INTRODUCTION

A background to the events that preceded the closer contact of the Mysore rulers with the Marathas seems to be necessary. The breakdown of the Vijayanagar empire created a great confusion in the Karnatak in the 17th Century. Among those that rose into prominence during this period were the rulers of Mysore and the Marathas. Prior to 1638 the Mysore rulers had very little contact with the Marathas. This was just a period when Mysore was shaping itself into a powerful kingdom. By following a cautious policy Raja Wodeyar (1578-1617) elevated a small chieftainship of 33 villages to the rank of a kingdom. 1 From 1598 to 1610 he had systematically defied the authority of Tirumala, the Vijayanagar Viceroy of Srirangapatna (1595-1610) by encroaching upon his territories and in 1610 he occupied Srirangapatna itself by removing the Viceroy. 2 During the reign of Chamaraja Wodeyar (1617-1637), successor of Raja Wodeyar, a significant event happened which brought the Mysore rulers into close contact with Bijapur Sultan through whom in later years the Marathas came into still closer contact in the region of the Karnatak. The fortress of Nagamangala, in Mandya District, then under the control of a Governor, Channaiva, was besieged by Bettada Arasu, the Mysore Palvoy. During the siege, Doddaiva, brother of Channaiya who

commanded the Nagamangala army was defeated and killed. ¹

However, the siege was raised by Jagadeva Raya in 1618. Doddayya's
death was a terrible shock to Channaiya. He resolved to wreak
vengeance upon the Mysore ruler but he had neither men nor money.
In that condition he was left with no other alternative except
appealing to the Sultan of Bijapur for military assistance. He
got to the Court of Muhammad Adil Shah (1626-1656) and induced
him to undertake an expedition to the Karnatak. It was in this
Karnatak campaign that Shahji along with seven Maratha generals
descended to the south and played a vital role in the changing
politics of Mysore. Thus Channaiya was a link in the Mysore-
Maratha relations. ²

Another event of great importance during
Chamaraja Wodeyar's reign was the incorporation of Channapatna
principality into the kingdom of Mysore in 1630. ³

Before coming
into armed conflict with Shahji, Mysore was evolved itself into
a powerful kingdom consisting of Channapatna and Nagamangala on the
north, Pirivapatna and Channaravapatna in the West and north-west,
Malavalli and Dhanavakanakote in the east and southeast. Kanthi-
raja Narasaraja Wodeyar ascended the throne of Mysore in 1638. ⁴

In the very first year of his reign, he had to defend his capital
against the formidable invasion led by Ranadulla Khan and Shahji

² Annals, I, 53-54; Mys. Dho. Vam., p. 22.
⁴ Mys. Dho. Pur., I, p. 51; Annals, I, p. 65. Rajavali Ka-the
by Devachand' a (XII, p. 170) fixes Kanthirava's accession in
May 1635 which is apparently an error. Devachanda's work is
a 19th Century product and he does not seem to have been
careful in regard to the date of the events.
the Bijapur generals. Thus Mysore was evolved itself into a powerful kingdom under Raja Wodeyar and Chamaraja Wodeyar.

It was also in this period that Bijapur and Golkonda began to take keen interest in the affairs of the south. A partition treaty was signed in 1636 between Shahjahan, the Mughal emperor and the two Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda, according to which the latter could extend their schemes of conquest only to the south. It was after this arrangement that Shahjih entered the Bijapur service and his entry coincided with the Bijapur activities in the Karnatak. The two Sultans adopted that policy not so much because they wanted to honour the terms of the treaty but because they were afraid of the formidable Mughal power in the north. Further they wanted to make good their loss of territories in the north by carrying out fresh expansion in the south. With this end in view they entered into an agreement for the conquest of the Karnatak, the Western portions going to Bijapur and the eastern ones to Golkonda. Consequently the Karnatak was troubled by their periodic invasions.

The second Karnatak expedition of 1638 set the stage for the Mysore-Maratha relations. The first Karnatak expedition against Ikkeri, (now a decadent town in Shimoga District) in 1637 prepared the ground for Shahjih to establish Maratha power in the south. This expedition did not come up to Mysore and consequently

the Mysore-Maratha contact was postponed to the subsequent year. The first Karnatak expedition was the result of the personal rivalries between Hanumappa Nayak of Rasavapatna, Venkatappa of Tarikeri on the one hand and Mirabhadra Navak of Ikkeri on the other. Shahji and Panadulla Khan who commanded the Bijapur army succeeded in defeating the Ikkeri Navak and collecting from him 18 lakhs of muns (Rs.5 lakhs) in addition to half of his territory.

Shahji gained experience by participating in this first Karnatak expedition. He was particularly friendly to Panadulla Khan, an influential general in the Bijapur Court. This personal friendship helped Shahji in securing the assignment of Bangalore in the Karnatak. Thus the first Karnatak expedition prepared the ground for the establishment of Maratha power in the Karnatak and the second brought about the Mysore-Maratha contact.

Shahji founded the Maratha principality at Bangalore in 1638 and spent the latter part of his life (1638-1664) in the Karnatak taking active part in the changing politics of Mysore. The Bangalore principality gradually increased in power and extent and for more than half a century it stemmed the tide of Mysore expansion in the north. The Mysore-Maratha rivalry started in 1638 when Shahji and Kanthirava stood face to face on the soil of Mysore.

1. K.N.V., XI Vs. 1-2; Annals, I. p. 72; Ke. N.V., p. 97.
Srirangapatna. Shahji maintained the hostile relations with Mysore till his death in 1664. Therefore, the history of Shahji in the Karnatak for twenty six years (1638-1664) is nothing but a record of continuing wars and mutual rivalry between the Marathas and the Rajas of Mysore. Ekoji who came to power in 1664 renewed the traditional policy of hostility towards Mysore. The same undercurrent of hostility and mutual discord continued between the two powers during the time of Shivaji, Sambhaji and Rajaram. On the whole the sixty year history of the Mysore-Maratha relations (1638-1698) during the life time of the four Maratha leaders is nothing but a record of unending rivalry and relentless wars as revealed in the contemporary Kannada sources. Several factors affected the Mysore-Maratha relations. Chief among them were the frequent Karnatak expeditions organised by the Bijapur Sultan, the attitude of the local chieftains, the delicate relations of Sriranga Rava, the last ruler of the decadent Vijayanagar empire, the intervention of the Mughals in the affairs of the Karnatak, the ambition of the Rajas of Mysore and the Marathas, the abilities of the Mysore Pajas and the role of the Maratha generals.

First, Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur planned a series of expeditions to the Karnatak from 1637 to 1656. He sent expeditions in the autumn of the year from his capital to the nearest Hindu States across the frontier. As there was no sense of unity among the chieftains of the Karnatak, they were subdued with the assistance of their own neighbours. The victors returned to their
capitals before the commencement of the rainy season, laden with plunder of the forts and the promise of tribute. The Sultan followed a deliberate policy of conquest and consolidation of territories in the Karnatak. It appeared to him that his adventure in the south would be both practicable and profitable. The fabulous wealth of the Karnatak made him adopt such a policy. He planned eight major expeditions during his lifetime and every expedition brought him the expected treasures. In all these expeditions the Marathas such as Shahji, Vedoji, Kannoji, Paghava Pandit and others participated occupying important places in the rank of the Bijapur army. The second Karnatak expedition secured Bangalore for Shahji. The subsequent expeditions strengthened and enlarged Shahji's principality with the additions of the new Karnatak territories and contributed to widen the gulf between the Mysore rulers and the Marathas. Shahji had to fight against Mysore more at the instance of his overlord at Bijapur than at his own accord. As the relations between Mysore and Bijapur were not cordial, the relations between Mysore and the Marathas were bound to be unfriendly. Shahji assumed a tone of independence in his relations with Mysore because the Bijapur government exercised very little or no power over its distant territorial possessions. Bijapur declined after 1656 and this made Shahji still more powerful than before. He was independent in all but name. Thus the frequent Karnatak expeditions wielded a great influence on the

1. Annals, I, pp. 95-86; K.N.V., Chapters XI - XIX; M.V. in
   Shiv. Mib.,
2 K.N.V., XI. v.66.
Mysore-Maratha relations during the time of Shahji.

Secondly, the local chieftains were the disturbing factors in the relations of Mysore with the Marathas. They were selfish and unimaginative. They were always at war with one another. One's difficulty was another's opportunity. Their personal rivalries and territorial aggrandisement threw the whole atmosphere of the Karnatak into great confusion. The presence of numerous principalities added to the confusion. Such of the rulers as were unable to put down their immediate neighbours with all the powers at their disposal, desired the immediate assistance of the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda. In the words of Proenza, "The old kings of this country appear, by their jealousies and imprudent action, to invite the conquest of their entire country by the Muslims." An appeal from a Karnatak chieftain was enough for the Sultans to send an expedition to the south. Channaiya of Nagamangala, Hanumappa Navak of Basavapatna, the Chieftains of Tarike and Bagur were responsible for the Karnatak expeditions which brought about the Mysore-Maratha relations. The subjugated vassal of Mysore, Manjundaraja of Piriyapatna revolted and paved the way for Shahji's fight with Kanthirava. Shahji followed a cautious policy in his relations with the Karnatak chieftains. His enlarged territories, separate civil administration and military

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1. La Mission Du Madure, III. 42.

establishments at Bangalore, far away from Bijapur, in those
days of difficult communications, made him adopt such a cautious
policy. He allied himself with those that would support him in
his adventure. A large number of his allies were those that had
suffered at the hands of the Mysore rulers. Many of his battles
against Mysore were fought either with the assistance of the
Karnatak chieftains or in close contact with the Bijapur generals.
Narasimah Navak of Ule Morasipur, Mummadi Kempegowda of Bangalore
and the Navaks of Bednur spoiled the relations of Mysore with the
Marathas. The wars of 1616, 1618, 1622, 1652 and others between
Kanthirava and Sahil were mainly due to the work of the Karnatak
chieftains. The subsequent relations between Shivaji and Chikka-
devaraja of Mysore were strained on account of the chieftains of
Morasa, Tisula, Kodaga and Malavala regions. Sambhaji in his
two devastating wars against Mysore was actively supported by the
Navak of Bednur. Rajaram too received active assistance from
the queen of Bednur during his flight to Gingee. Thus the
local chieftains destroyed all hopes of reconciling the Mysore
rajas to the star of the Marathas in the South in the 17th century
as revealed in the Kannada sources.

Thirdly, Srianga Rava's relations with both powers
of Mysore and the Marathas were delicate. He was anxious to

retrieve the past glory of the decadent Vijayanagar empire. To realise his ambition, he was ready to cooperate with his feudatories or with any other power which would help him. But to his ill-luck, his own feudatories were his enemies. The Karnatak expedition of 1646 provided an opportunity for Shahji to help Sriranga Raya but he was duped by the vacillating policy of Sriranga Raya. When Mustafa Khan refused to accept the peace-offerings which Venkaiya Somayaji, the envoy of Sriranga Raya had brought to purchase the retreat of the Bijapur army from the environs of Vellore, it was Shahji who mediated and effected a compromise between his army chief and the envoy. But for Shahji, the reconciliation would have been impossible. But Shahji's efforts proved futile when Venkaiya Somayaji intrigued against Mustafa Khan and brought about the war between Sriranga Raya and the Bijapuris.¹ Kanthirava did not cooperate with Sriranga Raya and the latter did not join hands with Shahji, with the result Sriranga Raya neither gained anything for himself nor pleased either Kanthirava or Shahji. After 1646 the position of Sriranga Raya became still worse. The three Navaks of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee made him a wanderer without a habitation. Spending four months in the forest of Tanjore, "the grand monarch one of the richest in India, was forced to beg help from the king of Mysore once the vassal of the crown".² Kanthirava offered him shelter and made him stay in Mysore for two years (1650-1652).³

² Bertrand: La Mission Du Madure, III, pp. 43-44.
Sriranga Raya and Kanthirava allied with the Nawab of Sira and recommenced the conquest of Jagadeva Raya's territories. This brought Shahji along with Khan Muhammad once again to Vellore. Shahji fought against them more vigorously than before, for, first, he was offended by Sriranga Raya, secondly, Sriranga Raya joined Kanthirava, the opponent of the Marathas and lastly, Sriranga Raya encroached upon Bijapur's zone of influence in Jagadeva Raya's territories. In two military operations, one in Jagadeva Raya's territory and another in Mysore, Shahji and Khan Muhammad defeated Sriranga Raya and his allies. Thus the inconsistent policy of Sriranga Raya never brought the two powers closer together during the time of Shahji.

Fourthly, the Mughals intervened in the affairs of Mysore and acted as a serious block in the way of improving the relations of Mysore with Sambhaji and Rajaram. Aurangzeb, the Mughal emperor descended to the Deccan and took up his seat at Aurangabad directing his attack against the Marathas. Chikkadevaraja sought the support of Aurangzeb to promote his own interest. Aurangzeb's contact was a necessity for Chikkadevaraja because he was the only strong power in the north. Aurangzeb and Chikkadevaraja exerted strenuously for the destruction of the Marathas. The Mysore Raja supported Aurangzeb in reducing Bijapur, a kingdom which had offered shelter to several Maratha generals including Shahji. The Mysore-Mughal understanding was viewed with grave

1. C. Bin., p. 4.
concern by the Marathas and it became the main reason for Sambhaji's second Mysore war of 1636.¹ In 1637 Chikkadevaraja purchased Bangalore for three lakhs of rupees from the hands of Khasim Khan, the Mughal general and incorporated it into the kingdom of Mysore.² Bangalore which had remained a principal centre of the Maratha activities in the Karnatak since 1638 was lost to the Marathas in 1687. This led to the invasion of Mysore by Keshav Pant and Santaji, the Maratha generals. Chikkadevaraja knew that both the Mughals and the Marathas were dangerous persons. He never wished to dethrone the Marathas and enthrone the Mughals in the Karnatak. By the Mughal friendship, he could create awe in the minds of the petty chieftains, arrest the Maratha progress and make himself a strong military power in the south. His sending of an embassy to the Mughal court was a diplomatic move designed to cement the friendship of the emperor.³ If the Marathas were prepared to accommodate matters with Mysore, Chikkadevaraja was not worried about the Mughal friendship. Thus the Mughals remained a disturbing factor in the Mysore-Maratha relations of the 17th century.

Fifthly, the ambition of both powers to overpower each other stood as a great barrier in the relations of Mysore rulers with the Marathas. Both powers were ambitious to enlarge their respective territories and to earn name and fame. Both followed

1. La Mission Du Madure, III. p. 377.
3. Ibid., p. 142.
a policy of conquest and consolidation of territories. Both seized the heritage of the shattered Vijayanagar empire and longed to fill up the political vacuum caused by the disintegration of the empire. Kanthirava Narasaraja, Doddaddevaraja and Chikkadevaraja, by their ambitious schemes of expansion, had enlarged the Mysore kingdom and had made it so strong as to withstand all Maratha invasions of the 17th century. In the same way, Shahji who "was the cleverest and the most ambitious" man took possession of Bangalore from the hands of Kempe Gowda and with the assistance of his over lord, Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur, enlarged his Bangalore jagir with the additions of Sira, Tumkur, Chikkannavakanahalli, Kolar, Doddaballapur and others so as to make it a formidable bulwark against Mysore invasions. Shokoji, Shivaji, Sambhaji and Rajaram laboured not a little to build up a Maharashtra principality in the Karnatak. Both were hostile and the basis of their hostility was their ambition. For sixty years the rulers of Mysore and the Marathas flourished side by side, although between them a spirit of rivalry and mutual aggression continued all the time. Thus the ambition of both to overwhelm each other stood in the way of improving the relations of Mysore with the Marathas.

Sixthly, the personal abilities of the Mysore rulers wielded a great influence on their relations with the Marathas. They were strong in mind, bold in action and enterprising in

spirit. Kanthirava knew horse-riding, elephant-riding, archery and the use of various kinds of weapons such as spear, lance, dagger, club, sword and discus. As a prince he distinguished himself as a champion-wrestler. Chikkadevaraja was trained in gymnastics, archery and swordsmanship. In politics he exhibited qualities of statesmanship and diplomacy. The Mysore rulers of the 17th century were used to both camp and court. Unlike the rulers of the 18th century, they led the army to the fields of battle, designed strategy, conducted military operations along with their Dalvoys and obtained the direct knowledge of the warfare. Their favourite method of warfare was to deliver night attacks and to surprise the enemies. As they were proficient in political matters and military operations, they were bound to play a vital role in the changing politics of the 17th century. The Marathas interfered in the affairs of the Karnatak and began to fight for power. Naturally, the relations between the two contesting powers would not be easy.

Lastly, the Maratha generals such as Vedoji Pant, Anantoji, Raghav Pandit, Ekoji, Sambhaji, Santoji, and Harji Mahadik were men of abilities and courage. They worked for the

1. K.N.V., IV. Vs. 36.
3. C.Vam., p. 166.
4. A study of the Kannada sources reveals that surprise night attacks and the cutting of the noses of the enemies were the special features of the Mysore warfare and that several expeditions were launched against the enemies not for territories to conquer but for noses to cut. But cutting of noses cannot be considered a part of warfare. It is an act of cruelty, often indulged in by the victors with a view to terrorising the enemy.
Maratha greatness in the Karnatak. They supported Shahji, Shivaji, Sambhaji and Rajaram in their Karnatak wars and served the Maratha cause loyally by acting as governors at different places of the Karnatak. The Kannada sources, epigraphic and literary, throw a flood of light on their activities in the Karnatak. Some of the historical materials not supplied by the Marathi sources, concerning these generals, are found in the contemporary Kannada sources. Consequent upon the Mughal danger, Sambhaji and Rajaram could not pay personal attention to the affairs of the Karnatak. They appointed Maratha generals to look after the Maratha territories in the Karnatak. Harji Mahadik and Santaji who were sent to the Karnatak, were men of courage and ability. Harji supported Sambhaji in his two wars against Mysore and stood as a great barrier in the expansion of Mysore in the south. Santaji troubled Mysore by his invasions. With such Marathas of ability and high calibre, the relations of Mysore are bound to be strained. Thus the frequent Karnatak expeditions organised by the Bijapur Sultan, the disturbing activities of the enterprising chieftains in the Karnatak, the delicate relations of Sriranga Raya with the contending powers of the south, the Mughal intervention in the affairs of the Karnatak, the ambition of the Mysore rulers and the Marathas to enlarge their territories and their personal abilities were the important factors that stood in the way of better relations between Mysore and the Marathas during the time of Shahji, Shivaji, Sambhaji and Rajaram as revealed in the contemporary
Kannada sources.

Since this study has been mainly based upon the Kannada sources a little closer examination of them is necessary. The Kannada sources of the 17th and 19th centuries throw light on the rulers of the decadent Vijayanagar empire, Rajas of Mysore, the expansionist policy of the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda and the activities of the Marathas and several other south Indian Chieftains.

The Kannada sources can broadly be divided into two groups, literary and epigraphical. The important literary sources are from Govinda Vaidya, Tirumalarva, Chikkadevaraja and Linganna Kavi. Although these are the poetical compositions, yet they have the merit of supplying the necessary historical data for the history of South India in general and Karnataka in particular.

Among the primary works are: 1) *Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam*, 2) *Anratima Vira Charitam*, 3) *Chikkadevaraja Binnapam*, 4) *Keladi Nripa Vijayam*, 5) *Chikkadevaraja Yamsavali* and 6) *Chikkadevaraja Vijayam*.

*KANTHIRAVA NARASARAJA VIJAYAM*: written by Govinda Vaidya in 1648 is a contemporary quasi-historical work. This work has not been translated into any other language. It throws welcome light

on the intentions of the Bijapur Sultan in organising frequent Karnataka expeditions, the works of the Bijapur generals such as Panadulla Khan, Afzal Khan, Mustafa Khan, Khan Muhammad, Shahji, Anantoji, Raghava Pandit, Veroji, Kannoji and others in the Karnataka. It also supplies us with information regarding the grant of Bangalore to Shahji, the strength of the Bijapur army that the Maratha generals commanded in the second Karnataka expedition of 1638, the war between Kanthirava Narasaraja and the Bijapur generals on the environs of Srirangapatna, the existence of the Maratha power in the Karnataka and the conflict between the Marathas and the ruler of Mysore.

**APPATIMA VIRA CHARITAM**: written by Tirumalarva, the playmate and Prime Minister of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar of Mysore is a very useful source for the study of the Mysore-Maratha relations. Although it is a treatise in four parts on poetics (Alankara) written at the instance of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar sometime between 1694 and 1695, it is a very valuable source. It is so styled because Chikkadevaraja assumed the title, "Apratima Vira" (Unparalleled hero), after having subdued Shivaji, the famous Maratha in the battle of Srirangapatna. It throws welcome light on the relations of Chikkadevaraja with his contemporaries such as the Navaks of Madura, Bednur, Marathas and the Mughals. It explains not only the relations that existed between the Marathas and Chikkadevaraja during the time of Shivaji but also mentions the

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wars between Ekoji and Chikkadevaraja.

CHIKKADeVARAJA BINNAPAM (1700-1704): written by Chikkadevaraja Wodevar himself is an important source of information.1 Although it concerns itself with the essence of Srivaishnava Philosophy, the opening chapter is very valuable because it deals with the political achievements of Chikkadevaraja. It describes the circumstances that led to Shivaji's invasion of Mysore, the contest between Shivaji and Chikkadevaraja near Srirangapatna and the ultimate conclusion of the war between the two powers. It makes references to Shivaji's relations both with Aurangzeb and Outb Shah of Golkonda. Apart from that, it throws light on the devastating expeditions undertaken by Sambhaji against Mysore and the political relations between Sambhaji and Chikkadevaraja. Ekoji's part in the Karnataka politics especially in the affairs of Mysore is also dealt with in this work. On the whole it forms the main source of information for the study of the Mysore-Maratha relations during the times of Shivaji, Sambhaji and Ekoji.

Another Kannada source which merits our attention is

MLADA NRIPA VIJAYAM written by Linganna Kavi of the 19th century.2 He narrates the historical events from the inception of the Narakship at Ikkeri down to 1763. Of all the Chapters, the 9th Chapter is very important because it deals with the Mughal, Maratha, Adil Shahi and Outb Shahi dynasties which took active part to fish

2. Mysore Oriental Library Kannada Series No.9, Mysore, 1921.
in the troubled sea of the Karnatak politics. The extensive use of the materials to explain the activities of the Marathas and Mughals in the Karnatak and their relations with the Mysore Rajas indicates the indispensable use of this source for this study.

CHIKKADEVARAJA VAMSAVALI: written by Tirumalarva, the Prime Minister of Chikkadevara Raja Wodeyar of Mysore, is a prose work. It deals with the rise and fortunes of the Mysore Royal Family down to Chikkadevara Raja. Since it was written sometime between 1676 and 1696, it throws some light on the most important events of the 17th century such as the Karnatak invasion of Ranadulla Than and Shahji, the emergence of Mysore as a powerful state under Raja Wodeyar, Chamaraja Wodeyar and Kanthirava Narasaraja, the early career of Chikkadevara Raja and the relations of Mysore with the neighbouring powers. Its chief merit consists in giving a connecting account of the rulers of Mysore with the powerful chieftains of the Karnatak who were trying to secure the heritage of the shattered Vijayanagar empire.

CHIKKADEVARAJA VYJAYAM: is the next literary production of the same author, Tirumalarva. He wrote it sometime between 1682 and 1696. It contains six cantos and all of them prominently deal with the rise of Mysore under Raja Wodeyar and his successors. Incidentally references are made to the periodic invasions of

1. Karnataka Kavya Palanidhi series, Mysore, 1919 and also Karnataka Kavya Manjari series, No.13, Mysore, 1895.
Mysore by the Bijapuris, the relations of the Mysore rulers with the Nayaks of Bednur and the battle of Erode (1667) in which the Marathas participated.

The secondary Kannada sources are, Mysuru Dhoregala Yamsavali (1800), Mysuru Bajara Charitre (1800), by Venkataramanath, Mysuru Dhoregala Purvabhradava "Ivana (1710-1714), Kalale Arasugala Yamsavali (1830), and Bajavali Kathe (1828) by Rama- chandra. The references to Mysore-Maratha relations in these sources are incidental and therefore all the more useful.

Another secondary source of much importance is the Annals of the Mysore Royal Family, Part I, edited by Kama Krishna Rao. It throws much light on the Karnatak expeditions organised by the Bijapur Sultan, the establishment of the Maratha rule at Bangalore, Ekoji’s disposal of Bangalore and the Maratha-Mughal contest for power in the Karnatak.

Important inscriptions relating to Mysore have been published in the volumes of Epigraphia Carnatica, Epigraphia Indica, the Mysore Archaeological Reports and in the Annual Reports, Department of Epigraphv, Madras. Some of the inscriptions are very useful for the study of the Mysore-Maratha relations. They tell the place where Shahji died, mention the districts over which the Maratha governors such as Ekoji, Sambhaji and others ruled, describe the events that happened in the kingdom of Mysore and the contest

1. Published in Mysore, 1916, 1922.
for power among different Chieftains that sprang up in the
Karnatak after the break up of the Vijayanagar empire.

The letters of South Indian Jesuit missionaries con­tain informations relating to the political condition of South
India, the activities of the Marathas, and the Mughals in the
Karnatak and the resistance offered by the innumerable Karnatak
chieftains especially the Mysore Raja's against the Marathas.
The letters of Father J. Bertrand included in the "La Mission Du
Madure" (1659-1686) narrate the history of the Navaks of Madura
and their relations with other contending powers for the supremacy
of the South. John Lockman's "Travels of the Jesuits" (1701),
Dr. John Frver's "Travels in India" (1676-1680), Niccolao Manucci's
"Storia Do Mogor" (1653-1708), Orme's "Historical Fragments of the
Mogul Empire" and William Foster's English Factories in India" are
very useful for the study of the subject under investigation.
References to Shivaji's Karnataka expedition in general and his Mysore
invasion in particular, Sambhaji's devastating wars against Mysore,
Ekoji's rule at Tanjore and his control and regulation of the territ­
tories at Bangalore, the Mysore-Maratha war at Trichinopoly, Harji
Mahadik's strategy against Mysore and his failure to achieve his
goal and several other points connected with the subject of study
are made in the letters of the Jesuit missionaries.

Persian sources like Muhammad Namah and Basatin-Us-Salatin
are very useful for the study of the Karnataka history. Muhammad
Namah is a history of the reign of Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur
(1627-1656) written by Zahur. It is translated into English and
published in the Modern Review of 1929 and Shivaji Nibhandavali, Part II. Its chronology, topography and the sequence of events almost agree in the main line with Kanthirava Narasaraaja Vijayam. One is a corrective to the other. Basatin-us-Salatin written by Muhammad Ibrahim Zubairi in 1824 is nothing but a copy of Muhammad Namah. For the history of the Bijapur adventure in the Karnatak and its hostile relations with the Mysore Rajas from 1636 to 1656, Persian sources are very valuable.

Among the Sanskrit sources, Shiva Bharata, Radha Madhava Vilasa Champu and Virabhadra Vijayam merit our attention. Shiva Bharata was written by Paramananda, a court poet of Shivaji and is translated into English by Patwardhan and Rawlinson in their source book on Maratha History. It describes Shahji's political achievements in the Karnatak particularly his wars with several Karnatak powers including the Mysore Raja. Radha Madhava Vilasa Champu by Javaram Pindya gives useful informations regarding Shahji's works in the Karnatak particularly his court at Bangalore. Virabhadra Vijaya Champu was written by Ekambara Dixit, a court poet of Mummadi Kempegowda of Magadi. Although it concerns with the car festival of God Virabhadra, incidentally it refers to the fight between Shahji and Kempe Gowda. On the whole the Sanskrit sources are very useful for the study of Shahji's life in the Karnatak.

Marathi sources such as Shiva Kaleena Patra Sara Sangrah, Shiva Charitra Sahitya, Shiva Charitra Pradeep, Sambhaji Kaleena Patra Sara Sangrah, Parnala Parvata Grahana khvanam, Shivaji
Nibhandavali, Rajaram Cheritam and the English translation of the Marathi sources entitled Shiva Chhatrapati and Sabhasad are also consulted.

Lastly, the records of the English factories on the Bombay coast and the inland supply us with information relating to the subject under investigation. The English at Rajpur and Karwar employed paid spies who travelled in Shivaji's dominions and brought back news of Shivaji's plans and deeds. The Records of Fort St. George concerning Mysore, comprise the Diary and consultation Book, Fort St. David consultation, Letters to Fort St. George, Letters from Fort St. George, and Despatches to England. Though these records relate the commercial activities of the English and the French on the coast of India, incidentally they refer to the political condition in South India as also to the Maratha, Mughal and Mysore contest for power in Karnatak.