Chapter V

Chikkadevaraja’s Relations with Rajaram

1689-1700

On the capture of Sambhaji by the Mughals the edifice of the Maratha State built up by Shivaji seemed to fall to pieces. All the top-ranking people of Maharashtra instantly convened a council with Yesu Bai as its President. The council decided to enthrone the younger brother of Sambhaji as the regent. Upon that Rajaram rose up and delivered an inspiring speech calling upon all those that gathered there to forget anger and resentment at Sambhaji and to render their selfless service to the country. ¹ Keladi Nripa Vijaya says that “Ramaraja (Rajaram) brother of Sambhaji was crowned”. ² But Rajaram Charitam says that Rajaram refused to be crowned. He remained loyal to Shivaji II as Bharatha did to Rama famed in Ramayana. ³ It is quite likely that Rajaram remained uncrowned but did the work of a crowned prince.

Rajaram left Paigad with his followers and established himself at Pratapgarh. But Paigad was captured along with Yesubai and Shivaji II by Zulfikar Khan on 3 November 1689 after a siege of eight months. ⁴ Chikkadevaraja from the south and Aurangzeb from

¹ Sarkar: House of Shivaji, p. 335.
² Ke.N.V., p.160; v.77: Nere tatsambhaji ya Sodaranenisuva Ramarajamurupattavananthu. Here Linganna Kavi calls Rajaram as Ramaraja.
³ Rajaram Charitam, pp.9-10.
⁴ Shivaji Souvenir, p. 32.
the north troubled the Marathas. A Mughal force descended to Pratapgad to exterminate the Marathas including Rajaram but very soon Rajaram left the place and took up his residence at Panhala. But that fort was also won after a bitter fight by the Mughals. Realising the seriousness of the situation, Rajaram decided to leave the place. Rajaram left Panhala about the end of June 1689 and after many perilous adventures and a period of concealment in the Bednur and Bangalore territories, reached Vellore in the last week of October and entered Gingee in humble disguise four days later. Thus the Mughal-Maratha struggle in the region of Maharashtra and the shifting of the Maratha centre from Panhala to Gingee afforded a golden opportunity for Chikkadewaraja to make conquests in the south and south-east of Mysore.

The perilous adventures of Rajaram and his party in the region of Karnataka are interesting factors in the Mysore-Maratha relations. Being pursued by the Mughal detachment, Rajaram and his followers passed the difficult and narrow route of Sahyadri and stepped on the soil of the Bednur kingdom. Sojourning at Ponnali (Honnali) in Shimoga District, Rajaram sent words to Channammaji, the ruler of Bednur kingdom seeking her help. The help that Rajaram wanted was that his party should be escorted to

Ginge without being attacked by the Mughals. The help that was needed by Rajaram landed Channammaji in a dilemma. In the first place, the Bednur Nayaks and the Marathas had been on friendly terms and since Rajaram himself had come to Bednur in his distress, it was but natural that she should help him. Secondly, since the Mughals and the Marathas were on hostile terms, any attempt on the part of Channammaji to accord help to the Marathas would naturally bring about the Mughal invasion of Bednur. Lastly, Channammaji thought that Mysore also might rise up in arms against her. What Channammaji thought came out true in later years. The Mughals and the Mysore Raja invaded Bednur and caused incalculable havocs.

Channammaji wished to take the advice of his ministers on the point of helping the Marathas. She convened the council of ministers and appraised them of the real situation. They decided in favour of supporting the Marathas because they considered that it was impolitic to deny aid even to the enemy if he would come to their doors. Thereupon Channammaji welcomed Rajaram and his followers warmly, treated them kindly and supplied them with all the necessary facilities to pass through her kingdom unperceived by the Mughals. Thus Channammaji rendered

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1. Ke. N.V., IX, p. 161 Shivajiya putranenippaamarajam Pannaliyam palavanambahadadaidi Pannaliyam pokru tanaitandu pokka vrittanta vallamam Channammajiyavarigaruhisi Mogalarge gochara magadanthu mimmagadi rajvadim Chandige dantisi kodalvelkendu bahu prakaradam pelisal. Kincaid and Parasnis (A.H.Y.F., p. 158) say that Channamma was a feudatory of the Maratha king. It is difficult to agree with this view because Bednur was not a tributary state of Maharashtra. In fact the Nayaks of Bednur and the Marathas were on friendly terms.

her help to the Marathas in their difficulties.

The result of her policy with the Marathas was that she had to defend her capital against the formidable invasion of Jan Misar Khan, the Mughal general, who was sent by Aurangzeb in pursuit of the Maratha fugitives. The Mughal general demanded the Rani to surrender the Maratha prince and his followers. Channammaji told the Mughal general that the Marathas were not in her kingdom. In order to purchase the retreat of the Mughals, she presented them with some costly jewels and clothes. This diplomacy did not work smoothly. The Mughal general received the presents, captured four Maratha fugitives, namely, Ruppaji Bhosle, Santaji, Jagadaba Manoji and Raja Pao and sent them to Aurangzeb complaining that the Rani was repugnant to deliver the Maratha prince.1 Aurangzeb sent his son Azambar to invade Rednur in cooperation with Jan Misar Khan. The combined Mughal army took possession of the fortresses of Mahadevapura and Anandapur in Shimoga District and finally laid siege to Rednur itself. Channammaji's life was in danger. She escaped to Bhuvanagiri, a fortress near Rednur, from where she directed her attacks. A terrible battle was fought between the two armies under the walls of Rednur.2

As to whom won the victory, sources differ. First Linganna Kavi says that the Mughals suffered defeat and concluded

2. Ibid., pp. 162-163.
a treaty with Channammaji. Secondly, the Portuguese Viceroy in his letter of 1691 to the king of Portugal describes that Channammaji was forced to sue for peace with the Mughals. 

Thirdly, according to the Persian source the war was waged between the Mughals and the Marathas on the Bednur territory which at last came to a speedy termination by the intervention of Rani Channammaji who purchased peace by paying small ransom. "Santa (Santaji) triumphantly opposed them, till at last the matter was settled by the Rani paying a small fine under the name of tribute." These sources reveal that the Marathas under Santaji combined with the Bednur army and fought against the Mughal army.

It is quite likely that Channammaji, realising the horrors of war, neutralised the hostility and brought the war to a close by paying ransom to the Mughals. Thus Channammaji suffered in men and materials for having helped the Maratha prince. Her relations with the Mughals were strained greatly.

No sooner the Mughal danger was over another difficulty was offered itself. The protection offered to the Marathas and the fight with the Mughals were the factors which Chikkadevaraja could not ignore. Chikkadevaraja took Channammaji to task for her pro-Maratha policy by projecting his schemes of conquest in the direction of the Bednur kingdom. In April 1690 Bagadl was occupied and in the subsequent month Harpanahalli and Banavara

1. Ibid.
2. Appendix-6
were taken. Thimmappaiya, the Mysore Dalvoy, went and reduced Kadur, Sakrepatna and 'astharel in June and August, Chikkamagalur and Maharajanadurga in the same month, August 1690. Thus Chikka- devaraja annexed a number of territories in the kingdom of Bednur. Channammaji could not prevent the expansion of Mysore because the Mughals on the one side and the Mysore Raja on the other conducted atrocious wars, attacked a number of her territories and caused incalculable havocs in her kingdom. She had neither the adequate army nor the well-filled treasury to cope with the situation. Thus for her pro-Maratha policy, Channammaji suffered heavily both from the Mughals and the Mysoreans.

As to the objectives with which these conquests are made, C. Hayavadana says that it was to justify the title, "Karnataka Chakravarthi", Chikka devaraja projected this campaign of conquest in the direction of Ikkeri. This statement is not based on any evidence. A few territorial conquests in the direction of Ikkeri were not sufficient to justify his title, Karnataka Chakravarthi. There were some important towns such as Kolar, Doddaballapur and others which were not conquered by Chikka devaraja and the conquests of which were very essential to call himself "Karnataka Chakravarthi. Any way the object of these conquests was to punish Channammaji for her policy of aiding the Marathas.

Adverting to the flight of Bajaram across the Karnatak

region, it must be noted that the Maratha party arrived in Bangalore which was then under the control of Chikkadevaraja. The Mysore-Mughal contact made the Mughals move freely in the Mysore kingdom. The Mughal vigilant guards were already in Bangalore. The way in which the treatment was accorded to Fajaram by his followers made the Mughal officers suspicious of the party. The impending danger was averted by the devoted loyalty of Vondalallai Chitnis who advised Fajaram to leave the place as early as possible. He chose to remain on the spot maintaining successfully his character as one of the pilgrims to Rameswaram. Fajaram went by one route and Prabhad Miraji by another route. Those that staved were subjected to severe torture by the Mughal officers but their loyalty to the Maratha cause was such that they never disclosed their identity. Thus the Marathas escaped the wrath of the Mughal officers at Bangalore.

Chikkadevaraja did not take any step to bar the movements of the Marathas because as long as his territories remained unaffected by their movements, there was no reason for him to worry. Moreover, the Marathas were marching swiftly under the guise of pilgrims to Rameswaram frequently feeding with the Mughal danger and as such it might have been impossible for the Raja to find out their identity and to adopt effective steps to deal with them. And more than that, since the Mughals were in pursuit of the Marathas to destroy them completely in the south, the task of Chikkadevaraja in dealing with the Marathas was comparatively less. On the whole

nothing particular happened in Chikkadevaraja's relations with
the Marathas when Bajaram and his followers were in Bangalore.

At Channapatna an event of great importance took place
which strained the Mysore-Maratha relations. The old officers
of Golkonda who had been taken to the service of the Mughals
turned disloyal owing to the autocratic authority of Aurangzeb.
They were ready to join the Marathas. The two Golkonda officers
Vachama Navak and Ismail Maka deserted the Mughal cause and made
alliance with Bajaram through the mediation of the Peshwa Vilo
Moreshwar Dingle at Channapatna. Jedhe Sakavali says, "Vachappa
Nair, Ismail Khan and 4000 cavalry of the Mughals rebelled and
interviewed Bajaram through Milopant at Chennapatna".¹ There
were certain reasons for the Golkonda officers to turn disloyal
and make friendship with the Marathas. Eversince the days of
the Shivaji's Karnatak expedition, Golkonda Sultan and the Marathas
had been on friendly terms. The Golkonda Sultan had financed the
Karnatak expedition of Shivaji and had supported Sambhaji in his two
devastating Mysore expeditions. But Aurangzeb had destroyed
Golkonda and forcibly taken the Golkonda army under his service.
When the Golkonda officers were despatched in search of the Maratha
fugitives, they joined the Marathas at Channapatna. It is said
that with this army the Marathas subdued Channapatna and descended
to the south after posting two Maratha officers, Ekoji and Shivaji
to govern the Channapatna principality. It is not quite likely

¹. Shivaji Souvenir, pp. 32-33.
that Rajaram conducted the military operation at Channapatna, because Rajaram was moving with all his rapidity in order to escape the vigilance of the Mughals. Therefore any delay in his project would be dangerous. Further he had taken the discontented Golconda officers into his service and thereby had given sufficient offence to the Mughal emperor. Therefore reaching of a secure place, namely Gingee to defend himself against the Mughal onslaught was his immediate concern. Moreover, Rajaram had left Panhala on 25 September 1689 and reached Vellore on 28 October. It is known that Rajaram had gone through many adventures after leaving Panhala. If Rajaram stood at Channapatna conducting the military operation, it would not have been possible for him to reach Vellore in October 1689. Therefore, Santaji Ghorpade who had fought against the Mughals in close cooperation with the Bednur army under the walls of Bednur fort might have plundered the Jagadeva Raval's principality and taken possession of Channapatna.

The conquest of Channapatna by the Marathas attracted the attention of Chikkadevaraja. The Mysore army was despatched to Channapatna where a terrible battle was fought in which the Marathas were defeated and pursued. Thus the attempt of the Marathas to take Channapatna was foiled. The result of this battle was that the relations between the two powers were strained

2. C.3in., pp. 18-19.
greatly. Each party tried to overwhelm the other and exploit the situation for its own advantage.

Before the fighting began at Channapatna between the two armies, Rajaram and his followers left that place and towards the middle of October 1689, they reached Srirangapatna. Edward Scott Waring writes, "Rama upon the murder of his brother fled closely pursued by the enemy to Seringapatam. He effected his escape across the Cauvery with only two of his followers and retired into Gingee". Since he was going with only two of his followers, that too, under the guise of Lingayat pilgrims, no event of any serious nature seemed to have taken place at Srirangapatna. If there was any trouble to the Marathas from Mysore, Kannada sources would have mentioned it. But as we see there is no mention of any Mysore – Maratha conflict at Srirangapatna in the contemporary Kannada sources.

Rajaram and his followers reached Gingee in October 1689 and established the Maratha court. This meant to the Mughals the rise of a new Maratha power in Gingee. War began more vigorously than before between the Mughals and the Marathas. The result of Aurangzeb's idea of exterminating the Marathas was that he was compelled to spend the last years of his life in tents and miserable camps.

On his arrival in Gingee, Rajaram made an appeal to all

the persons in the Maratha Government to join him and to strengthen his hand to meet the Mughal danger. The East India Company record of 1689 says, "Rajaram on his arrival, sent a summon to all in any considerable employment in the Government to make their appearance before him". His aim was reported to be "to divert the Mughal army from his kingdom of Gingee and join with several Hindu Nayaks and raise a considerable army to retake the Golkonda and Bijapur kingdom". On 22 March 1690 Rajaram wrote to the Deshmukh of Kari, "we have enlisted on arrival in the Karnatak forty thousand cavalry and a lac and a quarter of infantry. The local palegars and fighting elements are fast rallying to the Maratha standard".

Having strengthened his position, Rajaram turned his attention towards the Mysore territorial possessions in the south. He recovered places like Paramathl, Namkal and Dharmapuri from Mysore and strengthened the Maratha principality. Mysore could not prevent the Maratha aggression because it was at war with Bednur. The war continued for nearly seven months (April 1690 - September 1690) during which time the Marathas had wrested all the territories of Mysore in the south and south-east. So far as the Mysore-Maratha relations were concerned, it can be said that their relations went from bad to worse. They never lived as peaceful neighbours. One's difficulty was another's opportunity. They

1. Madras Diary, 14 November and 6 December 1689.
never realised the essence of unity in face of the Mughal danger. Unable to withstand the Mughal expansion in the south, Mysore became the Mughal ally and the Marathas put up a stout opposition but after realising the futility of further resistance, they quitted the south for Maharashtra.

The existence of the Maratha kingdom at Gingee with civil and military establishments created a new problem to Aurangzeb. He was not a person to budge even an inch from his determined resolution. He met the challenge of the Marathas at its own level. He despatched Zulfikar Khan, son of Asad Khan (one of the ministers of Aurangzeb) at the head of a big army with instructions to reduce Gingee.\(^1\) Passing by way of Raichur, Karnul, Kadapa, Rednur, Channapatna and Mysore, Zulfikar Khan arrived in Gingee in September 1690 and immediately laid siege to the fort of Gingee.\(^2\) In order to strengthen Zulfikar Khan, Aurangzeb detached his son, Kambaksha with additional reinforcements. The siege continued for several years. Zulfikar Khan was not sincere in his purpose. He entered into a secret understanding with Rajaram. Both of them agreed that they should establish independent Government in the south. The secret treaty was concluded on the assumption that Aurangzeb would die soon and that his death would be followed by the war of

\(^1\) Ke. N.V., IX, p. 163, V.89. Rajaram Chandiya pokka varthamanam: Aurangazebra pathusaham keldu balikkam tanna mantrivada Asat Khanana maga Jalpura KhanaAndane herala saiyamam kudisi teracle
\(^2\) Ibid., Avanu atvantatopadim teraldaitandu Chandiya gadakke muttigevanikkal.
\(^3\) Ibid.
succession among his sons. But to their misfortune Aurangzeb lived longer. Wilks says, "the tedious and ill-conceived siege of this eastern Troy prolonged for many years, by the treachery, cabals and intrigues of the chiefs and by a secret struggle between a prince of the blood and Zulfecar Khan for the independent sovereignty which each of them had desired to establish in his own person. The attack and defence were equally a theatrical exhibition, in which the chief actors performed their concerted parts".  

The secret treaty which was the basis for the prolonged siege of the Gingee fort was made use of by the Marathas to attempt territorial conquests in that region. Santaji Ghorpade was an ambitious Maratha. He arrived in Gingee with 15,000 horse on 14 December 1692. This gave added strength to the Marathas. Santaji went and occupied Trichinopoly without much difficulty. Rajaram visited the spot in person. Unable to resist the Maratha aggression, the Navak of Madura entered into a treaty with Rajaram on 10 April 1693, according to which he gave away Trichinopoly to the Marathas. The loss of Trichinopoly had something to do with Mysore. Trichinopoly was a disputed territory. The three contending parties, namely, the

2. Wilks, I, p. 229. The records of Fort St. George, the Memoirs of Francois Martin (recently edited by A. Martineau, ex-Governor of Pondicherry and published in 3 volumes, 1933), Jadhav Sakavali and Keladi Kripa Viljava give an account of details of the politics and Military operations of the Gingee country.
Nayak of Madura, the king of Mysore and the Marathas had laid claim to it. Mysore had claimed it because Chokkanatha Nayak of Madura, in his anxiety to relieve himself from the clutches of the usurper commander namely, Rustam Khan, had appealed to Chikkadevaraja for help. Chikkadevaraja had sent his military help and relieved the Nayak from his difficulties. In return for his help, Chikkadevaraja had demanded the surrender of Trichinopoly to Mysore. But Chokkanatha Nayak had turned deaf ear to the Mysore demand and in alliance with Harji Mahadik and Ekoji, had defended Trichinopoly. The Marathas had pretended to help the Nayak but their real motive had been to occupy Trichinopoly. The occupation of Trichinopoly was not accomplished by the Marathas in 1682 but Santaji Ghorpade finished it in 1693.

Chikkadevaraja who planned "the conquest of the dominions of the Nayak of Madura" was sorely disappointed by the Maratha occupation of Trichinopoly. By 1693 the Marathas were in possession of important Mysore territories such as Paramathi, Namakal and Dharmapuri. Since Mysore was not reconciled to the loss of Trichinopoly, war between the Marathas and the Mysore Raja was inevitable. The Marathas did not continue the policy of conquering Mysore territories because the Mughals intensified their activities involving the Marathas in life and death struggle. It was only in 1696 that the Marathas came into bitter conflict with the Mysore Raja.

Santaji Ghorpade who was operating at Gingee, had quarrelled

1. See Chapter on Sambhaji.
with Pajaram and retired, whereupon Dhanaji was appointed
Commander-in-Chief in 1693.¹ Shankarji Pant advised Santaji
properly and sent him to the Karnatak with an army of 25,000
troops to assist Pajaram in October 1694.² Santaji Chorpade
descended to the Karnatak plundering the towns and villages on
the way. Learning this, Aurangzeb despatched Kanazad Khan from
the imperial camp to assist Khasim Khan in intercepting the
raiders. Towards the end of 1693, Khasim Khan was attacked by
Santaji near Dodderi. In his war with Khasim Khan, Santaji
was actively supported by Baramappa Nayak of Chitradurga. The
reason for his assistance seems to be the cruelties andbrigand-
dages perpetrated by Khasim Khan in the war of 1690. Kudutani
Venkanna and Holalkere Bommanna, able generals of Chitradurga
were sent with an army to reinforce Santaji. Baramappa Nayak
revealed the Maratha general all the secret military arrangements
made by the Mughals at Dodderi.³ The Kannada account is fully
confirmed by the Persian source which states that “Baramappa Nayak
the Zamindar (Palegar) of the Chittaldurg district, who bore a
severe grudge against Nasim Khan, for having been humbled by that
general (in the war of 1690), now sided with the Marathas”.⁴
Fully reinforced by the Chitradurga army, Santaji invested the
fort of Dodderi closely where the Mughal generals Khasim Khan and
Khanazad Khan took refuge. Santaji exposed the two Khans to

¹. Shivaji Souvenir, p. 35.
². Ibid.
starvation for three days. On the 5th of January 1696, Santaji Ghorpade captured the two Khans. Khasim Khan was killed and Khanazad was ransomed for Rs.1 lakh. Santaji Ghorpade gave back Dodderi to Baramappa Navak as agreed upon previously. By this time Himmat Khan Bahadur was detached from the imperial camp to reinforce Khasim Khan. He had taken refuge at Basavapatna. Santaji Ghorpade arrived at Basavapatna and killed Himmat Khan in January, 1696. The two successes at Dodderi and Basavapatna led Santaji Ghorpade to plan more territorial acquisitions in the Karnatak and to find out possible means to check the onrush of the Mughals in that region. With that end in view, Santaji encamped at Sira. A letter of Fort St. George dated 14 April, 1696, says that "there are frequent and various reports of an army coming from the King's (Aurangzeb’s) camp under the command of Deeder Bux, the son of Arum Turra which is probably the reason why Santogee Gorpara stays with an army of 15,000 about Seerpe (Sira) to oppose their entrance into the Cornatta country and prevent their joining with Zalphaker Cawne". Having intelligence of Aurangzeb sending heavy treasures to finance Zalfikar Khan in the south, Santaji rode with a large army and intercepted the treasure at Kadapa in November 1696. Zalfikar Khan changed his plan and moved in another direction. Santaji changed his plan and entered Mysore in December, 1696.

2. Palavagars of Chitradurga, p. 41.
4. Records of Fort St. George: Letter from Fort St. George for 1696, p. 29, No. 34.
5. Ibid., Diary and Consultation Book, 1696, p. 42.
Chikkadevaraja of Mysore encountered the Maratha army under Santaji and severely defeated it. In the meanwhile Zulfikar Khan was ordered by Aurangzeb to follow Santaji into Mysore. A letter of Fort St. George dated 31st December, 1696, says that "King hath ordered Dider (Rux) to Chingee and Zulphaker Cawn to follow after Santogee into the Mysore (Mysore) country". Further in the mutilated paragraph of the Madras record of January 19th 1696-97, Wilks has observed the following, "Nabob Zulphecar Cawn is gone into the Mizore country after the Maratha army and hath left a very small part of his army in these parts". Zulfikar Khan was disappointed because Santaji being defeated by Chikkadevaraja, had already left the field. Wilks says, "finding on his arrival in or near Mysoor that the Mahratta was already defeated and dispersed he returned immediately to the lower country".

The flight of Santaji across the kingdom of Mysore hotly pursued by the Mughals and his defeat by Chikkadevaraja marked the last phase in the Mysore-Maratha relations of the 17th century. The triumph of the Raja was echoed in the Kannada source, Apratima Vira Charitam: "Chikkadevaraja lifted up the darkness of infamy from the Karnatak and established his golden rule there by defeating the Marathas." According to the Kannada source, the latter had repented for having entered the Karnatak and been ignominiously

1. C.Bi.n., pp. 58-59.
2. Diary and Consultation Book, 1696, p. 166.
disgraced by the Raja. For their stupidity in entering into squabbles with the Raja, they lost the chance of making permanent settlements in the Karnatak. If Santaji had kept up the brilliant record and prosecuted the war against the Mughals maintaining at the same time friendly relations with his colleagues, the history of the Marathas in the Karnatak would have been different but misfortune followed him and rupture began between him and Sanaji on the question of holding the post of Senapati. This finally led to his downfall and in June 1697 he was killed by Nagoji Mane near Shambhu-Mahadeo.

Chikkadevaraja then turned his attention towards the East and reconquered Salem, Paramathi, Namakal and Tammambatti in March-April, 1697. The rulers of Tanjore, Madura and Gingee were terror-stricken at this. While Chikkadevaraja was engaged himself in conquering the eastern countries, the situation at Gingee went from bad to worse. Aurangzeb ordered Zulfikar Khan to commence the siege of Gingee in right earnest. Accordingly Zulfikar Khan captured Gingee on 30 January, 1698. By that time Rajaram slipped away from the fort and reached Vellore (26th January 1698). The fall of Gingee signalised the end of the Mughal-Maratha struggle in the south and the scene of hostile

1. Thib., V.,139.
2. Shivaji Souvenir, p. 38.
4(a) Records of Fort St. George; Diary and Consultation Book of 1697, p. 128.
activities was transferred from the Karnatak to Maharashtra.

Apratima Vira Charitam frequently mentions the defeat suffered by the Marathas and the Mughals at the hands of Chikkadevaraja. "Great were the Mughals for war; greater still were the Marathas; greatest was Chikkadevaraja of all the said powers as he had defeated all of them in the battle field." Another stanza says, "Encountering the Mysorean army, the Mughals were routed and fallen". Yet another stanza reveals that "those who feared the Mughals and the Marathas were not really the great powers but Chikkadevaraja who vanquished the Mughals and the Marathas was really the greatest ruler". It is already known that the Marathas under Santaji were defeated by Chikkadevaraja. Now we shall examine the reverses suffered by the Mughals.

After the fall of Gingee Aurangzeb ordered his generals still at Gingee to march on different countries of the south. If Manucci is to be believed, "it is his (Aurangzeb's) practice to denude them (the southern kingdoms) slowly of their wealth, then of their territory, finally of their life". He did not seem to have followed a consistent policy towards any state. Mysore, though an ally of the Mughals, was brought into armed conflict with the Mughal generals. Fort St. George letter of

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1. A.V.C., III, v.112.
2. Ibid., v.130.
3. Ibid., v.180, 194.
4. Storia/Mogor, ii, p. 444.
16 June 1698 says: "the king ordered most of them to other employments and the Nabob (Zulfikar Khan) to go against Tanjore or Mysore, (Mysore)." Another letter of the same date says: "The king (Aurangzeb) had ordered Dul Patrow and Daud Cawn to remove to Bollegol and Adoni and the Nabob (Zulfikar Khan) to assist Didar Bux coming against Mysore and that the Nabob was preparing to go". Still another letter of June, 1698 mentions, "Nabob camp is in preparation for removing by the king's order, Daud Cawn for Bolligatt, Dulpat raw for Adoni and the Nabob for Mysore (Mysore) to meet Dider Bux". These letters speak of the march of Didar Rakht against Mysore. Before solving the problem of how the Mysore army fought against the Mughals, it is necessary to inquire into the main objective with which Didar Bakht was advancing against Mysore. Shakavali, a Marathi source also called Gadadhar Pralhad says that "Rajaram fleeing with his troops went to the fort of ............. upon his heels were sent Didar Rakht and Zulfikar Khan to harass him". In Shakavali the name of the fort is not mentioned but two points are clear namely first that Dedar Bux and Zulfikar Khan were sent against Rajaram and the letters of Fort St. George of June 1698 say that they were advancing against Mysore; secondly, the Shakavali and the letters of Fort St. George agree in giving the date with a difference of four months. Since Sardeasai has placed much

1. Records of Fort St. George; Letters from Fort St. George 1698, Vol. 8, p. 73, No. 91.
2. Ibid., No.93.
3. Ibid., Diary and Consultation for 1698, p. 68.
reliance on the Shaka'^^^ali, we may take its date October 1698 as correct one. The natural inference is that Rajaram might have entered the fort of Mysore or some fort nearby in the Mysore country. In order to harass Rajaram, according to Shaka'^^^ali, Dedet Rakhat and Zulfikar Khan were sent to Mysore. Rajaram's presence at Mysore might have been responsible for Aurangzeb ordering his generals to go over to Mysore. While the Mughal general Zulfikar Khan was on his way to Mysore, the chieftain of Turriore appealed to him for help in order to drive out the Mysoreans from his principality. Thereupon Zulfikar Khan sent out a detachment under Saleem Khan and Ibrahim Khan and directed his military officers to join them. Fort St. George letter of 18 July, 1698, says that "Nabob Zulfikar Cawn has ordered several of the adjacent governors to join Selimon Cawn not knowing what their intentions are".3 The letter of 23 July 1698 says that "we hear from Chellumbrum, Selimon Cawn and Ebrahim Cawn Guruv are gathering their forces, but their councils are kept so private, yet we cannot understand what their designs are".4 Another letter of 25 July 1698 explains that "Selimon Cawn and Ebrahim Cawn Guruv and the other forces are marched towards Turriore, a great poligar who made a complaint to Zulfikar Cawn that the Mysore people had taken great part of his country therefore desired his assistance; upon which the Nabob had ordered the forces mentione

1. Ibid., See Introduction to Jedhe Pakavali by Sardesai.
3. Ibid., p.92.
4. Ibid., p.96.
the 18th instant to go upon their expedition. We hear they are to encamp this night at Pennaram" (in Salem District). On reaching the appointed destination, there ensued a sanguinary action in which the Mysore army won a brilliant victory over the Mughal contingent. It was this victory over the Mughals that Aparatima Vira Charitam frequently mentions. By this battle of Turriore fought in August 1698, the relationship between the Mughal power and Mysore was not strained as it was not an action deliberately directed against the Mughals. Chikkadevaraja was at war with the palegar of Turriore. The latter invited the arms of the Mughals. Zulfiqar Khan sent help. Therefore Aurangzeb was not involved in this war of Turriore. A concrete evidence to prove that Chikkadevaraja was on friendly terms with Aurangzeb is his sending of an embassy to the court of Aurangzeb.

Chikkadevaraja deputed Karanika Lingannaiya to the court of Aurangzeb at Ahmadnagar with costly presents. The ambassador met the emperor and offered the presents upon which the emperor made kindly enquiries of the Raja's health and said, "Your king has conquered many enemies and acquired considerable territory and his administration is noted for justice. I am happy particularly because your king had succeeded in killing the two powerful Maratha sardars namely Jaitaji Katkar and Dadaji Kakade. Your king is our friend. We shall be glad to assist you at times of danger." It was a diplomatic move

3. Annals, I, pp. 142-144; Wilks, I, p. 118.
designed to court the friendship of the emperor. The emperor appreciated the action taken by Chikkadevaraja in uprooting the Marathas. The emperor conferred on the king the title "Raja Jagadev" (King of the world) and other insignias. The embassy returned to Srirangapatna in 1700.¹

The important results of sending the embassy to Aurangzeb were, first, Chikkadevaraja strengthened his relationship with the Mughals; secondly, the Mysore-Mughal friendship served to enhance the power of Chikkadevaraja from the local point of view; thirdly, Mysore rose into prominence and established contact with the biggest power in India namely the Mughals; fourthly, Chikkadevaraja adopted many of the Mughal administrative novelties in his administration and lastly, the way in which the Maratha aggression was discussed by Aurangzeb with the Mysore ambassador made Chikkadevaraja think that his policy of hostility with the Marathas was correct. On the whole Mysore during the rule of Chikkadevaraja emerged into great prominence in the whole of south India by following a policy of friendship with the Mughals and of hostility with the Marathas.

In 1700 Chikkadevaraja was at the height of his power. It was his ambition to be powerful which was accomplished to a great extent. The capture of Gingee by Zulfikar Khan in January 1698 and the consequent difficulties that followed for the Marathas made Chikkadevaraja still more powerful than before.

¹. Ibid., pp. 145-146.
The flight of Rajaram from Gingee to Satara practically removed Chikkadevaraja’s main obstacle. He ruled the Mysore kingdom peacefully for four years more (1700-1704). His kingdom stretched its wing as far as Bangalore and parts of Tumkur districts in the north, Hassan and Kadur in the West and north-west; Salem, Baramahal and Coimbatore districts in the east and south. Under Chikkadevaraja Mysore grew into a compact independent kingdom south of the river Tungabhadra.

In Maharashtra Rajaram raised a powerful army and resumed the struggle against the Mughals more vigorously than before. The Mughal army laid siege to the fort of Satara in December 1699 but the Marathas defended the fort ably. It was only after the death of Rajaram on 12 March, 1700 the fort was surrendered. The emperor took the command of the army in person and reduced fort after fort of the Marathas. From 1699 to 1703 Aurangzeb was able to capture four major forts, Satara (21 April 1700), Panhala (28 May 1701), Vishalgad (1 June 1702) and Sinhagad (9 April 1703), in addition to a few minor ones.

Tara Bai, wife of Rajaram, a lady of masterly spirit, took up the administration of Maharashtra into her hand as regent for her minor son, Shivaji III. She was an able woman. She had gained knowledge in civil and military matters during her husband’s lifetime. She organised the administration of the State and put down the rival parties for the succession to the throne and

1. Ke.N.V., p. 164. Linganna Kavi writes that Tara Bai had two sons, Shivaji and Sambhaji but it is incorrect. Sambhaji was the son of Rajas Rai, another wife of Rajaram.
commenced ravaging the imperial territories. In this Maratha-Mughal struggle, Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar was completely ignored. None paid any attention towards the affairs of Mysore. The last four years of Chikkadevaraja's reign (1700-1704) was a period of peaceful rule. He died on 16 November 1704. His death terminated the Mysore-Maratha hostility for the seventeenth century.

The relations of Chikkadevaraja with Rajaram were far from friendly. Although Rajaram did not come into armed conflict with the Mysore Raja in person, his general Santaji Gharpade had revived and renewed the traditional policy of hostility towards Mysore. He had done much to spoil the relations of Mysore with the Marathas. "The Maratha general swept on from one area to another, caused great loss and confusion to the Mysoreans. Santaji had fought against the Mysore army at Channapatna with a view to capturing the Jagadeva Raval's territory but had been defeated and pursued by the Mysore army. He had devastated the Mysore territories in the northern region of Madura and even occupied Trichinopoly. Santaji was the hero of this period. He had upset every plan and calculation of the Mysoreans by seizing Paramathi, Namakal and Dharmapuri. He had even invaded Mysore and caused incalculable havoc in 1696. If Santaji and Phanaji had worked together smoothly, the history of the Marathas in the south would have been different. But they had quarrelled over the question of holding the post of Senapati and ignored the interests of the Marathas. Santaji did
not remain loyal to Rajaram. At a meeting with Rajaram in Gingee, Santaji had charged him with pusillanimity and openly said, "your position is all due to me. I can make and unmake the Chhatrapati". Consequently, Santaji was dismissed from the office. The retirement of Santaji from the Karnatak scene, the attack of the Gingee fort by the Mughal army and the consequent difficulties that followed for the Marathas made Chikkadevaraja attempt the reconquest of all the territories that were lost to the Marathas. On the whole Santaji Ghorpade stood in the way of better relations between the Marathas and the Mysore Raja. Secondly, the Mughals avoided all possibilities of good relationship between the Mysore Raja and the Marathas. The Mughals had followed the Marathas to Gingee and conducted the atrocious wars. Mysore had stood in good stead with the Mughals and exploited the situation of the Maratha-Mughal conflict for its own advantage. Chikkadevaraja's relations with the Mughals were delicate. Chikkadevaraja had followed a cautious policy towards the Mughals and remained a friend to them. The Mughal generals such as Zulfikar Khan, Kam Baksh, Deedar Bux and Khasim Khan had passed through the region of Mysore but never disturbed the Mysore Raja. The Mughal friendship was Chikkadevaraja's added strength. The Mysore Raja and the Mughals were united together to bring about the destruction of the Marathas in the south. Thus the Mughals stood in the way of better relations between the Mysore Raja and the Marathas. Lastly, it was the ambition of Chikkadevaraja to be powerful in the Karnatak that widened the gulf between the Marathas and the Mysorear
The flight of Pajaram from Gingee to Satara and the consequent difficulties that followed for the Marathas made Chikkadevaraja assume the title "Karnataka Chakravarti" (the emperor of the Karnataka). As early as 1677 he had taken the title, "Apratima Vira" (unparallelled hero), for having subdued Shivaji in the battle of Srirangapatna. After the departure of the Marathas and the Mughals from the south, he called himself "Tenkana Faya" (Lord of the South). On the whole the atrocious wars of Santaji Ghorpade, the intervention of the Mughals in the affairs of the south and the ambition of the Mysore Raja to become the emperor of the Karnataka did not bring the Mysoreans and the Marathas closer together during the lifetime of Rajaram.

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1. Mysore Rajara Charitre, p. 29.