camp of the emperor in his travelogue.

The camp, covering an area of 30 miles, was secured by a moat and ramparts. Aurangzeb himself had the tents of his sons made within a three-mile radius. There

⁴⁵ Ganesh Chimnaji Wad, *Peshwe Rojnishi*, Vol. 9, Deccan Vernacular Translation Society, Pune, 1911, PP. 324 - 325.

were 60,000 cavalry, 100,000 infantry, 3000 elephants and 500 camels in this camp. Apart from this, there was a total population of five lakhs in this camp including mercenary, market stalls, artisans, traders etc. There were 250 markets. And the fortifications of the camp had three gates.

This is how this camp has been described by Dr. Carery.⁴⁶ This sheds light on the magnificence and opulence of the Mughals in their war camps. That is why it was very difficult to move in such a Mughal camp.

16. Changes in warfare between the Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj and Peshwa periods

Rulers of any era would constantly wage wars for the expansion of the state, for the protection of the people, and for the protection of religion. War means the creation of an army, the production of weapons, the policy with the enemy, the actual procedures on the battlefield, and the treaties. Even though these things are the same, all the above issues change with the changing regimes over time.

The Hindavi Swarajya established in Maharashtra in the 17th and 18th centuries was followed by the Maratha Empire, which came into existence through the Marathas of Maharashtra and under the leadership of Shiv Chhatrapati and the Peshwas. Despite the same geographical location, the same people, and the Muslim power being the same enemy, some of the points of which can be seen in the war methods during the Shivaji Maharaj era and the Peshwa era are as follows.

Province

During Chhatrapati Shivaji's reign, the battlefield was largely in Maharashtra and to some extent in Karnataka. During Shiva's reign, infantry and cavalry were used extensively. During the Peshwa period, the Marathas' territory had expanded throughout India. The Marathas had crossed the Narmada River in the south and had reached the north with the hope of expanding their kingdom. The Bajirao Peshwa I is responsible for this. Due to the expansion of the territory, cavalry gained special importance during the Peshwa period. During the time of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj, battles were fought

⁴⁶ V. K. Bhawe, Shivrajya V Shivkaal, Narayan Bhawe, Pune, 1957, PP. 460 - 462.

in the mountainous areas of the Sahyadri Mountains, but during the Peshwa period, battles were fought on the plains, which shows a change in the style of warfare.

Fastest Army

The battles and armies of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj's era were very fast. The battles of this era were fast and lasted for a few days. However, the battles and military equipment of the Peshwa era were cumbersome. The battles of the Peshwa era were long, so the army had to move for years. The ease and agility of Shivaji Maharaj's era is not seen much in this period. The battles of Bajirao Pasha's era were fast, but the tradition does not seem to have survived.

Spy system and message delivery system

The spy system and the message transmission system were very efficient during the time of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj. Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj had a separate spy department. The news obtained by the spies from the enemy was important for victory during the time of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj. Along with this, the message transmission was also excellent.

Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj had created a chain of message transmission through light and sound in Swarajya. However, during the Peshwa period, the intelligence and communication system was not as efficient as it could be. An example of this is that not a single letter or message about the situation of the Marathas during the Battle of Panipat in 1761 could be received in Pune.

Artillery

Artillery was an important part of the army. Even during the Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj's era, there was an efficient artillery. But the cannons of this period were powerful and large. In mountainous regions, cannons were not moved from here to there immediately. Most of the cannons were on large forts.

There was also an efficient artillery during the Peshwa era. But it seems that cannons that could be moved from here to there quickly in flat regions and in running battles were produced on a large scale. Small cannons carried on camels became important at this time. The artillery of the Peshwa era was very effective on the enemies.

Armada

The navy was a part of an independent state. The navy built by Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj was a deterrent to foreign enemies. Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj built imprecise water forts. It was because of the navy that the British did not enter India on a large scale during Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj's reign. During the Peshwa period, the navy was ignored. For some time, due to Kanhoji Angre, the navy became an important and powerful state, but due to internal disputes within the British family and Balaji Bajirao Peshwa, i.e. Nanasaheb, the navy was destroyed with the help of the British. Water-enemies like the British no longer feared the navy, which gave impetus to the expansion of British power in India.

Internal Conflict

It is said that internal wars are the end of any kingdom. Even if there was a war during the time of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj, it was very rare due to the Maharaj's excellent patriotism policy and his powerful personality. However, during the Peshwa period, internal wars had started everywhere after the first four Peshwas. The desire for the homeland was greater than the nation, which is why the decentralization of power had begun. These changes were happening in the army due to the various princely states. The deployment of the British forces created a different style of army and military. Due to internal conflicts and the spread of the deployment of the forces, the Peshwas were in decline.

Conclusion:

A general study is presented in this chapter through different aspects of Peshwa war camp. After describing the camp from all points of view, following are the positive and negative reviews through examination of some things.

1. There seems to be a change in principles in the Peshwa period war camp and Shivaji's period war camp.
2. Since Shivaji's camp was free, migration was immediate.
3. Agility was high during Shivaji's period due to high use of horse troops or cavalry.
4. Women were not included in camps during Shivaji's period. Markets were not huge because pomp and circumstances were not seen.

5. Pendharies were not used by any way in the army camp during Shivaji's period.
6. Women, bazaars, shops lived in Peshwa camps. All this had caused lethargy. So, the movements were not much fast.
7. During the Peshwa period, the Pendharies were in the camp like the army. As they used to loot, the Peshwas got financial benefits. But the number of people in camps was swelling.
8. The life in the camp seems to be inclined towards luxury due to pomp, grandeur and comforts, hence the Sardars and sometimes the soldiers of the Peshwa used to take large numbers of women to the camp.
9. During the war camps, the Peshwas were under increasing financial pressure due to the lack of restrictions on women in the army and in the market.
10. The Peshwa's army appears to have increased in size during major battles as the market posts, market vendors and commoners were part of it, regularly. Example: Third Battle of Panipat.
11. Religion and politics were not properly combined. Example: During the Battle of Panipat, the Peshwa's army wasted a lot of time in religious rituals while marching.
12. Barring a few defects, the Maratha war camps were a terror to enemies and other rulers during the medieval period.
13. As the war camps stayed in one place for many days, the local people in that area benefited financially.
14. Peshwa period war camps give a comprehensive view of the then society.

Chapter -5

Conclusion

A study of Military System of Peshwas: - This research on the subject has been completed with the help of unpublished documents, primary reference materials, secondary reference materials, visits to important libraries, interviews with weapon collectors and photographs. I am submitting this research paper by following research methodology. I studied Peshwa Period Army with help of following points

- 1) Historical Background of Maratha Army**
- 2) Division of Army**
- 3) Armory**
- 4) Artillery**
- 5) Wars – Arsenal used during wars**

In above chapters research paper is completed in detail.

- 1) Historical Background of Maratha Army:** - This is first chapter of my research paper. Maharashtra's era is discussed in this chapter. Muslim invaders invaded India in Middle Ages and later they expand their Mughal Empire. Mughal's rise and fall is also discussed as well as Muslim Empires and Hindu Kingdoms. Yadav king 'Bhillam' of Devgiri established first Hindu kingdom of Devgiri. This rich and mighty kingdom of Devgiri fell down in 1318 AD. Inspired by Devgiri, King Harihar and King Bukk established Vijaynagar Empire at the bank of river Tungbhadra in 1336 AD. This second Hindu kingdom fell down in Talikot war in 1565 AD. Inspired by both Hindu

Kingdoms; in Maharashtra Hindavi Swarajya was established in 17th century. Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj belonged to northern warrior Shisode kin. Hindavi Swarajya established by him is an inspiration to Maharashtrians and Indians. All Muslim rulers were afraid of Hindavi Swarajya. After demise of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj in 1680 AD to 1707 AD Marathas were fighting with Mughal invaders. Aurangzeb invade in south in 1707 AD. After his death Maratha Empire expanded its rule with the help of their powerful and efficient army. Maratha Army is discussed in this thesis from period of 1600 AD to 1707 AD. Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj relived from Mughal custody in 1707 AD. Chhatrapati Shahu started Peshwai after his release. So this period of Peshwai is considered as 1707 AD to 1818 AD. Studying Peshwa Army, it is important to study all eight Peshwas; thus with the help of reference material I have discussed all important events, wars in Peshwa Period. In the leadership of First Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath, Balaji Bajirao Peshwa-I, Nansahab aka Bajirao Peshwa and Madhavrao Peshwa Maratha Empire became powerhouse in India. In the period of Madhavrao Peshwa-I Marathas overcome Panipat war defeat. Earlier period of Peshwai is important in every aspect. Period of Peshwa Narayanrao-V to Bajirao Peshwa-II Maratha Empire witnessed murder, internal discord, and plotting in Peshwai. Narayanrao's Murder, Barabhai's (regency council) plotting against current Peshwa, Raghunath Peshwa and Bajirao-II's alignment with British. Western powers were eager to finish Peshwai and wanted to rule India. Eventually they succeeded in 1818 AD by defeating Peshwas. First chapter covers rise and fall of Hindu Empires and Peshwas.

2) Division of The Army: - In this second Chapter with the study of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaja's period Army structure and Peshwa's Army Divisions are discussed. Point to be noted is in Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaja's period every important decision was taken by Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj, 'Ashtpradhan Madal's (Cabinet of Shivaji Maharaj) opinion wasn't mandatory to Shivaji Maharaj. Establishment of Maratha Army, empowerment of Maratha Army and changes in Maratha Army, made Maratha Army mighty and powerful. Under the king like Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj's visionary decisions his army is an inspiration to next generations. In Peshwa period, army has eight divisions like Shivaji period Maratha Army. But under the leadership of eight Peshwas we can see the changes in different divisions in Maratha Army. During Shivaji period battle area was limited to Maharashtra region and Sahyadri Mountains so infantry was important. In Peshwa period cavalry become more important as Bajirao Peshwa I started expanding Maratha Empire in North region. This topic is discussed in detailed this chapter.

Peshwa period infantry was trained to fight wars in Maharashtra's geographic conditions. Infantry training was given by old generation to new generation aspirants at home instead of training centres. Horse riding, wrestling, weapon training was included in traditional army training. Cavalier and their young ones used to present when army tactics were taught at army ground. We found proof that Nanasaheb aka Peshwa Balaji Bajirao III, Narayanrao Peshwa and Son of Mastani - Samsherbahaddar had army training. In Peshwa period

Marathas were active near North Narmada banks so infantry was less in numbers than cavalry. As per author 'Tone', "many cavaliers don't kept infantry." As per possibility of war, temporary infantry used to hire through local tribes and westerners. Peshwas used to give decent wages to infantry. Peshawa Balaji Vishwanath I's contribution is important in Peshwa period infantry as he created army chiefs in village houses. Peshwa used to give whole village revenue to build army. Conclusion is Peshwa period infantry was built according to need in war.

To discuss Peshwa period cavalry the Vedic period is considered. We found information that God named 'Vasu' created Horse with the help of Sun God to fight war. 'Gandhrva' hold rein and Indra (God of Gods) ride on the horse. One of the Pandava named Nakul in Mahabharat acquired the great knowledge of horses and stable through the study of Sanskrit scriptures. The book 'Pashuchikitsa' (veterinary medicine) was written in 13th century. Arya in Vedic period were known to keeping sharp and smart trained animals like horses. Women also trained to ride horses. As per Yadav period epigraph carved in 1218 a lady named Rohini Bhagaldevi was head of cavalry. In Middle Ages Sultans and Mughals had large cavalry. Sultan Allauddin Khilji started stamping horses to prevent smuggling of horses. In Shivaji period, cavalry was fast and active. Baargir and Shiledaar were types of soldiers. Though less in numbers in Shivaji period, cavalry was an inspiration to Indian as well as foreign rulers. Baargir and Shiledaar does exist Peshwa period. Even proof is found that women were trained to fight war. Lady named Gunwantabai was active in Peshwa period

Army. Like weapon training, horses were breed in houses in villages. Ashwi village located in Ahamadnagar was famous for horse breeding. Horse breeds in Maharashtra were named after rivers like Gangathadi, Bheemthadi, Prawarthadi, Neerthadi etc. Taking care of horses was as important as horse breeding. Injured in war or ill horses were taken care by special veterinary doctors. Age of horse was decided after examining his health of teeth. Peshwas appointed veterinary doctors to take care of their horses. What kind of treatment should be given if horse is injured or fell ill is documented in old Peshwa period letters. Horse breeds were named after region also, like Arabi, Turki, Irani etc. Every horse wasn't used in war. Some are used for carriages and some for goods carriers. Certain type of horse breed kept by Peshwa himself. Balaji Bajirao Peshwa had a horse named 'Kumed'. Meaning of 'Kumed' is even colour toned horse.

There were Peshwa's stable Near Shanivarwada byre. It was called 'Huzurpaga' (royal stable). As horses were kept in nearly every houses, there were place called 'gharpaga' (home stable) to keep horses. Not just men but women also active in this field. An officer to take care of stable used to called 'paagyaa'. If this 'paagyaa' has more than 500 horse riders, then he was honoured like cavalier. There were private stable and government stable.

Cavalry was important for war, so there was special provision for cavalry. The budget papers regarding cavalry are found in archives. During that period of time, there were constant battles were going on in India, victory is depended on cavalry so every Peshwa used to take good care of cavalry.

Comparing with infantry and cavalry, elephantry was rare. It was prestigious to keep an elephant. Elephants were kept to show of majesty and glory of the ruler. Mahout was appointed to take care of an elephants and to train them. It is mentioned in an ancient and middle age's literature that elephantry played an important role in ancient and medieval times. Vijayanagar king had large elephantry. Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj had elephants. As a symbol of glory Peshwas kept elephants. Elephantry was used in plain terrene battles. General used to ride on elephant to keep an eye on warfront. In Panipat war III Bhausahab Peshwa and Vishwas Rao Peshwa was sitting on elephant in first half of war. During the Peshwa period, an elephant named Pratap owned by Cavalier Panse was fed sugarcane worth rupees twelve per day. Cavalier Bhangvant Parasji was appointed for Peshwas elephantry. Mahout named 'Ali' also appointed to take care of elephants. As per letter of Krishnaji Gore from Peshwa period, male and female elephants were kept by Peshwas. Elephant named Fatelashkar, Krishnagaj, Andhali Hattin etc. are mentioned in documents. During Peshwa period, budget was planned for elephantry. Madhavrao Peshwa I ordered Nana Phadnis to plant sugarcane for elephants. Medicines for ill elephants, appointed mahout list, and cost of an elephant is mentioned in Peshwa period documents.

In the department of the Army, Camelry was an important department in Peshwa period. Where elephants could not be used, camels were used. Camels mostly used for transporting goods and documents. Female camel's fastest in this task which were called 'Sandani'. Chhatrapri Shivaji Maharaj had twelve

hundred camels from the enemy. Peshwas didn't use camels much, though they had nearly one thousand camels. Camels were used for transporting cannons, artillery and for transportation of royal family goods. Gosavi tribe used to sell camels from different regions to Pune. Camelry was decorated for Dasara festival procession. Ganpatrao Moreshwar was appointed as a head of camelry.

During Shivaji period there were special commando units. They had different uniforms and ornaments. There were no such special commando units in Peshwa period. Loyal and skilled soldiers used to take call in hard times of battle.

When it comes to army in Middle Ages, we can't ignore navy in this period because Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj wrote in his royal letter, 'navy is an organised body of empire.' Legacy of naval force dates back to Sindhu Culture in Indian continent. Our ancestors believed an empire should have active naval force. If we compare Hindavi Swarajya and Mughal Badshahi in Middle Ages, though Badshah ruled twenty-two regions in India, Mughals never had navy but Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj had active and powerful navy at western coasts of Maharashtra. Even westerners were scared of Shivaji's navy. Peshwas were armed with navy with skilled Sarkhel (Admiral) Kanhoji Angre. Kanhoji's admiral skills are discussed in this chapter. To put pressure on the indigenous and westerners were bound to ask permission to roam near Swarajya was the main intention behind navy in Shivaji period. Peshwas follow footsteps of Shivaji Maharaj, so till Peshwas were strong in position, British didn't dare to attack

Maratha Empire. British used divide and rule technique in the period of third Peshwa and defeat Peshwa's navy. After 3rd war of Panipat, Madhavrao Peshwa again rebuilt Navy. He appoints Anandrao Dhulap but there was dispute between Dhulap and another admiral officials and Peshwa's navy couldn't do more progress. We get more information about Peshwa period navy from unpublished documents. This is how the second chapter explains divisions of Maratha Army.

3) Armoury: - Peshwa period weapons are discussed in the chapter of Armoury. What is weapon? What was the role of weapons in human history? How weapons changed with civilization? These questions are discussed in this chapter. Weapons are mentioned in middle age period ancient and medieval period scriptures.

In ancient civilization human used to shaped stones and bones to create weapon for gaining food and self-defence. As human stop nomad life and start building huts, his struggle increased; which lead him to create small villages to attain statehood. Thus, weapons became integral part of human life. Weapons were used as destructive tools in ancient and mythological times. Weapons of this period were described as mantra-based, tantra-based (technique-based) and water-based weapons. Sword, javelin, mace, battle-axe, and axe likewise weapons are found in this period. At first, weapons were prepared for one-on-one fighting. Later in the period of epopee, weapons were created to battle with groups. In ancient times, India was self-sufficient in terms of armaments, so India's border was with Iran.

When it comes to power in medieval times, various types of weapons like Bow and arrow, cannons, guns were created in this period. Weapons were created and later their numbers were increased for self-defence, to establish and expand empire, and for war with an enemy. Important weapons in Shivaji period are mentioned as sword, shield, javelin, bow and arrow, small sword, maadu and saga etc. In ancient civilization human used to shaped stones and bones to create weapon for gaining food and self-defence. During the Peshwa period, the method of warfare also changed and the enemies also increased. Bajirao-I expanded the empire towards the north. Cavalry and artillery were more important during this period due to the rapid movement of troops and battles over plain terrains. Navy and cannon-armed cavalry were used to destroy foreign enemies on the west coast. Bajirao I was invincible warrior because he was aware of which weapon and tactics should be used against different enemies. During the Peshwa period, there was a change in the technique of warfare, so there was also a change in the weapons. Instead of reviewing many weapons, the important weapons of Peshwa era have been reviewed in this research paper.

Sword is important among all weapons. Sword has rich history. Swords are mentioned from the Indus civilization. Javelin also considered as an important weapon, this too mentioned from centuries in the history of wars. 'Padatikunt', 'ashwakunt', 'gajakunt' were the types of javelins. Bricks were used in wars in ancient period, it was a risky job. Dandapatta is a weapon that has edges on both sides and can be wielded with both hands. Agnibana (fiery arrow) was created as a

weapon during the Peshwa period. Many important weapons have been reviewed in this research paper like 'Barchi', 'Katyar', bow and arrow etc.

4) Artillery: - A prosperous army of any ruler means having every department of the army and making it efficient. Hence a military department like artillery has gained unique importance since time immemorial. Although the name of the artillery, the names of the cannons, their performance, the various sections and officers of the artillery changed over time, the section of the artillery continued to maintain its independent existence in the army. Therefore, while commenting on the Peshwa period artillery, looking at the relevant information of medieval artillery with ancient references, it seems that the artillery of this period also contributed well to the defence of Maratha power.

As man progressed from barbarism, he also needed protection, state formation, wars and armies. Cannons have been mentioned since the Vedic period. In Mahabharat, cannons are mentioned as 'bhande' and 'gaarbhande'. In ancient times both Hindu and Muslim rulers had cannons. Turkis used cannons in wars from 12th and 13th centuries. A traveller named Tarven says, "The explosives for the cannons were manufactured by India." He visited India in the eighth century. Cannon was used in 1368 for the Adoni fort in Karnataka, in 1784 by Muhammad Begda in Gujarat, and in 1526 by Mughal emperor Babur in the Battle of Panipat. After that gradually all rulers in India started using cannons and it became an important tactic of war. Reference of cannons and artillery are found in the period of Shivaji. There were cannons on battleships of Shivaji Maharaj. He used to buy new cannons and explosives from British. In

1674 Shivaji Maharaj bought 88 cannons and 3000 tone lead from French. Even in Chhatrapati Sambhaji Maharaj period cannon and artillery were used in war. Cannons were mounted on warships and merchant ships is mentioned in the book named Aadnyapatra (royal order letters by Shivaaji Maharaj). During the Peshwa period from 1717 to 1818, the fighting techniques were changed. It was mandatory to Marathas to keep cannons in artillery. All Peshwas paid special attention to artillery. Balaji Vishwanath, the first Peshwa, taught the rebel chieftain Damaji Thorat a good lesson by acquiring the artillery of the Emperor of Delhi. During the period of Bajirao Peshwa I, Peshwa decided to set up an independent artillery as there was a need for artillery while fighting against Nizam. Yashwantrao Panse and Madhavrao Panse were appointed on this task. These Panse brothers were trained by Muzaffar Khan and Khan got excellent training by French officer named Bussi. Bajirao Peshwa I used to buy cannons by north rulers. A letter dated 17th August 1732 shows that Bajirao I ordered a cannon called Tupak from Bundelkhand. During the reign of Balaji Bajirao Peshwa III, a capable artillery was raised under command of Ibrahim Khan Gardi. Artillery was also equipped during the reign of Madhavrao Peshwa I who came to the throne after battle of Panipat. He had started new factories for guns and firearms and tried to bring cannon named 'Kadak Bijali' in Pune. It is mentioned that thirty thousand cannonballs were bought during first Madhavrao's time. In 1764-65, a letter was sent from the Peshwa Darbar to Anandrao Bhikaji asking that guns Jay and Fattemubarak should be given to Gopalrao Govind while guns Jaywanti and Jwalabhavani should be sent to Pune.

Even during end of Peshwai period 1772 to 1818 cannonballs and artillery are mentioned in documents, it shows that Peshwa who came to the throne paid attention to artillery. People from Kasar community were appointed to manufacture cannons and cannonballs. Their wages and other references are found in letters from Peshwa period. In the end of Peshwai Nana Phadanwis was paying special attention to artillery. During this period, attempts were made to set up an ammunition factory at Bagalkot. There were new cannon manufacturing factory in Pune. The use of artillery, manufacture factory of cannons, and manufacture of ammunition is also mentioned during the reigns of Narayanarao Peshwa, Raghobadada, and Sawai Madhavrao. Artillery was used in the Battle of Kharda on 11 March 1795. Marathas had 192 cannons at that time. Peshwai came to end in the rein of last Peshwa Bajirao II. There were constant wars between Marathas and British. In all these wars Maratha artillery and artillery chief Panse worked faithfully. The last battle of Bapu Gokhale's life was fought at Gopal-Ashti near Pandharpur where Maratha's excellent artillery work amazingly. Ganpatrao Panse's 14-cannon artillery was in action at the Battle of Solapur Fort on 14 May 1818. Artillery always gave good support to the Peshwas but unfortunately the Peshwai ended despite the active artillery.

After reviewing Peshwa artillery it is important to learn about cannons and artillery because what is cannon? How are those being made? It is important to know about materials, craftsmen, preservation of cannons, cannonballs and gunnery. Cannon has been a weapon since ancient times. During the Vedic period, Ramayana, Mahabharata cannons were used in wars. In medieval times

Muslim invaders used cannons in different battles. Indian rulers also had the knowledge of cannons and artillery, just like the foreign countries. All rulers of ancient times used cannons to a greater or lesser extent in battles. Considering the use of cannons, it seems that generally all wars, be it on the plains or in the mountains, involved the use of cannons. Cannons were made that could be used in any weather and could be used from camels, elephants, bullock carts. Since Indian cannons were heavy, their performance on the battlefield was not satisfactory, but after the arrival of foreigners like the British in India, lighter cannons were introduced in the battlefield. But the knowledge of making light weighed cannons was kept secret from Indian rulers by westerners.

There is a lot of published and unpublished information about cannons and artillery during Peshwa period. With that help, an attempt was made to shed light on the artillery during Peshwa period. The two most important parts of artillery are cannons and cannonballs. Cannonballs were loaded into the cannon and fired. Cannonballs were made with stone, lead and iron. Men named Achandan Khan, Keshavseth Vasaikar were appointed to supply the Peshwa with ammunition and other materials required for making cannon balls. Like Peshwa Durbar, there were private factories of arms. Explosives for ceremonies and fireworks were manufactured in this private factory.

Marathas produced cannons weighing 7 to 12 sher; thus, dimension of cannonball produced by Marathas were sher likewise British used hundredweight. Peshwas doesn't have 18 departments and artillery like Shivaji period but they had a separate artillery. Cannon making, repairing and

decommissioning of cannons were done in manufacturing factory. Cannons were called 'iron jewellery' in Maratha period. Chieftains also had their private artillery. Malharrao Holkar had his own artillery. Cannonballs of appropriate weight were made by the Kasar community for artillery. An expert people from Konkan and Pune used to visit Peshwa court to prepare liquid metal for manufacturing cannons. Cannons called 'Garnala' were kept at different forts. These cannons were manufactured at Ahamadabad, Otur, Junnar, Nashik and Pune. In 1769 first manufacture factory of cannon was started in Pune. As cannons are important in navy, manufacture factories of cannon were located in Konkan. Cannons has different names like Jawlabhavani, Panchrasi, Jayvanti and Nagin etc. From this it is understood that the artillery of the Peshwa period was excellent. The labor required for cannons was obtained from different tribes like Brahmins, Cobbler, Goldsmiths, Kasar etc. Performing religious ritual by married woman was considered holy before starting manufacturing of cannons. Artillery was a department of Marathas where men and women belong to all cast and tribes were involved. Different officials of the Peshwas used to distribute wages by the government to cannon factory labour. There were daily wages, monthly salary and one and the half moth salary syatem. Cannon men were given prizes for special work. If someone was injured in the artillery, compensation was given by Marathas. Gadiwan (director of cannon) was an important job among the labourers working for the artillery. Laxman Shakar was the main Gadiwan and there were few other Gadiwans worked under him. There were rules about what kind of gunnery, how many Gadiwans were required and their

salary. There were regular Gadiwans but extra Gadiwans were hired if needed. This detail shows that the artillery section was comprehensive.

Religious rituals were performed for artillery and expenses were provided for it. Although the artillery department was a factory of destructive weapons, the rituals associated with it were important as it was the protector of the state. Auspicious time and inauspicious time for work were followed when starting work in manufacturing factory of cannons. Rulers used to perform holy ritual (pooja) for cannons and artillery. On festivals, Marathas used to take out processions by decorating cannons. Documents of the expenditure incurred in this regard are available in archives. Repairing cannons means cultivating cannons. Expense of repairing cannons starts from rupees five and above. While manufacturing the cannon in the artillery, the cannon is designed in five main parts. Thus, from all points of view artillery was good for defence and efficient on the battlefield.

5) Wars: - When studying army most important factor that comes up is war.

Combined effect of the departments that were functioning in the army can be seen only because of the war. Although war is never benevolent, war was a constant feature of life in ancient and medieval times. It was common practice in ancient and medieval period.

What is war? The answer is self-defence. Wars were fought for personal or communal protection. Although war is a small word, its scope is vast. The methods of warfare and weapons, ammunition, troops, animals used for it changed over the period. While studying the war system of Peshwa period, law

of war has been highlighted by reviewing the background in terms of prehistoric period, epic period, and historical period. During the period 1707 to 1818, changes in the military formation and warfare of Peshwas and transitions in the principles of warfare are discussed and presented with help of study materials of few but important issues of Peshwa period.

After death of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj, Chhatrapati Sambhaji Maharaj ascended throne between 1680 and 1689. During this period, Marathas' war against Mughals was a whirlwind. After demise of Chhatrapati Sambhaji, the period from 1689 to 1707 It was the time of independence war of Marathas. Entire Maharashtra became a war zone to save Hindavi Swarajya. Rulers, Cavaliers and masses were fighting against Mughals. During these eighteen years, principles of war during Shivaji's time are seen to have changed. Chhatrapati Shivaji's Army was a national army but during the war of independence it was decentralised, creating a picture of hereditary landlords and their army. As in the time of Shivaji, during this period too, the aim was to protect Swarajya, but principles had started to be compromised. During Peshwa period, Cavaliers had an army, so soldiers were paid through Vatandars (hereditary landlords). Peshwas allotted lands in Maharashtra to Cavaliers for the salaries of soldiers and paid a percentage of the arrears of recovery. Cavaliers used to recover revenue from their land accordingly. A certain amount of recovery was paid to the Peshwa Durbar (government) and distribution was carried out from remaining amount by Cavalier (Vatandar). That is, army of Peshwa period was army of Cavaliers or hereditary landlords. Gradually these

Vatandars became greedy, though they fought for state, they became more rebel and independent. Although military formations and military regulations changed, Peshwa period saw many notable wars. From which new rules of war were born. During this period, Marathas had internal enemies such as Mughal in the north, Nizam in Hyderabad and westerners. The war waged by each Peshwa gave birth to a different strategy. As it is not possible to cover all battles, some specific battles have been highlighted in this paper. Bajirao Peshwa, I fought 42 battles in a span of twenty years but the battles of Palkhed and Bhopal are of special significance, so these two battles are studied in this paper.

It is unfortunate that the Battle of Khed took place in October 1777 between two heirs of Shivaji Maharaj. After 18 years in Mughal captivity, Chhatrapati Shahu was rejected by Maharani (Queen) Tarabai as the heir to Swarajya. Because of this, the loyalty of many chieftains was at stake. Balaji Vishwanath fought this war diplomatically and Chhatrapati Shahu won. Instead of a real battle, it was a battle of diplomacy. Even with all the divisions of the army present, battle of the Khed was fought in different manner. Thus, definition of victory and defeat were changed with this battle. The battle of the Khed has been called the battle of diplomacy in many documents. This was followed by a battle in 1713 between first Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath and navy chief of Maratha Kanhoji Angre. Kanhoji had a stronghold on the west coast and he was loyal to Chhatrapati Shahu. But Maharani Tarabai forced them to rebel against Shahu. So Angre stood against Chhatrapati Shahu and this battle is popularly known in history as the battle between the ruler and the chieftain. However, Balaji Vishwanath, a loyal Peshwa,

turned the battle differently and Shahu won battle without shedding a single drop of blood despite the armies of both sides entering the battlefield. These two battles demonstrated the principle that even when powerful armies of both sides faced each other on the battlefield, coordination and loss could be avoided.

Peshwa period from 1720 to 1740 is a glorious period due to Peshwa Bajirao I. Palkhed battle was the defeat of a large and experienced enemy like Nizam by young Bajirao Peshwa. The existence of Marathas in Maharashtra was not acceptable to Nizam, so he was constantly challenging Chhatrapati Shahu with the help of queen Tarabai. He had great artillery. Nizam, who dreamed of defeating Peshwas with the help of superior artillery, was caught in such a quandary that he had to surrender to Peshwa unconditionally. Everyone thought that Peshwas were victim when powerful and aggressive Nizam attacked Bajirao. But Peshwa used a unique aggressive strategy in battle and defeated Nizam. The artillery on which Nizam depended and the army of which he was immensely proud, Bajirao destroyed before him in a helpless condition. Peshwa Bajirao, I forced Nizam to come to Palkhed, the battlefield that Peshwa desired. Nizam himself with a few men stood on one bank of Godavari and his army and artillery on the other. This battle of Palkhed took place in 28 February 1728, in which Nizam was severely defeated.

Another famous battle of Bajirao Peshwa I's reign is the Battle of Bhopal. Palkhed and Bhopal, two battles fought against same enemy, are proudly mentioned in the history of world battles. Battles of Palkhed and Bhopal can be

described as enemy is same, guerrilla warfare is same, method of bringing enemy to desired battlefield through diplomacy is same, and result of battle is same, only battlefield is different. In 1737, Nizam had left for Delhi with his army. Nizam had taken with him a large army, artillery and many fighting allies. One of Nizam's sons Ghaziuddin was in Delhi while other son Nasirjung was near Aurangabad. Nizam and Nasirjung were planning to trap Bajirao Peshwa I. But opposite happened, Nizam found himself trapped in Bhopal between Bajirao and Chimaji Appa. While Nizam stayed at Bhopal with his army, Bajirao Peshwa I besieged the city of Bhopal. The conditions of the besieged Nizam deteriorated to such an extent that elephants and horses of his army had to feed on tree bark and pond grass, grains became expensive four times, Nizam's army did not get even water supply. His son Nasirjung was stopped in the south by Chimaji Appa. Bewildered on all sides, Nizam surrendered to Bajirao. The Peshwa's military prowess, diplomacy, guerrilla tactics, and swift movements became well-known after this battle. Like Palkhed, battle of Bhopal was also famous in India.

Bajirao Peshwa, I fought forty-two battles with a vindictive attitude and hoist the saffron flag of Marathas proudly high, Indians were in awe of Maratha's valour. Unfortunately, Third Panipat War of 1761 wiped out all achievements of Marathas. Nanasaheb alias Balaji Bajirao was third Peshwa who ascended as a Peshwa in 1740. Rein of Nasaheb Peshwa was bright and glorious, however third battle of Panipat, suffered a major blow to the Peshwai. This battle was fought between Marathas and Ahmad Shah Abdali of Iran. Actually, Marathas had nothing to do with Abdali, But the Ahmadiya Pact signed between Badshah of

Delhi and Maratha chieftains Shinde-Holkar on 23 May 1752 led to Marathas being dragged into Panipat War. Abdali was repeatedly attacking and plundering Delhi. He was constantly trying to dominate Delhi. Badshah wanted Marathas to protect Delhi from Abdali, so Marathas marched towards Delhi with an army on 14 March 1761. Sadashivbhau Peshwa and Vishwarao Peshwa were leading the Marathas. About 10 to 11 months passed between the march of Marathas, the march of Abdali and arrival of the armies on both sides at Panipat battlefield. Although this battle is famous in history, it was fought only on one day, 14 January 1761. As soon as Marathas conquered Kunjpura, it was a policy of war to attack it immediately but Sadashivbhau wasted almost two and a half months waiting for Abadi to attack. Abdali, who had no expectation of victory, was victorious in this battle and Marathas were severely defeated. This war was so terrible that even the victorious Abdali was affected by it. If we consider progress of both parties to the battlefield, strength of army, diplomacy, strategy, structure of army, it can be concluded that Abdli could not digest victory, but Marathas proved their superiority again after suffering a heavy defeat.

Stigma of Third Panipat War was washed away during the reign of Madhavrao Peshwa. At Panipat, Marathas had retreated in all areas, perception that 'Marathas were finished' was spread among all the powers in India. But Madhavrao Peshwa, who came to the throne soon after Nanasaheb Peshwa's death in 1761, revived the Maratha power during his eleven-year reign. The Battle of Rakshasbhuvan on 10th August 1763 turned out to be milestone of Madhavrao

Peshwa's reign. Nizam of Hyderabad was an old enemy of Marathas. Defeat of Marathas on Panipat battlefield was golden opportunity for Nizam. Before this battle there was a treaty between Raghunath Peshwa and Nizam but Nizam deceived Raghunath and decided to attack Marathas. Nizam had a large army and efficient artillery and a brilliant general like Vitthal Sundar who was considered as three and the half genius people of the era of Peshwai. Nizam marched with his army to Rakshasbhuvan on the banks of the Godavari. At that time a situation arose where Nizam was on one bank of the Godavari and Nizam's army, artillery and Vitthal Sundar were on the other bank. Peshwa's Maratha army attacked and defeated Nizam's army and artillery and captured Vitthal Sundar to behead him. Nizam had to watch these tragic events from the other bank of Godavari. In this war, Marathas got 15 elephants, 25 cannons, many animals and a huge amount of military equipment. The battle of Rakshasbhuvan, won by Peshwas under very adverse conditions, proved to be a crushing blow to Maratha enemies. This battle proved that Maratha power was not over. After the glorious reign of Madhavrao Peshwa, so many strange events took place in Peshwai that Peshwai began to decline. Murder of Narayanrao who came to the throne after Madhavrao in Shaniwarwara, Raghoba's right to the title of Peshwa from Satara, plotting of barbhai (regency council), Birth of Sawai Madhavrao who became Peshwa at the age of 40 days after birth, all these incidents show how bad Maratha Power was going through. From 1774 to 1795 Sawai Madhavrao was on throne, but actual Peshwa power was held by Nana Phadnavis. Battle of Kharda, which took place during very last days of Sawai Madhavrao, was the last chapter of proud history

of Marathas. Third battle of Panipat tells the story of the defeat of Marathas while the battle of Kharda tells the story of the final victory of Marathas. A pitched battle at Kharda ensued as the Peshwa demanded unpaid Chauthai (revenue) from the Nizam. As soon as the demand of tax was rejected by Nizam, Peshwa and the chieftains like Shinde, Holkar, Bhosale attacked Nizam. Kharda is a village on the road from Bidar to Pune, there were a fort at Kharda. Marathas had more military strength than Nizam and the artillery of Marathas was excellent. Marathas besieged Kharda fort in which Nizam took refuge and opened fire on the fort. Nizam was once again defeated by Marathas. Peshwas themselves achieved spectacular success in this battle. Nizam begged for a treaty. In this treaty, Peshwas received five crores of rupees as war expenses, taxes due from the Nizam, the fort of Daulatabad and land near fort. Maratha rulers and Punekar (people of Pune) were so happy with the victory in this battle that people of Pune gave a grand welcome to Peshwa. Unfortunately, Sawai Madhavrao died soon after this battle. On 4th December 1796 the last Peshwa, Bajirao Peshwa II ascended the throne.

Western enemies like British had been keeping an eye on Maratha Empire since the time of Chhatrapati Shivaji. British could not enter Maratha Empire until the period of Shivaji, Sambhaji and the Treaty of Surat, but efforts of British to destroy Maratha power continued. Peshwas ruled over three quarters of Indian region. When the Peshwai ended, the whole of India would come under British rule. It started with Raghunathrao Peshwa's Treaty of Surat. From the Treaty of Surat to year 1818, there were three wars between Marathas and British. First

British-Maratha war lasted for about eight years, in which Marathas were victorious. But British realized the discords, selfishness, inadequate forces and outdated weapons among Marathas in this war. Second and third British - Maratha wars escalated during the reign of Bajirao II. British defeated Marathas by using diplomacy in this battle. Western power witnessed the decline of Maratha power in the battles at Ashti, Khadki and Yerwada. Finally, after last battle of Yerwada, Peshwas left Pune and on 17 November 1817, British flag was hoisted at Shaniwar Wada. These last three British-Maratha wars were fought to preserve the existence of Maratha power. Last battle of Yerawada was the last battle of Peshwas in Pune area. After this battle, circular flight of Peshwas began. Bapu Gokhale, the general of Peshwas, was fighting fiercely. Marathi power was heading towards failure due to British and traitor chieftains. In such circumstances, on 1 January 1818, British and Bajirao II's armies came face to face at Koregaon on the banks of Bhima River. Marathas were defeated. As British won the battle, erected a victory pillar at Koregaon. After this Peshwa left for Satara. After Koregaon battle, Peshwas were on the run with army for nearly nine months. They were resisting the British as much as possible. Historian Sardesai calls this escape of Peshwas 'Dhavata Vedha' (Running Siege). While Peshwas were on their way to Pandharpur, they encountered British. Bapu Gokhale, general of Peshwa, was killed in this battle on 20 February 1818. Peshwas took refuge in Solapur fort. British got all the war material of Marathas and treasure of one crore of Peshwas. Historians consider the battle of Gopal-Ashti to be the last battle between Marathas and British, but it is clear from new evidence that Marathas lost to British later at Solapur. For three

months after the battle of Gopal-Ashti, Peshwa stayed with the army in the fort of Solapur. Chhatrapati Pratapsinha and his brother were also with them at that time. Maratha army and Ganpat Panse's artillery were operating in Solapur. Later Peshwas left for Madhya Pradesh along with family after giving instructions to chieftains and the army. In May 1818, British attacked Solapur Fort with a large army. With the help of traitorous Maratha chieftains, help of the Nizam and policy of divide and rule, British won. When Peshwas heard news of complete destruction of Maratha power, they surrendered to British at Dhulkot. Maratha power came to an end with signing of the British-Bajirao II Treaty.

After learning about the important wars of the Peshwa era, it is necessary to shed light on the science of warfare, war camps and their various parts. Examining the context from ancient to medieval times, it is clear that war has become an integral part of human life. For this, the rulers used to study war tactics and war science. War science is the science created for protection of our state and subjects. This includes creating army, divisions of army, training troops and obtaining geographical information of the surrounding area. A ruler has to study history and increase his military strength as well as create war material to protect and to expand his kingdom. The battle camp has a special importance in the art of war. According to the rules of architecture, war camp should be arranged in a round, oval and rectangular shape. There should be a moat or rampart around the camp. War camp should have four gates, six roads and nine divisions. The camp should have a separate arrangement for the ruler and for an entertainment artist. Detective department should be efficient. Guards of the war camp should be constantly

changed. Tents in Peshwa's camp were so comfortable that their family preferred to stay in tents.

There were markets for various goods in the war camps and the markets of the army chiefs were also held in the camps. But cleanliness was neglected in such markets. There were places of worship and ceremonies in war camps along with markets. As Chhatrapati Shahu stayed with Mughals for 18 years, he was influenced by Mughal system. Hence, women were also included in war campaigns. The progress of the war campaigns was very slow. All the rules of war camps and expeditions of Chhatrapati Shivaji's time were changed during Peshwa period. Therefore, instead of being agile and fast, war camps became slow, flashy and sluggish. When Peshwa's camp was set, Biniwale used to set flag over the camp. Around Peshwa's tent, tents of chieftains were arranged in a circular pattern. War camp tents and living conditions of Peshwa period were luxurious.

The inclusion of family and women in the camp became a point of destruction during Peshwa period. During Shivaji's time, no woman was included in war camp, but during Peshwa period, wives of Peshwas, chieftains' and officers' families started including the camps. This was one of the reasons for defeat of Marathas in the Battle of Panipat. Actually, it's written in a book named 'Kautilya Arthashastra' that women should be appointed as spies in war camp and these trained female spies should use their beauty to extract news from the enemy.

There were spies in war camps. Spies are eyes and ears of a ruler. So, Shivaji created a separate spy agency with an excellent spy of his era, Bahirji Naik. Such trained spy system did not exist during Peshwa period, but a group of spies was attached to the army. During Peshwa period, spies also worked as messengers. A duo of spies' work in pairs in Peshwa period. Navaji Naik and Rangoji Naik were a famous pair of spies. Names like Jasood Jodi, Kashid Jodi are mentioned for spies working in pairs. The spies had a good knowledge of the roads.

The ruler had to have control over spy agency. Due to this lack of control over spies in battle of Panipat, Marathas suffered a lot. Another important element in Maratha army camp was the Pendhari tribe. Chhatrapati Shivaji never included the Pendharis in the army because tendency of the Pendhari tribe was looting. Pandharis were included in army during the reign of Bajirao III. Pendhari was an independent tribe who used to loot in gangs. It is written in ancient scriptures that this tribemen should be employed in the army. States in which Pendharis lived used to plunder enemy on king's campaign route. They would give a certain portion of the booty to the king and support themselves with the rest. Berad was also a tribe like the Pendharis. Pendharis used to get weapons and war material from government. At the time of the Panipat war, there was a separate contingent of Pendharis. During the first Madhavrao period some Pendharis wrote to Peshwa asking for permission to stay in Maratha war camp. Madhavrao Peshwa started the practice of charging 5 rupees for Pendhari's tents in Maratha war camp. There was a rule that horses, palanquins, flags, kettledrum obtained in the loot should

be deposited with government by the Pendharis. Madhavrao made use of Pendhari tribe for war camps but also formulated rules for them to control their tendency of looting. The rent paid by the Pendharis for tent was called 'Palpatti'. As Pendhari tribe was famous for swift movement, accurate shooting and looting, their skills were used in the war camps during Peshwa period. The war camps of Peshwa period suggest medieval war camps. Aurangzeb's war camp on the banks of river Krishna in 1695 is an important example for a comparative study of war camp. French traveler Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri went to visit Badshah's war camp at Galgali in Bijapur. The French traveller says that the war camp of Badshah was spread 30 miles in area, magnificent, grand, and gigantic in size.

Thus, this chapter has elaborately described the wars and camps of the Peshwa period and examined them through 13 to 14 points.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

MARATHI

1. Aapte D. V., Mudhol Sansthanchya Ghorpade Gharanyacha Itihaas, Mumbai, 1934
2. Aaukbarth Aani Shaligram (ed.), Aitihaasik Povade (Itihaas Prasiddh Purushanche V Striyaanche Povade), S. T. Shaligram, Pune, 1911.
3. Aavlaskar S. V., Aangrekaalin Ashtagaar, Dalvi Apte Smarak Mandal Prakashan, 1947
4. Aavlaskar S. V., Aangrekaalin patr vyvhaar, Bharat Itihaas Sanshodhan Mandal, Pune, 1948
5. Aavlaskar S. V., Raidadchi Jeevangatha, Maharashtra Rajya Sahitya Aani Sanskruti Mandal, Mumbai, 1962
6. Aitihaasik Pharsi Saahitya, Khand-5, Bhaag – 2, Bharat Itihaas Sanshodhan Mandal Pune, Trimaasik Varsh 47-48, Ank-18, (1969-70)
7. Anand Palande, Giridurgachya Paharyatun, Granthamitra Prakashan, Mumbai, 1986
8. Appasaheb Pawar, Tarabaikaalin Kagad Patre, Khand-1, Shivaji Vidyapeeth, Kolhapur, 1969
9. Apte D. V. and S.M. Divekar, Jedhe Shakavali, 'Maasir-i-Alamgiri' 'Sivacharitrpradip', Bharat Itihaas Sanshodhan Mandal, Pune, 1847
10. Bapuji Sankpal, Bakharwangmay: Udgam and Vikas, Dastane Ramachandra aani Kampani, Pune, 1982
11. Bendre V. C., Shivshahivha Charchatmak Itihaas, Saadhanchikitsa, Bharat Itihaas Sanshodhan Mandal, Pune, 1928
12. Bhalchandra Rajaram Tatha Anna Bahulkar, Punyachi Daivte, Rajaram Prakashan, Pune, 1990
13. Bhat B. V., Shivajichi Raajniti, Atmaram Chapkhana, Dhule (Shake 1862), 1941

14. Chandorkar P. M., Shivaji Maharaj and Madari Mehtar, Purandare Prakashan, Pune, 1923-24
15. Dattopant Patvardhan, Narvyadgra Tanaji, Dattopant Patvardhan, Wai Satara, Shake 1872
16. Desai P. B., 'Keldinripavijayam'- Shivacharitravrttasangraha, Khanda-1, Kannada Vibhaag, Bharat Itihaas Sanshodhan Mandal, Pune, (Shake 1860),1938
17. Deshpande P. N., Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharajanchi Patre, Sushma Prakashan, Dhule, 1983
18. Deshpande P. N., Shivshatrapatinchi 109 almi Bakhar, I. V. K. Rajwade Sanshodhak Mandal, Dhule, 1984
19. Deshpande Q. N., Shivchhatrapati's 109 Kalmi Bakhar, etc. Vs. why Rajwade Research Board, Dhule (1984)
20. Dhandhere V. R., Nanasaheb Peshwe Aani Swatantr Yuddh, Maharashtra Rajya Sahitya Aani Sanskruti Mandal, Mumbai,1973
21. Dhere R. C., Loksanskritiche Upaasak, Padmgandha Prakashan, Pune, 1996
22. Dhere R. C., Loksanskritichi Kshitije, Vishwakarma Saathityalay, Pune, 1971
23. Dhere R. C., Shikhar Shingnapurcha Shri Shambhu Mahadev, Shri Vidya Parakashan, 2001
24. Dhere. R. C., lokdaivtaanche Vishwa, Padmgandha Parakashan, Pune, 2007
25. Divekar S. M., Kavindra Parmanand Krut Shri Shivbharat, Bharat Itihaas Sanshodhan Mandal, Pune, 1849
26. Ganesh Damoder Savarkar, Shri Shivraaynchi Aagrayvaril Garud Zep, R. D. Ghanekar, 1939
27. Gaydhani R. N., Madhyyugin Bhartaacha Itihaas, Pratham Aavrutti, K Sagar Parakashan,2005
28. Ghanekar P. K., Jaldurgaachya sahvaasat, Snehal Prakashan, Pune, 1993
29. Ghanekar P. K., Saad Sahyadrichi! Bhatkanti Killyanchi!!, Snehal Prakashan, Pune, 1985
30. Govind Paansare, Shivaji Kon Hota, Lok Vaangmay Gruh, Mumbai, 1988

31. Herwadkar, Thorle Shahu Maharaj Yaanche Charitra, Vinas Prakashan, Pune, 1976
32. Hivargaonkar B. R. (H.A. Bhawe), Arya Chanakya Likhti Kautilya Arthashastra (Samagr Marathi Bhashantar), Aavrut 2, Varda Books, Pune, 1990
33. Hivargaonkar B. R., Kautilya Arthashastra (Purvaardh V uttradh), Barda Books, Pune, 1988
34. Joglekar S. A., Sahyadri (MaharashtraStrot), Phili aavrutti, Prasad Prakashan, Pune, 1952 Joglekar S. A., Sahyadri (MaharashtraStrot), Dusri aavrutti, Shubhda Sarswat Prakashan, Pune, 1993
35. Joshi R. V., Parkiyanvha Drushitun Shivaji, Mehta Publishing House, Pune, 1987
36. Joshi S. N., Arvachin Maharashtr Itihaasatil Raajaykarbharacha Abhyaas, Bhaag Pahila, (1600 te 1680), Pune Vidyapeeth, 1959
37. Joshi S. N., Arvachin Maharashtratil Itihaas Kaalatil Raajyakaarbharacha Abhyssa, Bhaag Phila 1600 te 1680, Pune Vidyapeeth, Kelkar, 1956
38. Joshi S. N., Marathekaalin Samajdarshan, Satkaar Samiti, Pune, 1960
39. Kale D. V., Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj, Third Edition, Pune Vidyapeeth Bahiishal Shikshan Granthmala 13, 1979
40. Kale D. V., Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj, Pune Vidyapeeth Pune, 1990
41. Kaltekar A. S., Shilahaarncha Itihaas, Damodar Saavlaraam Aani Mandali Prakashan, 1935
42. Kamal Gokhale, Shivputra Sambhaji, Jnana-Vidnyan Vikas Mandal, Pune (May 1892), 1971
43. Kande, Bhausahebaanchi Bhakar, Snehvardhan Publishing House, Pune, 1993
44. Kelkar N. C., Marathi V Ingraj, Modern Book Depot Prakashan, 1963
45. Kelkar Y. N. (ed.), Aitihaasik Povade, Bhaag 1, Y. N. Kelkar, Pune, 1928
46. Kelkar Y. N. (ed.), Aitihaasik Povade, Bhaag 2, Y. N. Kelkar, Pune, 1944
47. Kelkar Y. N. (ed.), Aitihaasik Povade, Bhaag 3, Y. N. Kelkar, Pune, 1969
48. Kelkar Y. N., Vasaichi Mohim (1734 te 1739), Pune, 1934

49. Khare G. H (ed.), Itihaasik Pharsi Sahitya, Khand-5, Bharat Itihaas Sanshodhan Mandal, Pune, 1969
50. Khare G. H. (ed.), Aitihaasik Sahitya, Khand-5, Bharat Itihaas Sanshodhan Mandal, Pune, 1969
51. Khare G. H. (ed.), Aitihaasik Sankirn Saahtya Khand 1-8, Bharat Itihaas Sanshodhan Mandal, Pune
52. Khare G. H. (ed.), Aurangjebaachya Darbaarche Aakhabr, Bharat Itihaas Sanshodhan Mandal, Pune, 1973
53. Khare G. H. (ed.), Dakhinechya Madhyyugin Itihaasaci Sadhne, Bharat Itihaas Sanshodhan Mandal, Pune, 1930
54. Khare G. H., Durg, Sahyadri Vihar Mandal, Mumbai (Shake 1902), 1980
55. Khare G. H., Joshi S. N., Bharat Sarkarchya Kendrya Daptarkhanyatil Aitihaasik, Bharat Itihaas Sanshodhan Mandal, Pune, 1983
56. Khole Vilas, Aadnypatr, Sahitya Prasar Kendra, Nagpur, 1993
57. Kolarkar S. G., Madhyyugin Bhartaacha Itihaas (1206-1706), Shri Mangesh Prakashan, 1994
58. Kulkarni A. R. Aani Khare G. H., Marathyanacha Itihaas, Khand 1-3, Contunental Prakashan, Pune
59. Kulkarni A. R., Shivkaalin Maharashtra, Shivaji Vidyaapeeth Prakashan, Kolhapur, 1977
60. Kulkarni S. R., Shivakalin Raajneti Ranniti (Aadnyapatranchya sanhitesah), Popular Publications, Mumbai, 1994
61. Kulkarni V. B. Aani Navaskar Ashok, Madhyyugin Bhartaacha Itihaas, Raane Prakashan, Pune, 1878
62. Maane Baalasaheb, Adwitiy Senani Senapati Santaji Ghorpade, Pratham Aavrutti, Yashodhan Parakashan, 2001
63. Maarwade Narendra (ed.), Aadnypatra, Kaliaas Publication, 2003
64. Madhav Katak R., Rudhy Aitihaasik Dantkatha Aani Itihaas, Bharat Itihaas Sanshodhan Mandal Trimaasik 67 April, Pune, 1910-11

65. Mehendle Gajanan Bhaskar, Shri Raja ShivChhatrpati, Khand 1, Diamond Prakashan, Pune, 1996
66. Nandurbarkar P. R. – L. K. Dandekar, Shridigvijay – Puratnetihaas Prakashak Mandlinchi Granthmala -1, Phattesinh Chhapkhan, Badode ,1817
67. Paranjpe S. M., Marathyanchya Ladhayancha Itihaas, Chitrashala Prakashan, Pune, 1934
68. Parasnis D. B., Marathyanche Aarmaar, Nirnay Sagar Press, Pune, 1904
69. Pawar Sudhakar, Marathi Sahityatil Patrrup Gadya, Shivaji Vidyapeeth, Kolhapur, 1978
70. Pisurlekar P. N., Portugiz Marathi Sambadh Kaaryvaah, Pune Vidyapeeth, 1967
71. Pitre, Hindustaancha Sankshipt Yudh Itihaas, Navchaitnya Prakashan, 1982
72. Purandare B. M., Raja ShivChhatrpati, Purandare Prakashan, Pune, 1993
73. Raamchandrapant Aamtya, Sampadak Shri Banhatti, aadnyapatra, Suvichaar Prakashan Mandal, Nagpur Pune, 1986
74. Raja Limaye, Ranraj, J. K. Publications, Nashik, 1992
75. Rajwade V. K., Sampadak V. G. Bijapurkar, Marathyanchya Itihaasachi Sadhane, Khand-8, Sri Samartha Prasad Chapkhan, Kolhapur, 1903
76. Ramchandra Shankr Dalvi (Khedekar), Aitihaasik Povade (Shri ShivChhatrpatinchr Saagra Charitra), Govind Gopal Desai, Pune
77. Ramdas R. V., Marathaynche Sagari Pradeshavril Simolanghan, Shri Ramdas Prakashan, Mumbai, 1960
78. Ramdas R. V., Sagari Satteche Sansthapak Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj, Shri Ramdas Prakashan, Mumbai, 1962
79. Sadashiv Aathvle, Itihaasache Tatvadnyaan, Pradnya Paathshala, Wai,1967
80. Sahastrbuddhe P. G., Maharashtra Sanskrutik, Continental Prakashan, Pune, 30
81. Sampadak A. B. The Bragans Pereira Translated by S. S. Desai, Marathyanchya Itihaasachi Sadhane Portuguese Daptar, Vol-3, Maharashtra Sahitya Sanskriti Mandal,1968
82. Sane. K. N. Bhausahabanchi Bakhar, Kaavyeitithaas Sangrah -14, Pune, 1885

83. Sardesai G. S., Baajiraoanchi Dellhivar Swari, Khand-14, Mumbai Sarkar
Mumbai,1931
84. Sardesai G. S., Marathyanche Uttretil Parakram, Khand-14, Mumbai Sarkar
Mumbai,1931
85. Saswadkar L. K., Moglanchya Nokrit Netaji Paalkar, Aitihaasik Sankirn
Saahitya, Khand-18, Trimaasik 55, 1-4, Bharat Itihaas Sanshodhan Mandal
Pune, (Shake 1898), 1976
86. Savita Bhave, Jinkle Bhoomi Jal Aakash, Vardha Prakashan
87. Sejvalkar T. S., Nijam Peshwe Sambandh, Pune Vidyapeeth, pune, 1959
88. Setu Madhavarao Pagadi, Bahusot Sundar Parchure Prakashan, Mumbai, 1993
89. Setu Madhavrao Pagdi, Ahkaame Alamgiri Prakashan, Nagpur,1993
90. Setu Madhavrao Pagdi, Itihaasacha Maagova, Dyanyraaj Prakashan, Pune, 1993
91. Setu Madhavrao Pagdi, Marathe Aani Aurangjeb, Dyanyraaj Prakashan, Pune,
1963
92. Setu Madhavrao Pagdi, Marathyanche Swatantr Yudhh, Joshi Aani Lokhande
Prakashan, Pune, 1962
93. Setu Madhavrao Pagdi, Mogal Aani Marathi, Thokal Prakashan, Pune, 1966
94. Setu Madhavrao Pagdi, Mogal Darbaarchi Baatmipatr, Khand 1-3, Maharashtra
Rajya Sahitya Aani Sanskruti Mandal,1978, 1979, 1983
95. Setu Madhavrao Pagdi, Shivchhatrpati Tyanchi Prabhaval, Parchure Prakashan,
Mumbai, 1976
96. Sharada Deshmukh, Shivkalatil V Peshwaitil Stree Jeevan, Tilak Maharashtra
Vidyapeeth, Pune, 1963
97. Shejvalkar T. S., Nijaam – Peshwe Sambandh, Pune Vidyapeeth Pune, 1969
98. Shenvlikar H. S., P. N Deshpande, Maharashtra Sanskrutik Ghadan Aani
Vikaas, Moghe Prakashan, Pune, 1972
99. Shirke B. G., Udyogparv, Rajhans Prakashan, Pune, 1995

ENGLISH

1. Alami Abul Fazal, Ain – I – Akabari, Translated by H. Blochmann, Calcutta, Asiatic society of Bengal, 1927
2. Apte B. K, History of the Maratha Navy and Merchanships,1973, State Board of Literature, Maharashtra
3. Athar Ali M., The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb, Asia Publishing House, Bombay,1968-1970
4. Bapu Purshotam Joshi (ed.), Peshwa Madhavrao Vio. 2, The Poona Deccan Vernacular Translation Society Govt. Of Bombay,1911
5. Bendery V. S., Downfall of Angre's Navy, Bombay, 1967
6. Burton Richard, The Book the Sword, London, Chattoand Windus, 1889
7. Chaurasia R. S., History of Medieval India from 1000 AD to 1707 AD, Atlantic Pub, New Delhi
8. Dennis Kincaid, The grand Rebel, London ,1937
9. Deodhar Y. N., Nana Phadnis, Popular Book Depot, Bombay,1962, First edition
10. Desai S. P., The Maratha on the Weast Coast oh India, 1990. Dept. Of Archives, Govt. of Maharashtra
11. Elgood Robert, Hindu Arms and Rituals, Arms and Armour from India, 1400 – 1865, Netherlands, Chicago University Press, 2004
12. Francis Burnier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, Oxford, 1934
13. Gems viller and Michelle Macmillan, European travels in India, Sushil Gupta Calcutta, 1956
14. Gune V. T., The Judicial system of the Marathas, Deccan Collage P. G. & Research Institute, Poona, 1953, First Edition
15. Gunther D., Sonthimer, Maharashtra Cultural Society, Vol.-1, Pune, 1994
16. Gunther- Dietz Sontheimer (ed.), Maharashtra culture and society, Manohar Prakashan, 1995
17. Gunther- Dietz Sontheimer (ed.), Maharashtra culture and society, Manohar Prakashan, 1995,

18. Hariram Gupta (ed.) Marathas and Panipat, Punjab University Chandigarh, 1961
19. Havell E. B., A Handbook to Agra and the Taj, 1924
20. Hussain M. A., Agra Fort, Department of Archeology, 1956
21. Irvine William, The Army of Indian Moghals, Luzac & Co. London, 1903
22. Ishwain W., Storio Do Moghor, London, 1907
23. Ishwari Prasad, Short History of Muslim Rule in India, The Indian press, Allahabad, 1939
24. Jadunath Sarkar, Military History of India, Life Span Publishers, 2019.
25. Joshi P. M. (ed.), Expansion of Maratha Power I (Selection of The Peshwa Daptar), Govt. Central Press, Bombay 1957, First edition
26. Joshi P. M., Chhatrapati Sambhaji (1657-1689 AD), S. Chand and Co. Ltd., New Delhi, 1980, First Edition.
27. Joshi P. M., Revival of Maratha Power (1761 – 72AD), Govt Central Press Bombay 1962,
28. Kaisar A. J., building construction in Mughal India, Delhi, 1988
29. Kashinath Narayan Sane (ed.), Peshwe Madhanrao I, Vol.2, Vernacular Translation Society, Govt. of Maharashtra, Bombay, 1911
30. Kelkar N. C., D. V. Apte, English Records on Shivaji (1659-82), Shivcharitra Karalaya, Pune, 1931
31. Khan Y. H. (ed.), Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign 1659-1706 A. D., Central Records Office, Govt. of Andhra Pradesh (Hyderabad-Deccan), 1958
32. Kincaid C.A. and parasnis D. B., A History of the Maratha people vol. 1, Oxford University press, London, 1918
33. Latif S. M, Agra Historical and Descriptive, 1896
34. M. G. Ranade, Rise of The Maratha Power, The Publication Division Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Dellhi, 1961
35. Mahajan T. T., Shivaji and His Diplomats, Commonwealth Publishers, New Delhi, 1991, First Edition

36. Mahajan V. D., Muslim Rule in India, S. Chand and Co. New Delhi, 1965, 2nd edition
37. Maritime Heritage of Konkan, Sachin Pendse, Maritime History Society, 2011
38. Meera Singh, Medieval History of India, Vikas Publishing House P., Kanpur, 1978
39. Mujumdar R. C., Ancient India, Motilal Banarsidass, 2017
40. Mujumdar R. C., The Maratha Supremacy, Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, Mumbai, 1977
41. Nundo Lal Dey, The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, Oriental Books Reprint Corpn, New Delhi, 1927-1971
42. Panniker K. M., India and Indian Ocean, 1956, George Allen Unwin, London
43. Pant G. N., Bhartya Astra-Shastea, Agam Kala Prakashan, New Delhi, 1974
44. Pawar A. G., Shivaji's Vow to Conquer Delhi, cf. Shivaji the Great, Vol. I, Dr. Balkrishna, 1932
45. Pendse S. S., Maritime Heritage of Konkan, 2002, Cosmo Publication
46. Pissurlenkar P. S., P. R. Kakodkar (trans), The Portuguese and the Marathas (Portugueses E Maratas), State Board for Literature and Culture, Paris, 1699
47. Sarkar J. N., Short History of Aurangzeb, Blacky and Sons, Kolkata, 1930
48. Sarkar J. N., The Military Despatches of a Seventeenth Century, Scientific Book Agency, Calcutta, 1969
49. Sarkar J., Mughal Administration (Patna University Readership Lectures 1920), M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta, 1920
50. Sarkar J., The India of Aurangzeb (Topography, Statistics and Roads), Sanyal and Co. Printers, 1901
51. Sarkar Jadunath, Military History of India, M. C. Sarkar & Sons Private Ltd., Calcutta, 1935
52. Sarkar S. J., House of Shivaji, Orient Longman, (1978).
53. Sarkar S. J., Shivaji and his times, Fifth Edn., Orient Longman (1992).
54. Sen S. N, Foreign Biographies of Shivaji, K. P. Bagchi and Co., Calcutta, 1977, 2nd edition

55. Sen S. N., Early Carrer of Kanhoji Angre and Other Papers, 1941, University of Calcutta
56. Setu Madhavrao pagdi, studies in Maratha History, part 1 and 2, Shivaji University, Kolhapur, 1971
57. Setu Madhavrao Pagdi, Studies in Maratha History, Shivaji University, Kolhapur,1771
58. Sharma S. R., Mughal Empire in India, Seventh Edn., Laxmi Narain Agarwal, Agra (1973).
59. Sharma S.K. Mughal empire in India, Agarwal company, Agra
60. Sharma Shriram, Religious Policy of Mughal Empire, Oxford University, London, 1940
61. Shejwalkar T. S., Panipat: 1761, Deccan Collage, Pune, 1946
62. Sherwani H. K, The Bahamanies of the Deccan, Hyderabad publication, 1953
63. Sherwani H.K., Cultural trends in medieval India, Asian publication, 1968
64. Subramanian V., Cultural integration in India, Ashish publishing house, New Delhi, 1981
65. Subramanian V., Cultural integration in India, Ashish publishing house, New Delhi, 1981
66. Tripathi R. P., Rise and fall of the Mughal Empire, Central book depot, Allahabad
67. Upendra Singh, A History of Ancient and Early Medieval India, From the Stone Age to the 12th Century by, 2nd Edition, Pearson Education,2024

HINDI

1. Ambika Dutt Shastri, Susruta Samhita, Chaukhambha Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi
2. Arun, Bharatiy Pura-Ithiaskosh Bhag 2, Radha Publications, Nai Delhi, 110002
3. Bapu Avadh Bihari Sharan, Megasthenes ka Bharat Vivaran, Dhara Nagari Pracharini Sabha dwara prakashit, 1916

4. Chayanka Shah, Subhash Swatija, Manorama, Bharat Ki Chhap, Comet Project, Bambai
5. Girija Shankar Prasad Mitra, Prachin Bharat ka Itihas, Jaipur Publishing House, Jaipur, 1996
6. Gupta Manik Lal, Bharatiy Itihas, Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, Nai Delhi, 2000
7. Hansong, Anuvadak-Thakur Prasad Sharma, Hansong ki Bharat Yatra, Adarsh Hindi Pustakalaya, Allahabad, 1672
8. Hiralal, Madhya Pradesh ka Itihas, Kashi Nagari Pracharini Sabha, 1939
9. Irfan Habib, Madhaykalin Bharat Ank 2, Rajkamal Prakashan, 1983
10. Mahajan Vidyadhar, Madhaykalin (1000 A.D. to 1761 A.D.) Bharat, S. Chand and Company Ltd., Nai Delhi, 2001
11. Manik Lal Gupta, Madhyakalin Bharat ka Itihas, Atlantic Prakashan, Nai Delhi, 1998
12. Motichandra, Sarthvaha (Prachin Bharat ki Path Paddhati), Bihar Rashtra Bhasha Parishad, Patna, 1953.
13. Nagori S.L, Madhaykalin Bharat ka Samajik, Sanskritik avam Arthik Vikas, Raj Prashaan, Jaipur, 2007
14. Niranjana Singh, Prachin Bharat ka Sahityik avam Sanskritik Itihas, Research Publication Tripolia, Jaipur, 2
15. Om Prakash, Prachin Bharat ka Itihas, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd. 1971
16. Omprakash Prasad, Aurangzeb Ek Nai Drishti, Oriental Public Library, Patna, 1987
17. Paruthi R.K., Itihas Vishwakosh, Arjun Publishing House, Nai Delhi, 2008
18. Shukla Manju, Bharatvarsh ka Sampurna Itihas, Pratham Sanskaran, Ritu Publication, Jaipur, 2011
19. Vimal Chandra Pandey, Prachin Bharat ka Rajanitik tathaa Sanskritik Itihas, Central Book Depot Allahabad, 1971
20. Yaduvanshi Bhatia, Shri Siva va Savani aur Chhatrasal Dashak, Shri Kalpataru Press, Bombay, 1890

JOURNALS

1. Aitihasik Sankirn Nibandh Sangrah, Vol. 9, Bharat Itihaas Sanshodhak Mandal, Pune, 1968
2. Aitihasik Sankirn Sahitya, Vol. 13, Bharat Itihaas Sanshodhak Mandal, Pune, 1970
3. Intach, Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage, 2019 – 2020
4. Intach, Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage, April – July, 2024
5. Intach, Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage, July - December, 2022
6. Itihaas Darpan, Akhil Bhartiya Itihaas Sankalan Yojna, October, 2024
7. Sanshodhak, V. K. Rajwade Sanshodhak Mandal, Dhule, June, 2021
8. Sanshodhak, V. K. Rajwade Sanshodhak Mandal, Dhule, March, 2021
9. Trimasik, Bharat Itihaas Sanshodhak Mandal, Pune, Vol. – XLV, No 1 – 4, July, 1967
10. Trimasik, Bharat Itihaas Sanshodhak Mandal, Pune, Vol.-66, No 1- 4, July, 1987 – April 1988

NEWS PAPER ARTICLES

1. Dainik Jagran, Desh Me 4,500 Varsh Purane Taambe Ke Bhaale Mile Pahli Baar, 11 Nov. 2024
2. Lokmat, Sandarbha Granth n Vaaprta Lihilela Itihaas 'Bhishan', Udayasinh Peshwa, 28 Feb. 2020
3. Loksatta, Ratnagiri: Rajapuratil Raipatan yethe Saapdla Shivkaalin Aitihaasik Theva, 27 Dec. 2024
4. Maharashtra Times, Peshwekaalin Ganesh Mandir, 15 Sept. 2010
5. Sakal, Peshwyanchya Aaradhya Daivtaachya Mahtichi Mahiti Ganeshpuraat, 2 Sept. 2022
6. Sakal, Thorle Baajirao Peshwyanchya Mrutyuc Nemka Karan Kaay Hot? 28 Dec. 2022
7. The Times of India, after 200 years, rare Maratha Empire papers found in UK, 11 Jan 2015
8. The Times of India, Peshwa Era Temple is Pune's Eternal Charm, 4th May 2013

P. hd. THESIS

1. Kulkarni J. R., Uttar Peshwekaalin Nyayalayin Tatve v Padhhati, unpublished ph.d. thesis submitted to Solapur University, Solapur, 2011
2. Patole D. N., Aurangjebaachya Dakshin Swaricha Solapur Jilhyatlya Sandarbhaat Tikatmak Abhyaas, thesis submitted to Solapur University, Solapur, 2008
3. Deshmukh Rajendra, Satara Jilhyatil Marathakalin Vastuncha Abhyaas, Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune, 2020

MPhil THESIS

1. Sandip Tikhe, Peshwekaalin Huzurpaga v Prashasan Vyavstapan, Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune, 2016

WEBSITES.

1. <https://explorethearchive.com/medieval-weapons> (22/01/2021)
2. <https://www.britannica.com/technology/artillery> (09/02/2025)
3. <https://www.deccanherald.com/india/nagpur-4-cannons-of-medieval-era-found-during-digging-769260.html> (18/10/2019)
4. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Weapon> (25/02/2025)
5. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_cannon_projectiles (10/01/2025)
6. https://hindi.webdunia.com/indian-history-and-culture/history-of-bajirao-peshwa-hindi-118020200090_1.html (29/12/2024)

Appendix I

Questionary

1. What were the main components of the military system during the Peshwa era?

2. How was military training conducted?

3. What were the roles of different ranks like Sardars, Subedars, and Havalgars?

4. What was the recruitment process for soldiers?

5. What were the salary structures for the military personnel?

6. What were the commonly used weapons and war tactics?

7. What was the role of the navy in the Peshwa military system?

8. How was the military expenditure managed?

9. What were the primary sources of funding for the army?

10. How did the Peshwa administration ensure the regular supply of arms,
food, and other
military necessities?

11. How did foreign powers influence the Peshwa military system?

Analysis

A Qualitative Analysis involves a deep, interpretive approach to examining historical events, structures, and systems, often focusing on understanding the underlying dynamics and societal implications. In the case of your research on the Peshwa Military System, the analysis would centre on the following dimensions:

The Peshwa military, much like other contemporary Indian armies, was built around a feudal system where various military commanders, including Sardars (chiefs), Subedars (officers), and Havalgars (sergeants), played vital roles. Analyse how this structure reflected the social and political realities of the time. For instance, military rank and social status were closely intertwined, and this hierarchical structure could have been a source of both internal stability and tension.

This structure also reveals how decentralized the military system was, as local leaders commanded their own troops, and the central authority of the Peshwa (like Bajirao I and his successors) was often dependent on these military alliances. The recruitment process during the Peshwa era was not standardized but was based largely on feudal loyalty and merit. Soldiers were often drawn from the Maratha heartlands, but also included soldiers from different ethnic and regional backgrounds.

What does this diversity tell us about the social fabric of the Peshwa military? How did recruitment practices affect the efficiency, loyalty, and morale of the troops? This can be linked to larger themes of identity formation in the Maratha empire, and how soldiers' personal backgrounds shaped their commitment to the military cause.

We could explore how issues such as religious tolerance or ethnic diversity influenced military discipline and effectiveness, particularly in the context of the Maratha empire's attempts to maintain control over such a large, multi-ethnic region.

The Peshwa military was heavily dependent on cavalry, including the Bargir (elite cavalry), but also featured other divisions like infantry and artillery. Their battle strategies, such as guerrilla warfare and siege tactics, were influenced by both indigenous practices and Western military influence (particularly the British). Examine

how these strategies were reflective of the larger Maratha political philosophy. For example, guerrilla warfare suited the decentralized nature of the Maratha state and symbolized the Marathas' capacity for adaptability in asymmetric warfare.

Analyse whether these tactics were rooted in the values of resistance and autonomy, critical aspects of Maratha identity. Did the Peshwas adapt Western military knowledge while maintaining indigenous tactics, or did these strategies reflect an entirely unique military philosophy? Military expenses during the Peshwa era were significant and the Peshwa administration relied on various taxes, tribute, and land revenues to fund the army.

Analyse how the economic underpinnings of the Peshwa military affected its strategic decisions. For instance, revenue generation through agriculture and trade was key to sustaining the military but also created socio-economic pressures on the peasantry.

The Peshwa military was often involved in conflicts with foreign powers such as the Mughals, Nizams, and British East India Company. These interactions significantly shaped their military doctrines and strategies. Investigate the impact of foreign military strategies on the Peshwa forces. Did they incorporate Western-style discipline or artillery techniques? Were there hybrid practices that evolved from Maratha and British military contact? Examine how these foreign engagements shaped the Maratha identity, especially concerning their sense of independence and resistance. How did interactions with these foreign powers lead to the evolution or stagnation of the Peshwa military system?

५ तम मसुरा	७५५
१	प्राद्विपरी
१	प्राद्विपरी
१	प्राद्विपरी
१	प्राद्विपरी
१	प्राद्विपरी
१	प्राद्विपरी
१	प्राद्विपरी
१	प्राद्विपरी
१	प्राद्विपरी
१	प्राद्विपरी
१	प्राद्विपरी
१	प्राद्विपरी
१	प्राद्विपरी
१	प्राद्विपरी

प्राद्विपरी

402/1562

Mukasa (Percentage of income)

402/415 25

32189

संशोधनाकर

पेरिस्तापुनमस्तुनरुमर्ग

अथरुमस्तुनरुमर्ग

पेरिस्तापुनमस्तुनरुमर्ग

अथरुमस्तुनरुमर्ग

अथरुमस्तुनरुमर्ग

अथरुमस्तुनरुमर्ग

96

अथरुमस्तुनरुमर्ग

अथरुमस्तुनरुमर्ग



अथरुमस्तुनरुमर्ग

अथरुमस्तुनरुमर्ग

अथरुमस्तुनरुमर्ग

अथरुमस्तुनरुमर्ग

अथरुमस्तुनरुमर्ग

अथरुमस्तुनरुमर्ग

अथरुमस्तुनरुमर्ग

अथरुमस्तुनरुमर्ग

अथरुमस्तुनरुमर्ग

अथरुमस्तुनरुमर्ग

अथरुमस्तुनरुमर्ग

अथरुमस्तुनरुमर्ग

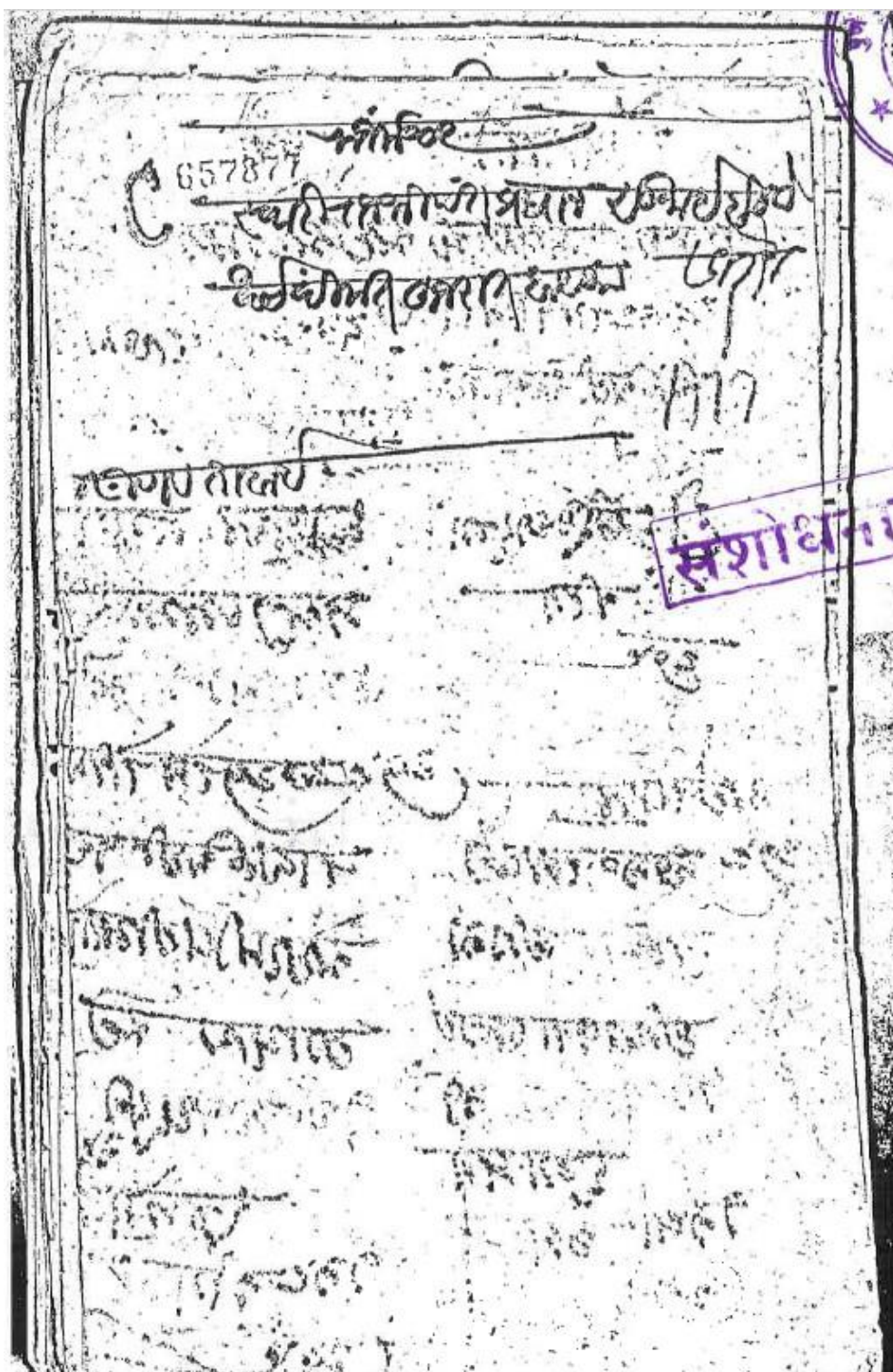
अथरुमस्तुनरुमर्ग

अथरुमस्तुनरुमर्ग

List of Chieftains

[illegible]

186

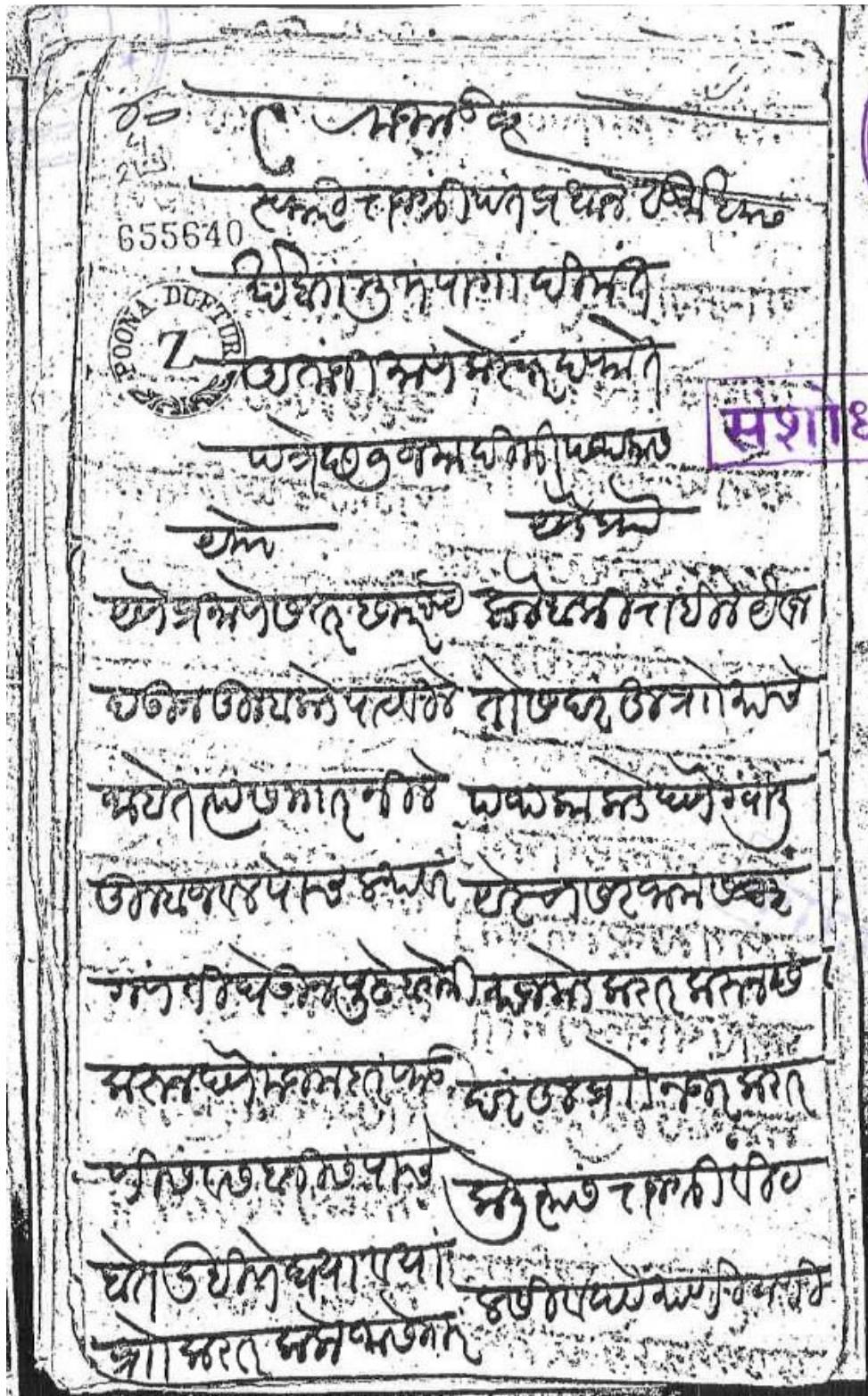


Fodder for horses

मरीज
 च- छच्छमोतापीतेय
 उज्जुहोमाहुति उदीपन
 मरीजाज्जोपसर्ग
 पीतिनायादी
 च उदीमिपुर्ण
 ८-६५१/१११ ६६११-६६११
 ६- सरेवापद्यत
 च- संशोधन
 १२५ छच्छमोपंनछच्छम
 दीजोपसर्गपीति
 पीतिनायादी
 १२६- मरीज
 १२६- मरीज
 १२६- मरीज
 १२६- मरीज

Fodder for horses

32189	
402/100	
पानागिण्यादि विनिर्माण	
सशोधनाकरीत	
१	महाभारत
२	महाभारत
३	महाभारत
४	महाभारत
५	महाभारत
६	महाभारत
७	महाभारत
८	महाभारत
९	महाभारत
१०	महाभारत
११	महाभारत
१२	महाभारत
१३	महाभारत
१४	महाभारत
१५	महाभारत
१६	महाभारत
१७	महाभारत
१८	महाभारत
१९	महाभारत
२०	महाभारत



Paga cost

655095 ममउ०

द्वारा नमस्ते नमस्ते नमस्ते
द्वारा नमस्ते नमस्ते नमस्ते
द्वारा नमस्ते नमस्ते नमस्ते
द्वारा नमस्ते नमस्ते नमस्ते

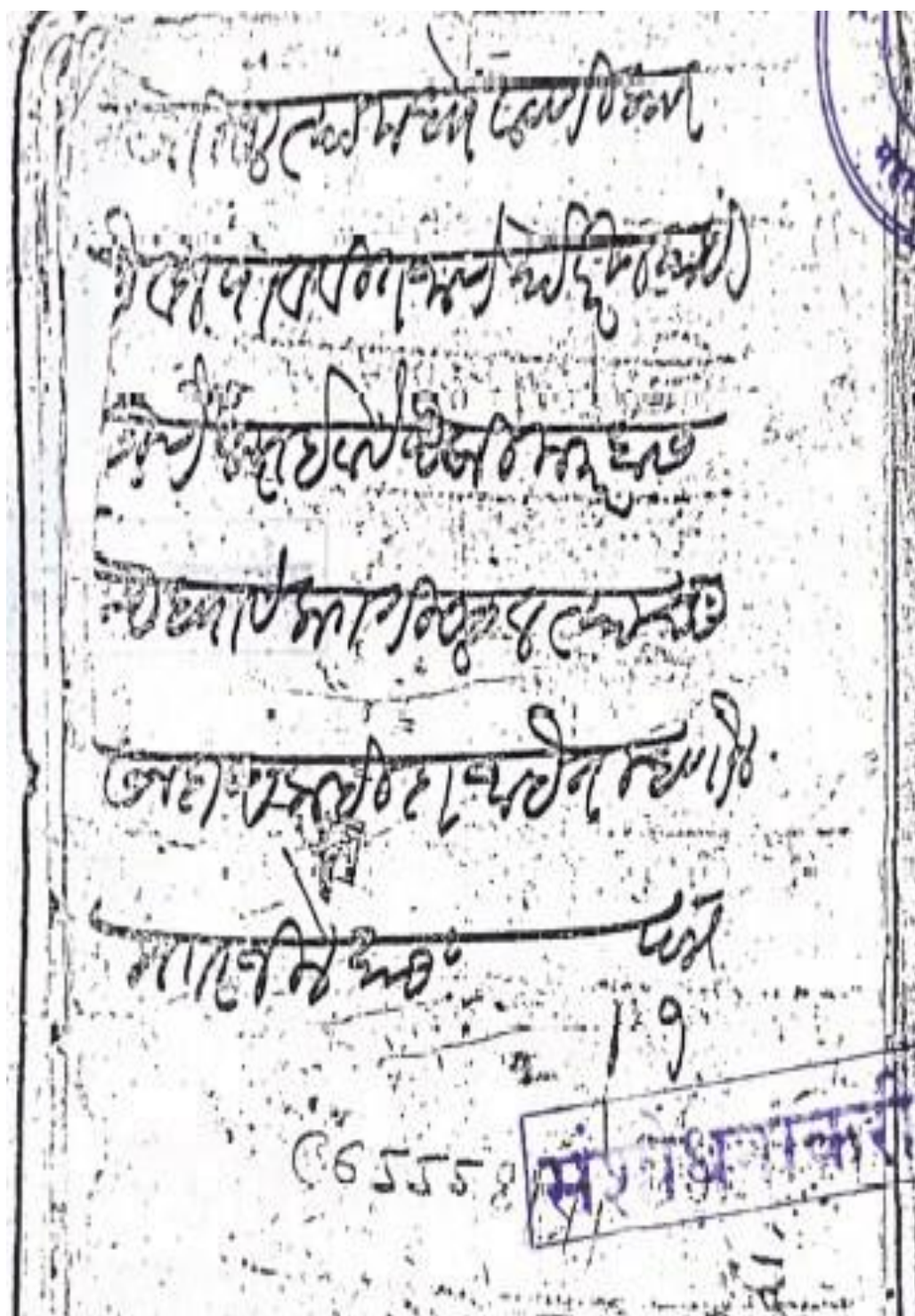
संशोधनाकर

द्वारा नमस्ते नमस्ते नमस्ते
द्वारा नमस्ते नमस्ते नमस्ते

(१२९८)

द्वारा नमस्ते नमस्ते नमस्ते
द्वारा नमस्ते नमस्ते नमस्ते
द्वारा नमस्ते नमस्ते नमस्ते
द्वारा नमस्ते नमस्ते नमस्ते
द्वारा नमस्ते नमस्ते नमस्ते

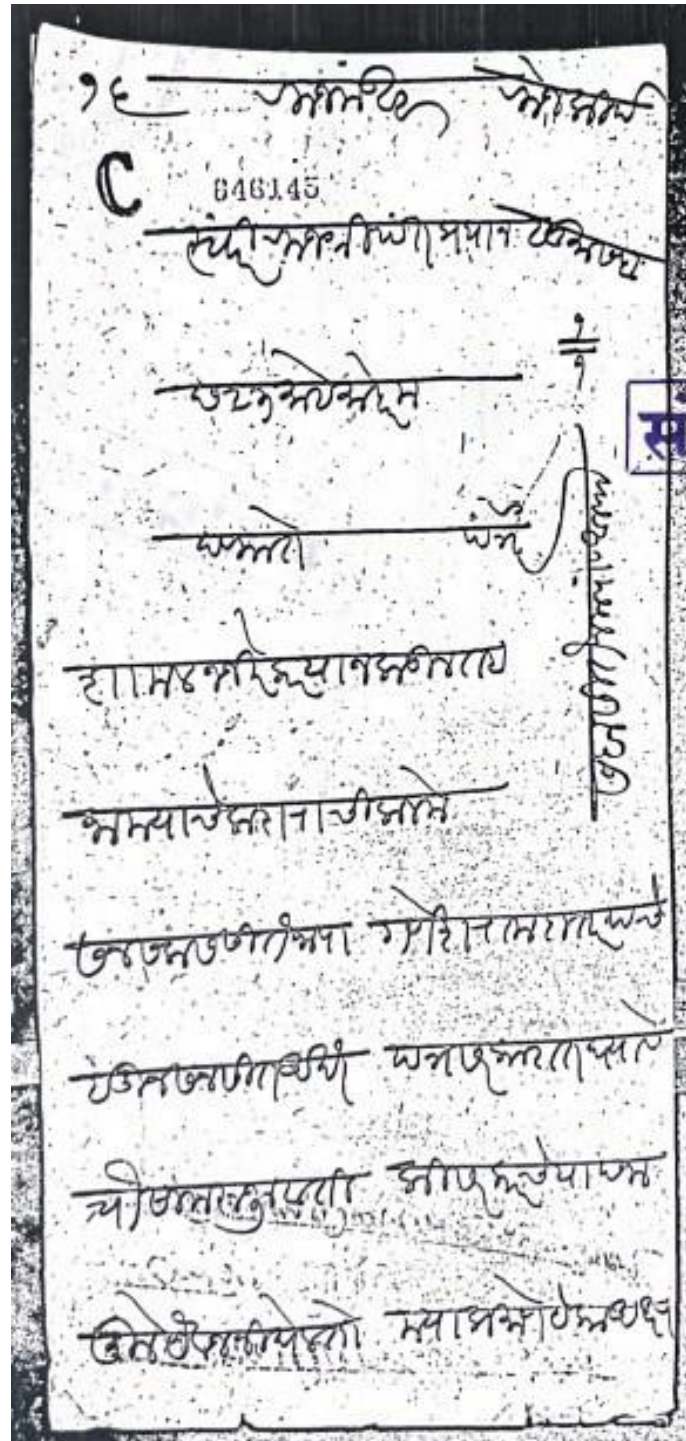
Horses for ₹ 44,000



Fodder for Camels


 179
 આશીસ્તાવા સુધુજી
 લાવીયા હિ
 પદ્મિત વસ્ત્રી થાદમતી તમા
 આતમધરાત પદમતી વધત થઈ
 ઘડમિથલી જીતી મયા પદમતી
 દત્તી ગૌરા પ્રવેય પીવા કની જ્યા
 પ્રડપી પી જી ઉત્તમ પ્રી જીત સત પ્ર
 દેવ સત પ્રા વીતે પડવા તાત્રી પ્રેરો
 દસ વપાત નતેયા પીવા દેવે જોત
 જેવે દેવી પ્રડપી જીતે દસ પ્રવેરો
 પ્રવેય પી પ્રા વેલ પુત્રી દત્ત પ્રવ
 પાન સત ઉદ્યોદ કરતા પ્રવ દત્ત
 પડે પ્રવ દંધ્યા પ્રવેરો જોત વેલ
 વેંદે ગોલ પ્રવ પી જીતે દેવે પ્રવેરો
 રાધે દાસ પ્રા પ્રા પ્રા પ્રા પ્રા પ્રા
 પ્રડપી જીતે દસ પ્રવેરો પ્રા પ્રા

Letter to Dhulap



Matgad Fort

کتابخانه آیت الله العظمیٰ بروجردی

Appendix III



Armour and Cannon miniature



Types of daggers



Madu



Horseshoe



Cannon balls



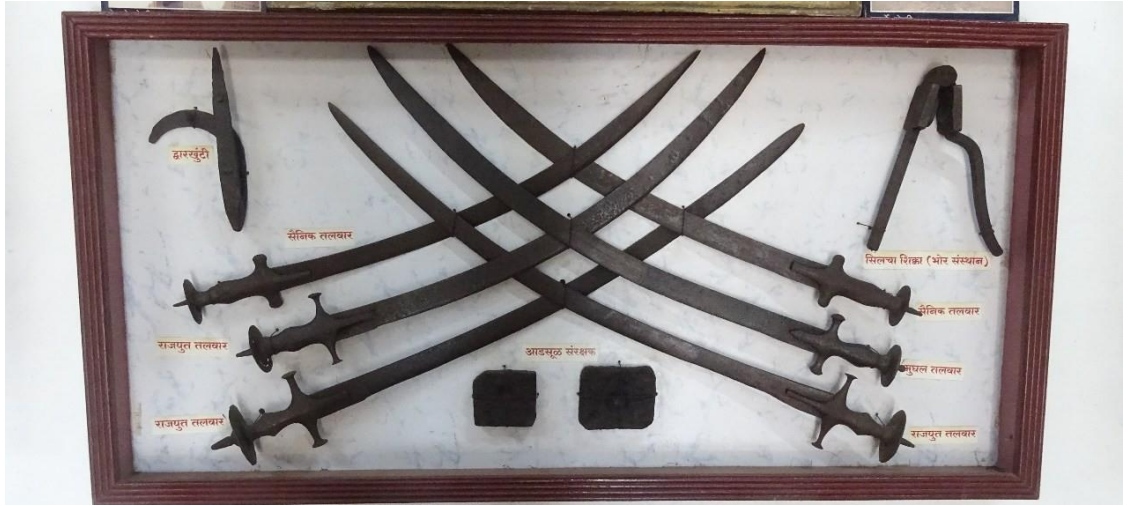
Cannon balls



Javelins (Bhala)



Dandpatta



Swords



Armour (Chilkhat) in Jedhe Wada, Bhor



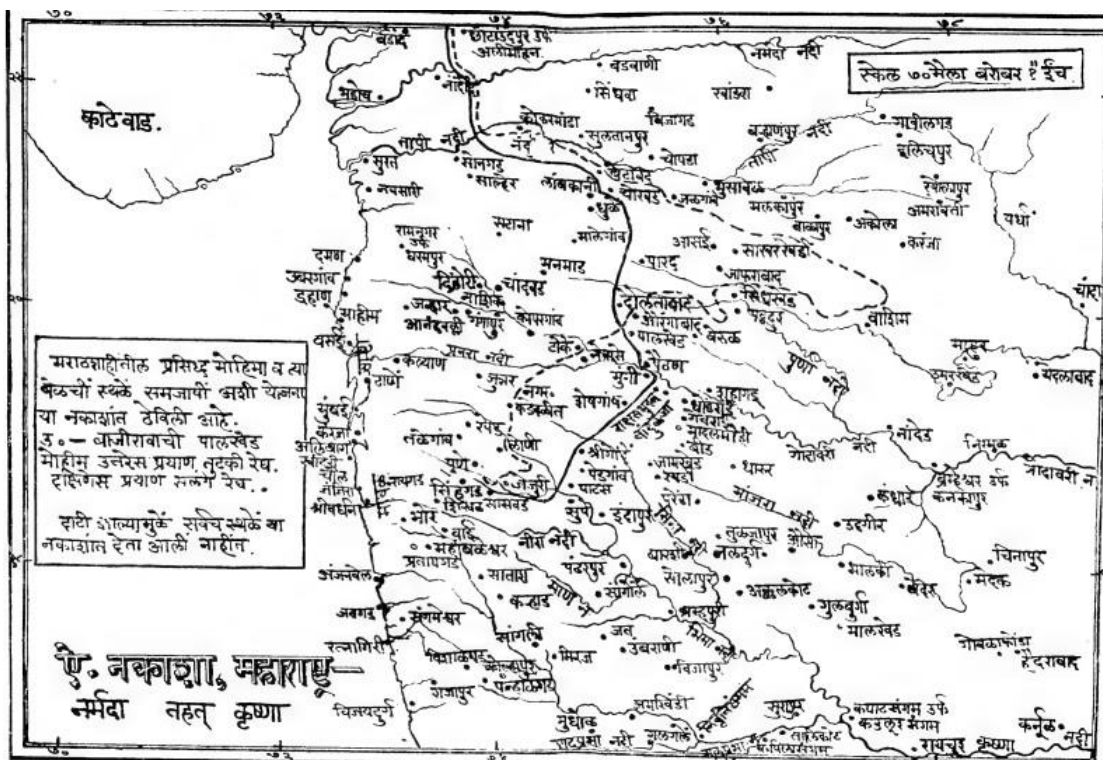
Long and sharp pointed Javelin in Jedhe
Wada, Bhor



Leather shield



Arrows and Wita (exactly at the centre)



G.S. Sardesai, Marathi Riyasat-Madhya vibhag 1 (1707 to 1740), Ganesh and Mahadev Company, Mumbai, 1925



Researcher's Interview with Ibrahim Khan Gardi's ancestor
Sardar Khan Gardi



Researcher's Interview with Kanhoji Jedhe's ancestor at Kari,
Bhor



Mr. Pramod Borade's Shivshahi Museum at Lonavala

**A STUDY OF MILITARY SYSTEM
OF THE PESHWA**

**A Thesis
SUBMITTED TO THE
TILAK MAHARASHTRA VIDYAPEETH PUNE
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

HISTORY

Under the Board of Moral and Social Sciences



BY

Mrs. PRIYA BRIJESH KULKARNI

(Registration No. 02118004092)

UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF

Dr. NALINI AVINASH WAGHMARE

**DEPARTMENT OF NEHRU INSTITUTE OF
SOCIAL SCIENCES**

May 2025.

80_Recommendation

Conclusion

A study of Military System of Peshwas: - This research on the subject has been completed with the help of unpublished documents, primary reference materials, secondary reference materials, visits to important libraries, interviews with weapon collectors and photographs. I am submitting this research paper by following research methodology. I studied Peshwa Period Army with help of following points

6) Historical Background of Maratha Army

7) Division of Army

8) Armory

9) Artillery

10) Wars – Arsenal used during wars

In above chapters research paper is completed in detail.

6) Historical Background of Maratha Army: - This is first chapter of my research paper. Maharashtra's era is discussed in this chapter. Muslim invaders invaded India in Middle Ages and later they expand their Mughal Empire. Mughal's rise and fall is also discussed as well as Muslim Empires and Hindu Kingdoms. Yadav king 'Bhillam' of Devgiri established first Hindu kingdom of Devgiri. This rich and mighty kingdom of Devgiri fell down in 1318 AD. Inspired by Devgiri, King Harihar and King Bukk established Vijaynagar Empire at the bank of river Tungbhadra in 1336 AD. This second Hindu kingdom fell down in Talikot war in 1565 AD. Inspired by both Hindu

Kingdoms; in Maharashtra Hindavi Swarajya was established in 17th century. Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj belonged to northern warrior Shisode kin. Hindavi Swarajya established by him is an inspiration to Maharashtrians and Indians. All Muslim rulers were afraid of Hindavi Swarajya. After demise of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj in 1680 AD to 1707 AD Marathas were fighting with Mughal invaders. Aurangzeb invade in south in 1707 AD. After his death Maratha Empire expanded its rule with the help of their powerful and efficient army. Maratha Army is discussed in this thesis from period of 1600 AD to 1707 AD. Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj relived from Mughal custody in 1707 AD. Chhatrapati Shahu started Peshwai after his release. So this period of Peshwai is considered as 1707 AD to 1818 AD. Studying Peshwa Army, it is important to study all eight Peshwas; thus with the help of reference material I have discussed all important events, wars in Peshwa Period. In the leadership of First Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath, Balaji Bajirao Peshwa-I, Nansahab aka Bajirao Peshwa and Madhavrao Peshwa Maratha Empire became powerhouse in India. In the period of Madhavrao Peshwa-I Marathas overcome Panipat war defeat. Earlier period of Peshwai is important in every aspect. Period of Peshwa Narayanrao-V to Bajirao Peshwa-II Maratha Empire witnessed murder, internal discord, and plotting in Peshwai. Narayanrao's Murder, Barabhai's (regency council) plotting against current Peshwa, Raghunath Peshwa and Bajirao-II's alignment with British. Western powers were eager to finish Peshwai and wanted to rule India. Eventually they succeeded in 1818 AD by defeating Peshwas. First chapter covers rise and fall of Hindu Empires and Peshwas.

7) Division of The Army: - In this second Chapter with the study of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaja's period Army structure and Peshwa's Army Divisions are discussed. Point to be noted is in Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaja's period every important decision was taken by Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj, 'Ashtpradhan Madal's (Cabinet of Shivaji Maharaj) opinion wasn't mandatory to Shivaji Maharaj. Establishment of Maratha Army, empowerment of Maratha Army and changes in Maratha Army, made Maratha Army mighty and powerful. Under the king like Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj's visionary decisions his army is an inspiration to next generations. In Peshwa period, army has eight divisions like Shivaji period Maratha Army. But under the leadership of eight Peshwas we can see the changes in different divisions in Maratha Army. During Shivaji period battle area was limited to Maharashtra region and Sahyadri Mountains so infantry was important. In Peshwa period cavalry become more important as Bajirao Peshwa I started expanding Maratha Empire in North region. This topic is discussed in detailed this chapter.

Peshwa period infantry was trained to fight wars in Maharashtra's geographic conditions. Infantry training was given by old generation to new generation aspirants at home instead of training centres. Horse riding, wrestling, weapon training was included in traditional army training. Cavalier and their young ones used to present when army tactics were taught at army ground. We found proof that Nanasaheb aka Peshwa Balaji Bajirao III, Narayanrao Peshwa and Son of Mastani - Samsherbahaddar had army training. In Peshwa period

Marathas were active near North Narmada banks so infantry was less in numbers than cavalry. As per author 'Tone', "many cavaliers don't kept infantry." As per possibility of war, temporary infantry used to hire through local tribes and westerners. Peshwas used to give decent wages to infantry. Peshawa Balaji Vishwanath I's contribution is important in Peshwa period infantry as he created army chiefs in village houses. Peshwa used to give whole village revenue to build army. Conclusion is Peshwa period infantry was built according to need in war.

To discuss Peshwa period cavalry the Vedic period is considered. We found information that God named 'Vasu' created Horse with the help of Sun God to fight war. 'Gandhrva' hold rein and Indra (God of Gods) ride on the horse. One of the Pandava named Nakul in Mahabharat acquired the great knowledge of horses and stable through the study of Sanskrit scriptures. The book 'Pashuchikitsa' (veterinary medicine) was written in 13th century. Arya in Vedic period were known to keeping sharp and smart trained animals like horses. Women also trained to ride horses. As per Yadav period epigraph carved in 1218 a lady named Rohini Bhagaldevi was head of cavalry. In Middle Ages Sultans and Mughals had large cavalry. Sultan Allauddin Khilji started stamping horses to prevent smuggling of horses. In Shivaji period, cavalry was fast and active. Baargir and Shiledaar were types of soldiers. Though less in numbers in Shivaji period, cavalry was an inspiration to Indian as well as foreign rulers. Baargir and Shiledaar does exist Peshwa period. Even proof is found that women were trained to fight war. Lady named Gunwantabai was active in Peshwa period

Army. Like weapon training, horses were breed in houses in villages. Ashwi village located in Ahamadnagar was famous for horse breeding. Horse breeds in Maharashtra were named after rivers like Gangathadi, Bheemthadi, Prawarthadi, Neerthadi etc. Taking care of horses was as important as horse breeding. Injured in war or ill horses were taken care by special veterinary doctors. Age of horse was decided after examining his health of teeth. Peshwas appointed veterinary doctors to take care of their horses. What kind of treatment should be given if horse is injured or fell ill is documented in old Peshwa period letters. Horse breeds were named after region also, like Arabi, Turki, Irani etc. Every horse wasn't used in war. Some are used for carriages and some for goods carriers. Certain type of horse breed kept by Peshwa himself. Balaji Bajirao Peshwa had a horse named 'Kumed'. Meaning of 'Kumed' is even colour toned horse.

There were Peshwa's stable Near Shanivarwada byre. It was called 'Huzurpaga' (royal stable). As horses were kept in nearly every houses, there were place called 'gharpaga' (home stable) to keep horses. Not just men but women also active in this field. An officer to take care of stable used to called 'paagyaa'. If this 'paagyaa' has more than 500 horse riders, then he was honoured like cavalier. There were private stable and government stable.

Cavalry was important for war, so there was special provision for cavalry. The budget papers regarding cavalry are found in archives. During that period of time, there were constant battles were going on in India, victory is depended on cavalry so every Peshwa used to take good care of cavalry.

Comparing with infantry and cavalry, elephantry was rare. It was prestigious to keep an elephant. Elephants were kept to show of majesty and glory of the ruler. Mahout was appointed to take care of an elephants and to train them. It is mentioned in an ancient and middle age's literature that elephantry played an important role in ancient and medieval times. Vijayanagar king had large elephantry. Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj had elephants. As a symbol of glory Peshwas kept elephants. Elephantry was used in plain terrene battles. General used to ride on elephant to keep an eye on warfront. In Panipat war III Bhausahab Peshwa and Vishwas Rao Peshwa was sitting on elephant in first half of war. During the Peshwa period, an elephant named Pratap owned by Cavalier Panse was fed sugarcane worth rupees twelve per day. Cavalier Bhangvant Parasji was appointed for Peshwas elephantry. Mahout named 'Ali' also appointed to take care of elephants. As per letter of Krishnaji Gore from Peshwa period, male and female elephants were kept by Peshwas. Elephant named Fatelashkar, Krishnagaj, Andhali Hattin etc. are mentioned in documents. During Peshwa period, budget was planned for elephantry. Madhavrao Peshwa I ordered Nana Phadnis to plant sugarcane for elephants. Medicines for ill elephants, appointed mahout list, and cost of an elephant is mentioned in Peshwa period documents.

In the department of the Army, Camelry was an important department in Peshwa period. Where elephants could not be used, camels were used. Camels mostly used for transporting goods and documents. Female camel's fastest in this task which were called 'Sandani'. Chhatrapri Shivaji Maharaj had twelve

hundred camels from the enemy. Peshwas didn't use camels much, though they had nearly one thousand camels. Camels were used for transporting cannons, artillery and for transportation of royal family goods. Gosavi tribe used to sell camels from different regions to Pune. Camelry was decorated for Dasara festival procession. Ganpatrao Moreshwar was appointed as a head of camelry.

During Shivaji period there were special commando units. They had different uniforms and ornaments. There were no such special commando units in Peshwa period. Loyal and skilled soldiers used to take call in hard times of battle.

When it comes to army in Middle Ages, we can't ignore navy in this period because Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj wrote in his royal letter, 'navy is an organised body of empire.' Legacy of naval force dates back to Sindhu Culture in Indian continent. Our ancestors believed an empire should have active naval force. If we compare Hindavi Swarajya and Mughal Badshahi in Middle Ages, though Badshah ruled twenty-two regions in India, Mughals never had navy but Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj had active and powerful navy at western coasts of Maharashtra. Even westerners were scared of Shivaji's navy. Peshwas were armed with navy with skilled Sarkhel (Admiral) Kanhoji Angre. Kanhoji's admiral skills are discussed in this chapter. To put pressure on the indigenous and westerners were bound to ask permission to roam near Swarajya was the main intention behind navy in Shivaji period. Peshwas follow footsteps of Shivaji Maharaj, so till Peshwas were strong in position, British didn't dare to attack

Maratha Empire. British used divide and rule technique in the period of third Peshwa and defeat Peshwa's navy. After 3rd war of Panipat, Madhavrao Peshwa again rebuilt Navy. He appoints Anandrao Dhulap but there was dispute between Dhulap and another admiral officials and Peshwa's navy couldn't do more progress. We get more information about Peshwa period navy from unpublished documents. This is how the second chapter explains divisions of Maratha Army.

8) Armoury: - Peshwa period weapons are discussed in the chapter of Armoury. What is weapon? What was the role of weapons in human history? How weapons changed with civilization? These questions are discussed in this chapter. Weapons are mentioned in middle age period ancient and medieval period scriptures.

In ancient civilization human used to shaped stones and bones to create weapon for gaining food and self-defence. As human stop nomad life and start building huts, his struggle increased; which lead him to create small villages to attain statehood. Thus, weapons became integral part of human life. Weapons were used as destructive tools in ancient and mythological times. Weapons of this period were described as mantra-based, tantra-based (technique-based) and water-based weapons. Sword, javelin, mace, battle-axe, and axe likewise weapons are found in this period. At first, weapons were prepared for one-on-one fighting. Later in the period of epopee, weapons were created to battle with groups. In ancient times, India was self-sufficient in terms of armaments, so India's border was with Iran.

When it comes to power in medieval times, various types of weapons like Bow and arrow, cannons, guns were created in this period. Weapons were created and later their numbers were increased for self-defence, to establish and expand empire, and for war with an enemy. Important weapons in Shivaji period are mentioned as sword, shield, javelin, bow and arrow, small sword, maadu and saga etc. In ancient civilization human used to shaped stones and bones to create weapon for gaining food and self-defence. During the Peshwa period, the method of warfare also changed and the enemies also increased. Bajirao-I expanded the empire towards the north. Cavalry and artillery were more important during this period due to the rapid movement of troops and battles over plain terrains. Navy and cannon-armed cavalry were used to destroy foreign enemies on the west coast. Bajirao I was invincible warrior because he was aware of which weapon and tactics should be used against different enemies. During the Peshwa period, there was a change in the technique of warfare, so there was also a change in the weapons. Instead of reviewing many weapons, the important weapons of Peshwa era have been reviewed in this research paper.

Sword is important among all weapons. Sword has rich history. Swords are mentioned from the Indus civilization. Javelin also considered as an important weapon, this too mentioned from centuries in the history of wars. ‘Padatikunt’, ‘ashwakunt’, ‘gajakunt’ were the types of javelins. Bricks were used in wars in ancient period, it was a risky job. Dandapatta is a weapon that has edges on both sides and can be wielded with both hands. Agnibana (fiery arrow) was created as a

weapon during the Peshwa period. Many important weapons have been reviewed in this research paper like 'Barchi', 'Katyar', bow and arrow etc.

9) Artillery: - A prosperous army of any ruler means having every department of the army and making it efficient. Hence a military department like artillery has gained unique importance since time immemorial. Although the name of the artillery, the names of the cannons, their performance, the various sections and officers of the artillery changed over time, the section of the artillery continued to maintain its independent existence in the army. Therefore, while commenting on the Peshwa period artillery, looking at the relevant information of medieval artillery with ancient references, it seems that the artillery of this period also contributed well to the defence of Maratha power.

As man progressed from barbarism, he also needed protection, state formation, wars and armies. Cannons have been mentioned since the Vedic period. In Mahabharat, cannons are mentioned as 'bhande' and 'gaarbhande'. In ancient times both Hindu and Muslim rulers had cannons. Turkis used cannons in wars from 12th and 13th centuries. A traveller named Tarven says, "The explosives for the cannons were manufactured by India." He visited India in the eighth century. Cannon was used in 1368 for the Adoni fort in Karnataka, in 1784 by Muhammad Begda in Gujarat, and in 1526 by Mughal emperor Babur in the Battle of Panipat. After that gradually all rulers in India started using cannons and it became an important tactic of war. Reference of cannons and artillery are found in the period of Shivaji. There were cannons on battleships of Shivaji Maharaj. He used to buy new cannons and explosives from British. In

1674 Shivaji Maharaj bought 88 cannons and 3000 tone lead from French. Even in Chhatrapati Sambhaji Maharaj period cannon and artillery were used in war. Cannons were mounted on warships and merchant ships is mentioned in the book named Aadnyapatra (royal order letters by Shivaaji Maharaj). During the Peshwa period from 1717 to 1818, the fighting techniques were changed. It was mandatory to Marathas to keep cannons in artillery. All Peshwas paid special attention to artillery. Balaji Vishwanath, the first Peshwa, taught the rebel chieftain Damaji Thorat a good lesson by acquiring the artillery of the Emperor of Delhi. During the period of Bajirao Peshwa I, Peshwa decided to set up an independent artillery as there was a need for artillery while fighting against Nizam. Yashwantrao Panse and Madhavrao Panse were appointed on this task. These Panse brothers were trained by Muzaffar Khan and Khan got excellent training by French officer named Bussi. Bajirao Peshwa I used to buy cannons by north rulers. A letter dated 17th August 1732 shows that Bajirao I ordered a cannon called Tupak from Bundelkhand. During the reign of Balaji Bajirao Peshwa III, a capable artillery was raised under command of Ibrahim Khan Gardi. Artillery was also equipped during the reign of Madhavrao Peshwa I who came to the throne after battle of Panipat. He had started new factories for guns and firearms and tried to bring cannon named 'Kadak Bijali' in Pune. It is mentioned that thirty thousand cannonballs were bought during first Madhavrao's time. In 1764-65, a letter was sent from the Peshwa Darbar to Anandrao Bhikaji asking that guns Jay and Fattemubarak should be given to Gopalrao Govind while guns Jaywanti and Jwalabhavani should be sent to Pune.

Even during end of Peshwai period 1772 to 1818 cannonballs and artillery are mentioned in documents, it shows that Peshwa who came to the throne paid attention to artillery. People from Kasar community were appointed to manufacture cannons and cannonballs. Their wages and other references are found in letters from Peshwa period. In the end of Peshwai Nana Phadanwis was paying special attention to artillery. During this period, attempts were made to set up an ammunition factory at Bagalkot. There were new cannon manufacturing factory in Pune. The use of artillery, manufacture factory of cannons, and manufacture of ammunition is also mentioned during the reigns of Narayanarao Peshwa, Raghobadada, and Sawai Madhavrao. Artillery was used in the Battle of Kharda on 11 March 1795. Marathas had 192 cannons at that time. Peshwai came to end in the rein of last Peshwa Bajirao II. There were constant wars between Marathas and British. In all these wars Maratha artillery and artillery chief Panse worked faithfully. The last battle of Bapu Gokhale's life was fought at Gopal-Ashti near Pandharpur where Maratha's excellent artillery work amazingly. Ganpatrao Panse's 14-cannon artillery was in action at the Battle of Solapur Fort on 14 May 1818. Artillery always gave good support to the Peshwas but unfortunately the Peshwai ended despite the active artillery.

After reviewing Peshwa artillery it is important to learn about cannons and artillery because what is cannon? How are those being made? It is important to know about materials, craftsmen, preservation of cannons, cannonballs and gunnery. Cannon has been a weapon since ancient times. During the Vedic period, Ramayana, Mahabharata cannons were used in wars. In medieval times

Muslim invaders used cannons in different battles. Indian rulers also had the knowledge of cannons and artillery, just like the foreign countries. All rulers of ancient times used cannons to a greater or lesser extent in battles. Considering the use of cannons, it seems that generally all wars, be it on the plains or in the mountains, involved the use of cannons. Cannons were made that could be used in any weather and could be used from camels, elephants, bullock carts. Since Indian cannons were heavy, their performance on the battlefield was not satisfactory, but after the arrival of foreigners like the British in India, lighter cannons were introduced in the battlefield. But the knowledge of making light weighed cannons was kept secret from Indian rulers by westerners.

There is a lot of published and unpublished information about cannons and artillery during Peshwa period. With that help, an attempt was made to shed light on the artillery during Peshwa period. The two most important parts of artillery are cannons and cannonballs. Cannonballs were loaded into the cannon and fired. Cannonballs were made with stone, lead and iron. Men named Achandan Khan, Keshavseth Vasaikar were appointed to supply the Peshwa with ammunition and other materials required for making cannon balls. Like Peshwa Durbar, there were private factories of arms. Explosives for ceremonies and fireworks were manufactured in this private factory.

Marathas produced cannons weighing 7 to 12 sher; thus, dimension of cannonball produced by Marathas were sher likewise British used hundredweight. Peshwas doesn't have 18 departments and artillery like Shivaji period but they had a separate artillery. Cannon making, repairing and

decommissioning of cannons were done in manufacturing factory. Cannons were called 'iron jewellery' in Maratha period. Chieftains also had their private artillery. Malharrao Holkar had his own artillery. Cannonballs of appropriate weight were made by the Kasar community for artillery. An expert people from Konkan and Pune used to visit Peshwa court to prepare liquid metal for manufacturing cannons. Cannons called 'Garnala' were kept at different forts. These cannons were manufactured at Ahamadabad, Otur, Junnar, Nashik and Pune. In 1769 first manufacture factory of cannon was started in Pune. As cannons are important in navy, manufacture factories of cannon were located in Konkan. Cannons has different names like Jawlabhavani, Panchrasi, Jayvanti and Nagin etc. From this it is understood that the artillery of the Peshwa period was excellent. The labor required for cannons was obtained from different tribes like Brahmins, Cobbler, Goldsmiths, Kasar etc. Performing religious ritual by married woman was considered holy before starting manufacturing of cannons. Artillery was a department of Marathas where men and women belong to all cast and tribes were involved. Different officials of the Peshwas used to distribute wages by the government to cannon factory labour. There were daily wages, monthly salary and one and the half moth salary syatem. Cannon men were given prizes for special work. If someone was injured in the artillery, compensation was given by Marathas. Gadiwan (director of cannon) was an important job among the labourers working for the artillery. Laxman Shakar was the main Gadiwan and there were few other Gadiwans worked under him. There were rules about what kind of gunnery, how many Gadiwans were required and their

salary. There were regular Gadiwans but extra Gadiwans were hired if needed. This detail shows that the artillery section was comprehensive.

Religious rituals were performed for artillery and expenses were provided for it. Although the artillery department was a factory of destructive weapons, the rituals associated with it were important as it was the protector of the state. Auspicious time and inauspicious time for work were followed when starting work in manufacturing factory of cannons. Rulers used to perform holy ritual (pooja) for cannons and artillery. On festivals, Marathas used to take out processions by decorating cannons. Documents of the expenditure incurred in this regard are available in archives. Repairing cannons means cultivating cannons. Expense of repairing cannons starts from rupees five and above. While manufacturing the cannon in the artillery, the cannon is designed in five main parts. Thus, from all points of view artillery was good for defence and efficient on the battlefield.

10) Wars: - When studying army most important factor that comes up is war.

Combined effect of the departments that were functioning in the army can be seen only because of the war. Although war is never benevolent, war was a constant feature of life in ancient and medieval times. It was common practice in ancient and medieval period.

What is war? The answer is self-defence. Wars were fought for personal or communal protection. Although war is a small word, its scope is vast. The methods of warfare and weapons, ammunition, troops, animals used for it changed over the period. While studying the war system of Peshwa period, law

of war has been highlighted by reviewing the background in terms of prehistoric period, epic period, and historical period. During the period 1707 to 1818, changes in the military formation and warfare of Peshwas and transitions in the principles of warfare are discussed and presented with help of study materials of few but important issues of Peshwa period.

After death of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj, Chhatrapati Sambhaji Maharaj ascended throne between 1680 and 1689. During this period, Marathas' war against Mughals was a whirlwind. After demise of Chhatrapati Sambhaji, the period from 1689 to 1707 It was the time of independence war of Marathas. Entire Maharashtra became a war zone to save Hindavi Swarajya. Rulers, Cavaliers and masses were fighting against Mughals. During these eighteen years, principles of war during Shivaji's time are seen to have changed. Chhatrapati Shivaji's Army was a national army but during the war of independence it was decentralised, creating a picture of hereditary landlords and their army. As in the time of Shivaji, during this period too, the aim was to protect Swarajya, but principles had started to be compromised. During Peshwa period, Cavaliers had an army, so soldiers were paid through Vatandars (hereditary landlords). Peshwas allotted lands in Maharashtra to Cavaliers for the salaries of soldiers and paid a percentage of the arrears of recovery. Cavaliers used to recover revenue from their land accordingly. A certain amount of recovery was paid to the Peshwa Durbar (government) and distribution was carried out from remaining amount by Cavalier (Vatandar). That is, army of Peshwa period was army of Cavaliers or hereditary landlords. Gradually these

Vatandars became greedy, though they fought for state, they became more rebel and independent. Although military formations and military regulations changed, Peshwa period saw many notable wars. From which new rules of war were born. During this period, Marathas had internal enemies such as Mughal in the north, Nizam in Hyderabad and westerners. The war waged by each Peshwa gave birth to a different strategy. As it is not possible to cover all battles, some specific battles have been highlighted in this paper. Bajirao Peshwa, I fought 42 battles in a span of twenty years but the battles of Palkhed and Bhopal are of special significance, so these two battles are studied in this paper.

It is unfortunate that the Battle of Khed took place in October 1777 between two heirs of Shivaji Maharaj. After 18 years in Mughal captivity, Chhatrapati Shahu was rejected by Maharani (Queen) Tarabai as the heir to Swarajya. Because of this, the loyalty of many chieftains was at stake. Balaji Vishwanath fought this war diplomatically and Chhatrapati Shahu won. Instead of a real battle, it was a battle of diplomacy. Even with all the divisions of the army present, battle of the Khed was fought in different manner. Thus, definition of victory and defeat were changed with this battle. The battle of the Khed has been called the battle of diplomacy in many documents. This was followed by a battle in 1713 between first Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath and navy chief of Maratha Kanhoji Angre. Kanhoji had a stronghold on the west coast and he was loyal to Chhatrapati Shahu. But Maharani Tarabai forced them to rebel against Shahu. So Angre stood against Chhatrapati Shahu and this battle is popularly known in history as the battle between the ruler and the chieftain. However, Balaji Vishwanath, a loyal Peshwa,

turned the battle differently and Shahu won battle without shedding a single drop of blood despite the armies of both sides entering the battlefield. These two battles demonstrated the principle that even when powerful armies of both sides faced each other on the battlefield, coordination and loss could be avoided.

Peshwa period from 1720 to 1740 is a glorious period due to Peshwa Bajirao I. Palkhed battle was the defeat of a large and experienced enemy like Nizam by young Bajirao Peshwa. The existence of Marathas in Maharashtra was not acceptable to Nizam, so he was constantly challenging Chhatrapati Shahu with the help of queen Tarabai. He had great artillery. Nizam, who dreamed of defeating Peshwas with the help of superior artillery, was caught in such a quandary that he had to surrender to Peshwa unconditionally. Everyone thought that Peshwas were victim when powerful and aggressive Nizam attacked Bajirao. But Peshwa used a unique aggressive strategy in battle and defeated Nizam. The artillery on which Nizam depended and the army of which he was immensely proud, Bajirao destroyed before him in a helpless condition. Peshwa Bajirao, I forced Nizam to come to Palkhed, the battlefield that Peshwa desired. Nizam himself with a few men stood on one bank of Godavari and his army and artillery on the other. This battle of Palkhed took place in 28 February 1728, in which Nizam was severely defeated.

Another famous battle of Bajirao Peshwa I's reign is the Battle of Bhopal. Palkhed and Bhopal, two battles fought against same enemy, are proudly mentioned in the history of world battles. Battles of Palkhed and Bhopal can be

described as enemy is same, guerrilla warfare is same, method of bringing enemy to desired battlefield through diplomacy is same, and result of battle is same, only battlefield is different. In 1737, Nizam had left for Delhi with his army. Nizam had taken with him a large army, artillery and many fighting allies. One of Nizam's sons Ghaziuddin was in Delhi while other son Nasirjung was near Aurangabad. Nizam and Nasirjung were planning to trap Bajirao Peshwa I. But opposite happened, Nizam found himself trapped in Bhopal between Bajirao and Chimaji Appa. While Nizam stayed at Bhopal with his army, Bajirao Peshwa I besieged the city of Bhopal. The conditions of the besieged Nizam deteriorated to such an extent that elephants and horses of his army had to feed on tree bark and pond grass, grains became expensive four times, Nizam's army did not get even water supply. His son Nasirjung was stopped in the south by Chimaji Appa. Bewildered on all sides, Nizam surrendered to Bajirao. The Peshwa's military prowess, diplomacy, guerrilla tactics, and swift movements became well-known after this battle. Like Palkhed, battle of Bhopal was also famous in India.

Bajirao Peshwa, I fought forty-two battles with a vindictive attitude and hoist the saffron flag of Marathas proudly high, Indians were in awe of Maratha's valour. Unfortunately, Third Panipat War of 1761 wiped out all achievements of Marathas. Nanasaheb alias Balaji Bajirao was third Peshwa who ascended as a Peshwa in 1740. Rein of Nasaheb Peshwa was bright and glorious, however third battle of Panipat, suffered a major blow to the Peshwai. This battle was fought between Marathas and Ahmad Shah Abdali of Iran. Actually, Marathas had nothing to do with Abdali, But the Ahmadiya Pact signed between Badshah of

Delhi and Maratha chieftains Shinde-Holkar on 23 May 1752 led to Marathas being dragged into Panipat War. Abdali was repeatedly attacking and plundering Delhi. He was constantly trying to dominate Delhi. Badshah wanted Marathas to protect Delhi from Abdali, so Marathas marched towards Delhi with an army on 14 March 1761. Sadashivbhau Peshwa and Vishwarao Peshwa were leading the Marathas. About 10 to 11 months passed between the march of Marathas, the march of Abdali and arrival of the armies on both sides at Panipat battlefield. Although this battle is famous in history, it was fought only on one day, 14 January 1761. As soon as Marathas conquered Kunjpura, it was a policy of war to attack it immediately but Sadashivbhau wasted almost two and a half months waiting for Abadi to attack. Abdali, who had no expectation of victory, was victorious in this battle and Marathas were severely defeated. This war was so terrible that even the victorious Abdali was affected by it. If we consider progress of both parties to the battlefield, strength of army, diplomacy, strategy, structure of army, it can be concluded that Abdli could not digest victory, but Marathas proved their superiority again after suffering a heavy defeat.

Stigma of Third Panipat War was washed away during the reign of Madhavrao Peshwa. At Panipat, Marathas had retreated in all areas, perception that 'Marathas were finished' was spread among all the powers in India. But Madhavrao Peshwa, who came to the throne soon after Nanasaheb Peshwa's death in 1761, revived the Maratha power during his eleven-year reign. The Battle of Rakshasbhuvan on 10th August 1763 turned out to be milestone of Madhavrao

Peshwa's reign. Nizam of Hyderabad was an old enemy of Marathas. Defeat of Marathas on Panipat battlefield was golden opportunity for Nizam. Before this battle there was a treaty between Raghunath Peshwa and Nizam but Nizam deceived Raghunath and decided to attack Marathas. Nizam had a large army and efficient artillery and a brilliant general like Vitthal Sundar who was considered as three and the half genius people of the era of Peshwai. Nizam marched with his army to Rakshasbhuvan on the banks of the Godavari. At that time a situation arose where Nizam was on one bank of the Godavari and Nizam's army, artillery and Vitthal Sundar were on the other bank. Peshwa's Maratha army attacked and defeated Nizam's army and artillery and captured Vitthal Sundar to behead him. Nizam had to watch these tragic events from the other bank of Godavari. In this war, Marathas got 15 elephants, 25 cannons, many animals and a huge amount of military equipment. The battle of Rakshasbhuvan, won by Peshwas under very adverse conditions, proved to be a crushing blow to Maratha enemies. This battle proved that Maratha power was not over. After the glorious reign of Madhavrao Peshwa, so many strange events took place in Peshwai that Peshwai began to decline. Murder of Narayanrao who came to the throne after Madhavrao in Shaniwarwara, Raghoba's right to the title of Peshwa from Satara, plotting of barbhai (regency council), Birth of Sawai Madhavrao who became Peshwa at the age of 40 days after birth, all these incidents show how bad Maratha Power was going through. From 1774 to 1795 Sawai Madhavrao was on throne, but actual Peshwa power was held by Nana Phadnavis. Battle of Kharda, which took place during very last days of Sawai Madhavrao, was the last chapter of proud history

of Marathas. Third battle of Panipat tells the story of the defeat of Marathas while the battle of Kharda tells the story of the final victory of Marathas. A pitched battle at Kharda ensued as the Peshwa demanded unpaid Chauthai (revenue) from the Nizam. As soon as the demand of tax was rejected by Nizam, Peshwa and the chieftains like Shinde, Holkar, Bhosale attacked Nizam. Kharda is a village on the road from Bidar to Pune, there were a fort at Kharda. Marathas had more military strength than Nizam and the artillery of Marathas was excellent. Marathas besieged Kharda fort in which Nizam took refuge and opened fire on the fort. Nizam was once again defeated by Marathas. Peshwas themselves achieved spectacular success in this battle. Nizam begged for a treaty. In this treaty, Peshwas received five crores of rupees as war expenses, taxes due from the Nizam, the fort of Daulatabad and land near fort. Maratha rulers and Punekar (people of Pune) were so happy with the victory in this battle that people of Pune gave a grand welcome to Peshwa. Unfortunately, Sawai Madhavrao died soon after this battle. On 4th December 1796 the last Peshwa, Bajirao Peshwa II ascended the throne.

Western enemies like British had been keeping an eye on Maratha Empire since the time of Chhatrapati Shivaji. British could not enter Maratha Empire until the period of Shivaji, Sambhaji and the Treaty of Surat, but efforts of British to destroy Maratha power continued. Peshwas ruled over three quarters of Indian region. When the Peshwai ended, the whole of India would come under British rule. It started with Raghunathrao Peshwa's Treaty of Surat. From the Treaty of Surat to year 1818, there were three wars between Marathas and British. First

British-Maratha war lasted for about eight years, in which Marathas were victorious. But British realized the discords, selfishness, inadequate forces and outdated weapons among Marathas in this war. Second and third British - Maratha wars escalated during the reign of Bajirao II. British defeated Marathas by using diplomacy in this battle. Western power witnessed the decline of Maratha power in the battles at Ashti, Khadki and Yerwada. Finally, after last battle of Yerwada, Peshwas left Pune and on 17 November 1817, British flag was hoisted at Shaniwar Wada. These last three British-Maratha wars were fought to preserve the existence of Maratha power. Last battle of Yerawada was the last battle of Peshwas in Pune area. After this battle, circular flight of Peshwas began. Bapu Gokhale, the general of Peshwas, was fighting fiercely. Marathi power was heading towards failure due to British and traitor chieftains. In such circumstances, on 1 January 1818, British and Bajirao II's armies came face to face at Koregaon on the banks of Bhima River. Marathas were defeated. As British won the battle, erected a victory pillar at Koregaon. After this Peshwa left for Satara. After Koregaon battle, Peshwas were on the run with army for nearly nine months. They were resisting the British as much as possible. Historian Sardesai calls this escape of Peshwas 'Dhavata Vedha' (Running Siege). While Peshwas were on their way to Pandharpur, they encountered British. Bapu Gokhale, general of Peshwa, was killed in this battle on 20 February 1818. Peshwas took refuge in Solapur fort. British got all the war material of Marathas and treasure of one crore of Peshwas. Historians consider the battle of Gopal-Ashti to be the last battle between Marathas and British, but it is clear from new evidence that Marathas lost to British later at Solapur. For three

months after the battle of Gopal-Ashti, Peshwa stayed with the army in the fort of Solapur. Chhatrapati Pratapsinha and his brother were also with them at that time. Maratha army and Ganpat Panse's artillery were operating in Solapur. Later Peshwas left for Madhya Pradesh along with family after giving instructions to chieftains and the army. In May 1818, British attacked Solapur Fort with a large army. With the help of traitorous Maratha chieftains, help of the Nizam and policy of divide and rule, British won. When Peshwas heard news of complete destruction of Maratha power, they surrendered to British at Dhulkot. Maratha power came to an end with signing of the British-Bajirao II Treaty.

After learning about the important wars of the Peshwa era, it is necessary to shed light on the science of warfare, war camps and their various parts. Examining the context from ancient to medieval times, it is clear that war has become an integral part of human life. For this, the rulers used to study war tactics and war science. War science is the science created for protection of our state and subjects. This includes creating army, divisions of army, training troops and obtaining geographical information of the surrounding area. A ruler has to study history and increase his military strength as well as create war material to protect and to expand his kingdom. The battle camp has a special importance in the art of war. According to the rules of architecture, war camp should be arranged in a round, oval and rectangular shape. There should be a moat or rampart around the camp. War camp should have four gates, six roads and nine divisions. The camp should have a separate arrangement for the ruler and for an entertainment artist. Detective department should be efficient. Guards of the war camp should be constantly

changed. Tents in Peshwa's camp were so comfortable that their family preferred to stay in tents.

There were markets for various goods in the war camps and the markets of the army chiefs were also held in the camps. But cleanliness was neglected in such markets. There were places of worship and ceremonies in war camps along with markets. As Chhatrapati Shahu stayed with Mughals for 18 years, he was influenced by Mughal system. Hence, women were also included in war campaigns. The progress of the war campaigns was very slow. All the rules of war camps and expeditions of Chhatrapati Shivaji's time were changed during Peshwa period. Therefore, instead of being agile and fast, war camps became slow, flashy and sluggish. When Peshwa's camp was set, Biniwale used to set flag over the camp. Around Peshwa's tent, tents of chieftains were arranged in a circular pattern. War camp tents and living conditions of Peshwa period were luxurious.

The inclusion of family and women in the camp became a point of destruction during Peshwa period. During Shivaji's time, no woman was included in war camp, but during Peshwa period, wives of Peshwas, chieftains' and officers' families started including the camps. This was one of the reasons for defeat of Marathas in the Battle of Panipat. Actually, it's written in a book named 'Kautilya Arthashastra' that women should be appointed as spies in war camp and these trained female spies should use their beauty to extract news from the enemy.

There were spies in war camps. Spies are eyes and ears of a ruler. So, Shivaji created a separate spy agency with an excellent spy of his era, Bahirji Naik. Such trained spy system did not exist during Peshwa period, but a group of spies was attached to the army. During Peshwa period, spies also worked as messengers. A duo of spies' work in pairs in Peshwa period. Navaji Naik and Rangoji Naik were a famous pair of spies. Names like Jasood Jodi, Kashid Jodi are mentioned for spies working in pairs. The spies had a good knowledge of the roads.

The ruler had to have control over spy agency. Due to this lack of control over spies in battle of Panipat, Marathas suffered a lot. Another important element in Maratha army camp was the Pendhari tribe. Chhatrapati Shivaji never included the Pendharis in the army because tendency of the Pendhari tribe was looting. Pandharis were included in army during the reign of Bajirao III. Pendhari was an independent tribe who used to loot in gangs. It is written in ancient scriptures that this tribemen should be employed in the army. States in which Pendharis lived used to plunder enemy on king's campaign route. They would give a certain portion of the booty to the king and support themselves with the rest. Berad was also a tribe like the Pendharis. Pendharis used to get weapons and war material from government. At the time of the Panipat war, there was a separate contingent of Pendharis. During the first Madhavrao period some Pendharis wrote to Peshwa asking for permission to stay in Maratha war camp. Madhavrao Peshwa started the practice of charging 5 rupees for Pendhari's tents in Maratha war camp. There was a rule that horses, palanquins, flags, kettledrum obtained in the loot should

be deposited with government by the Pendharis. Madhavrao made use of Pendhari tribe for war camps but also formulated rules for them to control their tendency of looting. The rent paid by the Pendharis for tent was called 'Palpatti'. As Pendhari tribe was famous for swift movement, accurate shooting and looting, their skills were used in the war camps during Peshwa period. The war camps of Peshwa period suggest medieval war camps. Aurangzeb's war camp on the banks of river Krishna in 1695 is an important example for a comparative study of war camp. French traveler Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri went to visit Badshah's war camp at Galgali in Bijapur. The French traveller says that the war camp of Badshah was spread 30 miles in area, magnificent, grand, and gigantic in size.

Thus, this chapter has elaborately described the wars and camps of the Peshwa period and examined them through 13 to 14 points.



Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth

Declared as a Deemed to be University Under Section 3 of UGC Act 1956
Reaccredited by NAAC with 'B++' Grade
ISO21001 : 2018 Certified



Plagiarism Report

Ph.D.

Date- 27/11/2024

Kulkarni Priya

Department – History

PRN.- 02118004092

Title – “ A STUDY OF MILITARY SYSTEM OF THE PESHWA ”

Chapter 1 INTRODUCTION	8%
Chapter 2 REVIEW OF LITERATURE	6%
Chapter 3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	6%
Chapter 4 ANALYSIS & INTERPRETATION	9%
Chapter 5 CONCLUSION/FINDINGS/RECOMMENDATIONS	6%

Head, Ph.D. Department