CHAPTER I

RELATIONS BETWEEN KANTHIRAVA NARASARAJA AND SHAHJI

Mysore relations with Shahji begin from the war of 1638-39 which broke out between Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar of Mysore (1638-1559) and Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur (1626-1656). Shahji (1594-1664), son of Maloji Bhonsle, father of the great ShivaJI laid the foundation for the rise of the Maratha power in Mysore. His rise in Mysore like that of many other great men was as much due to his energy, enterprise and perseverance as to the opportunities which presented themselves in the 17th century.

In order to understand Shahji's relations with Mysore, it is necessary to trace the course of the Karnatak expedition organised by the Sultan of Bijapur. Several causes contributed to bring about this expedition. First, the Chief of Samuki Bagur, in Bangalore District, was on inimical terms with Kempe Gowda, the Chieftain of Bangalore because of the latter's overbearing attitude and ambition for territories. The Bagur Chief, consequently, went to the Bijapur Court and solicited the Sultan's aid against Kempe Gowda. Secondly,

2. Ibid.,
yet another Chieftain, Channaiah of Nagamangala in Mandya District, who had been deposed by Chamaraja Wodeyar of Mysore, went to the Bijapur Court in person, took up service under the Sultan as a Mansabdar of 200 horse and actually stayed in the Bijapur Court until the Sultan fitted out an expedition to Mysore. Further, he accompanied the expedition as the Chief adviser and guide until it was brought to a close. This explains how much influence he wielded on the Sultan.

Muhammad Adil Shah was also anxious to invade Mysore for several reasons. First, the Sultan, bound by the treaty of 1636 between the Mughals and the Bijapuris, could extend his scheme of conquest only to the south. Secondly, his first Karnatak expedition of 1637 sent under Ranadulla Khan and Shahji against Ikkeri, in Shimoga District, was successful and the terms dictated to Mirhabdra Nayak, Ikkeri Chieftain, were such that the Sultan got 18 lakhs of buns (Rs.54 lacs) in addition to half of Ikkeri. The vast riches lured the Sultan and induced him to undertake frequent expeditions to further south. Thirdly, the Sultan was anxious to exact tribute from the ruler of Mysore. Lastly, Muhammad Nana, a contemporary Persian source gives another reason which looks improbable. The Sultan "thought of bringing the countries

1. Annals, I. p. 73.
3. K.N.V., XI. vs. 67-70; . vs. 92-93.
of Karnataka and Malnad under his sway in order to strengthen and glorify the Islamic religion in the dominions of Hindus. But this may not be a fact, because in the first place there were many Hindu officers like Shahji, Vedoji, Hanumappa Nayak, Channaiya and others in the Bijapur army. Could they permit such an action at a distant place? Secondly, from the study of his wars with the Chieftains of the Karnataka, it can be gathered that he was more concerned with the plunder than with the glorification of Islam. Lastly, the Sultan was in the habit of appointing only Hindu officers to the conquered Karnataka countries. Hanumappa Nayak was appointed to govern over Rasavapatna in 1637 and in 1638 Bangalore was given to Shahji. Of course, like every other chieftain and Sultan of the 17th century Muhammad Adil Shah was also anxious to bring under his control as much territory as he could. The author of Muhammad Nama seems to have exaggerated the intentions of the Sultan. So, religion ceased to be a dominant factor in taking political decisions.

The Sultan launched the expedition under Ranadulla Khan with Shahji under him for the conquest of the Karnataka countries particularly Mysore. The other Maratha generals who accompanied the expedition were Vedoji, Raghava Pandit, Hanumappa Nayak, Channaiya and others in the Bijapur army. Could they permit such an action at a distant place? Secondly, from the study of his wars with the Chieftains of the Karnataka, it can be gathered that he was more concerned with the plunder than with the glorification of Islam. Lastly, the Sultan was in the habit of appointing only Hindu officers to the conquered Karnataka countries. Hanumappa Nayak was appointed to govern over Rasavapatna in 1637 and in 1638 Bangalore was given to Shahji. Of course, like every other chieftain and Sultan of the 17th century Muhammad Adil Shah was also anxious to bring under his control as much territory as he could. The author of Muhammad Nama seems to have exaggerated the intentions of the Sultan. So, religion ceased to be a dominant factor in taking political decisions.

2. Linganna Kavi (Ke.N.V.) calls Ranadulla Khan as Rustam-i-Zaman, Bhumalapura copper plate grant (Mysore Archaeological Report, 1922, pp. 122-123) refers to him as Ranadulla Khan Khan-e-Azam, Wilks (Vol. I. p. 31) calls him Bend Dhoola Khan, Muhammad Nama (Shivaji Nibhandavali, Part II) calls him Randaula Khan and states that Rustam-e-Zaman was his title.
Siddoji and Kannoji. Shahji, Hanumappa Nayak and Channaiya were appointed to be the Chief advisers and guides. With these generals, Ranadulla Khan set out with an army of 10,000 horse, 40 elephants and 1,00,000 foot according to Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali.

Ranadulla and Shahji marched with their army and crossed the Tungabhadra. Marching swiftly, they attacked Sira which lay enroute to Bangalore, killed its ruler, Kasthuri Ranga and annexed the town with all its belongings. Commencing their march, they attacked and took possession of Tumkur and finally encamped at Silaganga, situated to the North-west of Bangalore. Kempe Gowda attacked the Bijapur camp and fought with the army for three days in which he was totally defeated and driven out. Shutting himself up in the fort of Bangalore, Kempe Gowda continued the fight but finally was overwhelmed by the besiegers. In this connection Paramananda says, "The Pajah of Bengalooru (Bangalore) was expert in the art of fighting and after a bold stand lasting for many days, he surrendered the fort of Bangalore". The war came to a close by the conclusion of a treaty in which Shahji played a leading role.

1. K.N.V., XI. 56-98; XII. 92-93.
2. C.Vam., p. 57. Although the Kannada source gives us the above figures, it is difficult to believe whether Bijapur which was not after all a big kingdom could afford to send such a huge army. In the absence of any corroborative evidence, we are not in a position to furnish the exact figure.
3. K.N.V., XI. 43.
4. K.N.V., XI. 43. Kempe Gowda was an able ruler of Bangalore. During his rule for fifty five years, he enlarged Bangalore with the additions of Savanalur and Magadi and (contd)
role as a mediator. The terms of the treaty were, first, Kempe Gowda surrendered the fort of Bangalore with all its property intact and agreed to pay annual contribution to Bijapur and secondly, Ranadulla received Kempe Gowda's son as hostage and promised protection to Kempe Gowda. Ranadulla found this place convenient to hold the southern territories. Kempe Gowda was sent to Magadi with his family and followers and Bangalore was handed over to Shahji. Govinda Vaidya says "With the permission of the Sultan of Bijapur, Ranadulla Khan gave Bangalore to Shahji and marched on with his political programme" (i.e. conquest of Srirangapatna). 2

Acquisition of Bangalore in December 1638 was an important event because after 1638 Bangalore remained a principal centre of Maratha activities under Shahji in Mysore till 1684 when Ekoji, son of Shahji disposed it off. Shahji found sufficient opportunities in Bangalore to build up his career and carve out an independent principality of his own because the influence of Bijapur in course of time over the Karnatak territories declined. Shahji, "The cleverest and the most ambitious" man that he was, turned Bangalore into a convenient military base for his future operations against Kanthirava

5. made it a cultural centre by constructing temples and tanks. Bangalore was the capital of the Yelahanka principality or Morasahad.

1. Sardesai's Commemoration Volume, p. 75.
Narasaraja. As Bangalore was not far off from Srirangapatna, the capital of the Wodeyar dynasty, frequent armed conflicts between Shahji and Kanthirava were inevitable at a later period. Shahji's diplomacy reached its height when Kempe Gowda distressed much for the loss of such a valuable possession as Bangalore, was consoled by him with the offer of Magadi. Had Ranadulla minded, Magadi also could have been taken. However, viewed from the angle of the Mysore-Maratha relations, Shahji's possession of Bangalore was an important milestone in his political career and it was from there he threatened Mysore.

Accompanied by Shahji, Ranadulla left Bangalore and about the middle of January 1639, he was at Srirangapatna. Ranadulla sent his envoys to Kanthirava to demand the payment of tribute due to the Bijapur Government. Mysore was not a tributary of Bijapur in the past, but Ranadulla was imposing the tribute for the first time taking advantage of the military success at Bangalore. On refusal, Ranadulla ordered his generals to besiege the fort. The Maratha generals who commanded the troops were Vedoji, Raghava Pandit and Shahji. Vedoji commanded 4,000 horse, 20 elephants, and a large number of infantry. Raghava Pandit had at his disposal 3,000 horse, 20 elephants and some trained troops; Shahji 6,000 horse, 7 to 8 thousand foot and 10 elephants.¹

¹ K.N.Y., XI. v. 89.
On 18 January Panadulla and Shahji laid siege to both the forts of Srirangapatna and Mysore simultaneously, but the Bijapur army was repulsed with a heavy loss in both places. Nanjaraja, the commander of the Mysore army made several night attacks on the besiegers who had encamped themselves at different places such as Arakere, Hosaholalu, and Yadavagiri (Melkote) and killed many. Inspite of the successive reverses, Panadulla persisted in his resolve to take the forts. The operations began more vigorously than before. Shahji accompanied by his Maratha generals such as Vedoji, Paghava Pandit, Siddoji and Kannoji and Muslim colleagues like Afzal Khan, Mustafa Khan, Iklas Khan and Farid Khan renewed the siege and pulled down the ramparts of the fort of Mysore after three days of incessant fighting.

As to the point who won the victory, sources differ. The Kannada sources such as Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam, Chikkadevaraja Vijayam, Annals of the Mysore Royal Family, and Rajakathavali maintain that the Bijapur army was repulsed with heavy loss. Epigraphical evidence supports this statement. A record of 1639 issued shortly after the event refers to Kanthirava "as the destroyer of the demons, the race of Vavanas". Another record refers to him, "as God Narasimha

5. Epigraphia Carnatica, III (1) NJ. 198.
incarnate born on earth to destroy the Turuska" and further states, "when he went forth to war, the Mechhas fell down in swoon". Historians like Col. Wilks, Krishnaswamy Ivengar and C. Havavadana Rao, relying on the above sources, have accepted that the Bijapur army suffered defeat. But the non-Kannada sources do not agree with this view. Muhammad Nama says that "Pustam-e-Zaman (Banadulla Khan) himself started to punish the Rajah of Srisangapatna named Kanti Bai (Kanthirava). He besieged the fort for one month and then the Rajah sent his ambassador with a message saying 'leave the fort to me and I will give you 5 lakhs of hunis as an indemnity', Pustam-e-Zaman granted this request." Shiva Bharatha by Paramananda says that "Kanthirava, the Raja of Srisangapatna was very cruel and was subdued by Shahji, which act of valour was much appreciated by Banadulla". Shivakalina Patra Sara Sangraha, a Marathi source, maintains that Shahji took tribute from Kanthirava of Mysore. Each source glorifies the exploit of its own master and never spares the opponent. Kannada sources praise him as the saviour of the Karnatak from the onslaughts of the Muslims. The Persian source speaks in high terms of the conquest of Mysore by Banadulla Khan whereas the Sanskrit and Marathi sources brand Kanthirava as cruel and

1. Epigraphia Carnatica, III (1) Sr. 103 (1617).
6. Chapter IX. Vs. 39-41.
7. II. p. 171.
maintain that Shahji exhibited much valour in the fight against Kanthirava and that Panadulla Khan was pleased with his daring qualities. From two facts, namely the stationing of Hanumappa Nayak and Qazi Sved at Mysore till the tribute was paid up and the partition of Mysore between Ranadulla and Kanthirava, it is possible to conclude that Kanthirava was defeated and was compelled to accept the treaty of 1639.

The treaty between Ranadulla and Kanthirava was signed on 21st January 1639. The terms of the treaty were first, the territory lying to the south of the Cauvery should be left to Kanthirava, secondly, the territory lying to the north of the river was to be taken over by the Bijapur Sultan. Thirdly, the right of collecting revenue in the latter region and its remission to the Bijapur Government after deducting necessary expenses incidental to its management was left to Kanthirava. This explains that Ranadulla was satisfied with establishing his suzerainty over the region north of the Cauvery. Finally, Kanthirava agreed to pay Bijapur a tribute of 5 lakhs according to Muhammad Nama. Hanumappa Nayak and Qazi Sved were stationed at Mysore to collect the tribute, Guards were also kept to safeguard their interests. After making these arrangements, Ranadulla withdrew from Mysore.

Kanthirava was disappointed, for he had lost his

2. Ibid., Shiv. Mib., II. p. 100.
new conquests in the country of Jagadeva. Although he agreed to this humiliating treaty at the time of his distress, he did not fulfill its terms after the withdrawal of the Bijapur army. The tribute he paid had drained his treasury. During the course of the war, Kanthirava noticed Shahji commanding a major portion of the army and observed that he fought heroically like 'Mahisasura'. This explains the leading role of Shahji in the operations.

The policy pursued by the Sultan in the first Karnatak expedition against Ikkeri was entirely different from that of the second. In the first he aimed merely at the collection of tribute but in the second expedition, he tried to establish his rule wherever possible. Thus Bangalore was occupied and given over to Shahji. This expedition was specially significant because for the first time Shahji came into armed conflict with Kanthirava. The stage was set for both Kanthirava and Shahji to play their vital role in the Karnatak politics.

Within a year Mysore and Bijapur came into bitter conflict for the second time over the question of the payment of tribute due to Bijapur. Shahji once again played a leading role in this expedition as well. In 1640 the third Karnatak expedition was undertaken by the Sultan and this expedition

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1. The country of Jagadeva was the Channapatna viceroyalty which was incorporated into Mysore in 1630.
2. K.N.V., XII, 45.
provided Shahji with a large number of principalities in Mysore. Several causes brought about this expedition. First, Virabhadra Navak of Ikkeri wanted to punish Hanumappa Nayak of Basavapatna who had been responsible for the Bijapur invasion of Ikkeri in 1637. Virabhadra Navak had fought against the Bijapur army, suffered heavily in men and materials, and concluded a treaty with them by offering 18 lakhs muns and half of his kingdom. 1 Since 1637 he had maintained friendly relationships with Bijapur. He wanted to make use of this friendship against Hanumappa Nayak. He despatched a representative named Rama Krishnaiya with presents to the Sultan of Bijapur and solicited his aid to destroy Hanumappa Nayak. 2 Secondly, Hanumappa Nayak who had been the chief adviser to Ranadulla Khan in the second Karnatak expedition, had revolted against Bijapur. He refused to be in charge of the collection of tribute from Mysore. He went to his capital, Basavapatna and contributed to "the general rising of the Hindu Sajas throughout the Karnatak against Bijapur". 3 Lastly, Kanthirava violated the terms of the treaty of 1639 by refusing to pay the arrears of tribute due to Bijapur. So, Samakrishnaiya's mission to Bijapur, the disloyal conduct of Hanumappa Nayak and the refusal on the part of Kanthirava to pay the arrears of tribute were the causes that brought about the third Karnatak expedition. The immediate cause of the expedition was the

1. F.N.V., XI. Ke.N.V., IV.
2. Ke.V.V, VI, p.108; Annals of the Mysore Royal Family (I. p.93) states that two persons named Huvalva and Puvaiya were sent to Bijapur.
treacherous conduct of Hanumappa Nayak. About January 1640
the Bijapur Sultan appointed a commission to conduct an enquiry
into the unsatisfactory arrangements made at Mysore in respect
of the collection of revenues. Nagamangala Channaiya was a
member of this commission. When the commission arrived at
Basavapatna, Hanumappa murdered Channaiya. This was too much
for the Sultan to tolerate. He at once fitted out an expedition
to the Karnatak under the command of Ranadulla Khan.¹

Shahji went from Bangalore and joined Ranadulla Khan.
Virabhadra Navak joined the Bijapur army at Harihara with the
double objectives of punishing Hanumappa Nayak and regaining
certain territories which he had lost in the previous war.² The
combined Bijapur-Ikkari armies crossing the river Bhadra arrived
at Basavapatna and Shahji with the help of Afzal Khan, Radaji,
Siddi Fakhim and Bassain Ambar went and invested the fort. The
Kannada sources, Annals of the Mysore Royal Family³ and Mysore
Phoregala Vamswali⁴ say that Tenge was seized. Tenge may be
interpreted as Kenge identical with Basavapatna. When the
Bijapuris gained the upper hand, Hanumappa submitted and delivered
the fort with 40 lakhs of muns (Rs. 1,20,00,000). Thereupon
Hanumappa Nayak and his brother were captured and sent to Bijapur.

¹ Annals, I. pp. 33-34. Mrs. Dho. Vam., says that Ranadulla Khan
was dismissed and Khan was appointed in his place. This
seems to be incorrect as Fc. N.V., K.N.V., and M.H. speak of
the presence of Ranadulla Khan in the campaign of 1640.
² Shiv. Mhb., II. p. 102.
³ Annals, I. p. 85.
⁴ Mrs. Dho. Vam., I Chapter.
⁶ Ibid., K.N.V., VI. V. 09; K.N.V., XVI. Vs. 25-29.
Martuza Baig was appointed to be the Governor of Basavapatna. As to the part played by Shahji in this campaign, Shiva Bharatha says, "When Ranadulla attacked Karnatak then Shahji defeated Kenge Kayak of Vrishapattan" (Basavapatna). This is confirmed by an account compiled in "manjore in the days of Sarfoji Raja by his Chitnis in 1803, "Shahji went on the southern invasion with Ranadulla Khan sent by Adil Shah. He conquered Kenge Kayak". After the reduction of Basavapatna, the investing army went and occupied Chikkanavakanahalli (30 miles S.W. of Sira). Then the fort of Helur (in Hassan) was taken. Tumkur was next attacked and taken possession of. Then places like Doddaballapur, Kunigal (30 miles W. of Bangalore) were also taken. All these were independent principalities. Muhammad Nama describes more or less in detail as to how the places like Basavapatna, Chikkanavakanahalli, Helur, Tumkur, Doddaballapur and Kunigal were reduced by the Bijapur army. Kannada sources also throw much light on the siege of the said places by the besiegers. But there were still more other battles that were fought between the armies of Bijapur and Mysore which Muhammad Nama does not describe. Our source of information in regard to these battles is only the Kannada sources.

About July - August 1660, the Bijapur army arrived at Bangalore plundering the towns and villages on the way.

1. Ch. JX. V.37.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
Kanthirava Narasaraja was alarmed by the disturbing activities of the Bijapur army. Kanthirava Narasaraja feared because he knew full well the strength of Shahji. The defence of Mysore against this Maratha onslaught was the primary concern of Kanthirava Narasaraja. For that purpose he strengthened the defences of Ramagiridurga which commanded the way to Mysore. Nanjarajaiva the Mysore Commander went there at the instance of his overlord and stood ready to meet the challenge of the Bijauris. On the other hand the Bijapur army at the head of Shahji and Vedoji arrived near Ramagiri and invested the fort. A terrible battle was fought under the walls of Ramagiridurga between the two armies in which, according to Mysore Dhoregala Samsavali, Vedoji defeated the Mysore army and took possession of the fort. It was a distinct victory to the Bijapuris. This victory was a short lived one. Nanjarajaiva shifted the theatre of war to Pulivurdurga, secured additional reinforcements from Mysore and commenced fighting more vigorously than before. At Pulivurdurga a battle was fought in which the Bijapuris were defeated and pursued by the Mysore army. Bagur which was held by Vedoji Pant was next attacked and taken possession of by Nanjarajaiva. The victorious Mysore army then went to Turuvekere (turugere) which the Bijapuris had occupied and regained it from them. This was followed by the acquisition of Donavinakere from the hands of the

2. F.K. Ivenger (Ancient India, p.204) refers to the name as "Yemaaj Pandit". V.V.I., V.V.I. pp.32-33.
Bijapuris. Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam is the only source which describes these campaigns of the Mysore army against the Bijapuris. Muhammad Nama maintains discreet silence on these military adventures of the Mysore army. This is because, like any other court chronicles, it omits those events which were inglorious to its master.

On the whole the result of the expedition is that important places like Doddaballapura, Tumkur, Kunigal, Chikkanavakanahalli and Pamgiri Durga were left in charge of Shahji. The addition of these territories not only increased his power but also his desire for more territories. Mysore was surrounded by powerful enemies like the Navaks of Ikkeri, Madura and Basavapatna, the Marathas and the Muslims. Of all the most dangerous rivals were the Marathas. The development of Maratha interest at the next door was a permanent eyesore to Mysore. However, from the policy pursued towards the Bijapuris, Kanthirava Narasaraja was on an advantageous position. In the first place he did not pay the arrears of tribute. Secondly, he defeated the Bijapuris and drove them out of Mysore. As a result of this Mysoreans and the Marathas, who were the closest allies of Bijapur, never lived in peace. Kanthirava never reconciled himself to the presence of the Marathas in Bangalore.

The Sultan was offended by the policy of the Mysore Raja. The refusal to pay the arrears of tribute, the expulsion of Vedoji

1. K.N.\*, XVI. Vs. 32-91.
Pant from Bagur and the acquisition of a number of Bijapur territories by Kanthirava were matters of great concern to the Sultan. He came to the conclusion that Kanthirava was aiming at the complete destruction of the Bijapur interests in the Karnatak and that if effective steps were not taken to check his aggression, there would be no chance to retain the conquered territories of the Karnatak. Therefore, the Sultan, acting on his own initiative, sent out another expedition for the fourth time under Mustafa Khan in December 1640. This time Mustafa Khan was properly instructed to reattempt the acquisition of Srirangapatna itself. Marching at the head of a large army by the usual route of Gadag, Lakshemswar and Basavapatna, Mustafa Khan arrived at Chandanahalli in the neighbourhood of Bellur. From there he sent a message to Kanthirava urging him to fulfil the terms of the treaty of 1639. Instead of paying the tribute, Kanthirava offered to fight. A terrible battle was fought between the two armies in which the Bijapuris were completely defeated and put to flight. This event of 1640 is narrated in the Kannada sources such as Annals of the Mysore Royal Family, Mysore Dhoregala Vamsavali and MysorU Dhoregala Purvottara, but Muhammad Nama does not say anything about this point obviously because the event was not in favour of its master. The consequences of the expedition were that Kanthirava stood as a great barrier in Mysore against the Bijapur Sultan's expansionist policy, that the

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Bijapur territories in the Karnatak under Shahji, Murtaz Baig and others were threatened and that the Sultan was sounded to check Kanthirava's aggression in the Karnatak.

The failure of the fourth Karnatak expedition did not deter the Sultan to plan another expedition to the south. The reduction of Srirangapatna was his first concern. He was not worried about the means by which it could be effected. Thus the fifth Karnatak expedition was fitted out in March 1641 under the command of Vedoji Pant and Afzal Khan. These generals had sufficient knowledge of the Karnatak affairs since they had participated in the previous Karnatak campaigns. Vedoji Pant, in particular, had not forgotten the humiliation done to him by Kanthirava in the previous campaign. The loss of Bagur was a terrible blow to him. With a firm determination to humble Kanthirava and to retake all that he had lost in the Karnatak, Vedoji Pant invaded Mysore. As usual Shahji joined Vedoji Pant. Tippur, Hampapura, Kannambadi, Akkihebbal, Ganni, Nallur, Madapura, Katterighatta, Hosaholalu and other places in the neighbourhood of Srirangapatna fell into his hands like an house of cards. In the absence of any opposition, the task of plundering towns and villages became easy. Mysore was threatened. Kanthirava despatched Nanjarajaiya to arrest the progress of the Maratha general. Nanjarajaiya met the Bijapur army in the vicinity of Srirangapatna and inflicted a crushing defeat on Vedoji Pant and Afzal Khan. There upon the Bijapur army retreated to Bijapur. During the course of its return
journey, Veijo Pant reoccupied Turuvekere and left it in charge of Afzal Khan. Thus the loss of Bagur was compensated by the occupation of Turuvekere. These two expeditions ended in failure excepting the reoccupation of Turuvekere. Consequently, three distinct settlements could be seen, one at Bangalore under Shahji, another at Turuvekere under Afzal Khan and still another at Basavapatna under Murtaza Baig. Among these three generals, Shahji enjoyed large powers having control over all the Karnataka territories.

These expeditions indicate that Bijapur was aiming at the subjugation of the Karnataka territories particularly Mysore. Bijapur could not reduce Mysore because Kanthirava defended it sometimes by accommodating matters with the Bijapur generals and other times by repulsing them. In the conflict between Mysore and Bijapur, the Marathas gained advantages. Shahji enjoyed the confidence of the Bijapur Sultan. Being convinced of his loyalty to the Government, the Sultan appointed Shahji to govern the Karnataka territories. Each Karnataka expedition enlarged his powers and extent of his territories. Thus sufficient opportunities were created by these expeditions for Shahji to make himself strong at Bangalore and to serve as a great barrier against the expansionist policy of Mysore.

1. Annals, I. p. 86; Mys. Pdo. Yarn., pn. 38-39. G.S. Sardesai in his book New History of the Marathas, Vol.I. p.72, says that the Sultan held grand celebrations at Bijapur to commemorate the unprecedented triumph of three years continuous efforts in which all the Hindu potentates of the South had been overcome. Although the Bijapur Sultan held a grand Durbar in commemoration of the reduction of all most all the Hindu Chieftains of the south, the fact remains that Mysore was not reduced and the supremacy of Bijapur never remained unchallenged.
Having gained a firm position in the Karnataka, Shahji devoted himself to the task of establishing a Maratha court at Bangalore and organising the administration of the conquered territories. As Bangalore and Bijapur were far away from each other in those days of difficult communication, it is no wonder, if Shahji assumed royal splendour. Several sources including the Kannada source throw light on the grandeur of the Maratha Court at Bangalore. Paramananda says, "Shahji took the delightful place, Bangalore from Kempe Gowda which was presented to him for his own maintenance by Ranaullah Khan".

Another record compiled in Tanjore in 1803 mentions, "Being pleased with the sight of Bangalore, the security of its fortress and the salubrity of its climate, Shahji made up his mind to fix his headquarters there". The fortress of Bangalore was repaired and provided with a strong artillery. The fort had four towers and nine gates. The city was beautiful with nine tanks and some temples dedicated to Shiva, Vishnu and Dharmaraya. It became the principal centre of the Maratha culture. Doddballapur and Kolar rose into prominence in this period. On certain occasions when not engaged in military expeditions, Shahji used to stay either in Doddballapur or Kolar. Nandi was his summer residence. His palace at Bangalore was named "Gowri Mahal

1. Shiva Bharat, IX. 43.
2. S.K. Narasimhalah: The founder of Bangalore, Ch.II & III.
and the popular belief is that the palace was in the present Pasavanarudi extension. His court was adorned with poets, musicians and saints. Jayaram Pindya, author of Radha Madhava Vilasa Champu and Parnala Parvathagrahanakhvanam, went all the way from Nasik to Bangalore and through Shivaraya Goswamin was introduced to Shahji at his court. Shahji admired him for his ability to compose poems in twelve languages. Shahji encouraged both Sanskrit and Marathi. Great poets like Malhari Bhatta, Naropant Hanumanthe and others flourished at his court. Naropant Hanumanthe and his two sons, Janardhanapant and Raghunathapant were well-known historical personalities of the time. Prabhakara Bhatta was his purohit. Thus Shahji established almost a royal splendour at Bangalore.

For military and administrative purposes, Shahji imported many Maratha families, provided them with all facilities and trained them properly to fit into his administrative machinery. He introduced Maratha names of Deshpande, Deshmukh, Kulakarni together with Persian designations of Qanungo, Serishtedar and several other novelties. He left the civil administration in the hands of the native officers. He ordered his officers to observe sufficient moderation in the collection of the revenue, for Shahji knew that he was at a distant place from Bijapur and that he should secure the support of the people for smooth administration of the Karnatak territories. His policy was to gain confidence from below and power from above. At the same time he was conscious of his duty to the Bijapur Government. He remitted a part of

the revenue to the Bijapur treasury and the remainder was utilised for his own maintenance.¹ The Sultan of Bijapur appreciated this and went to the extent of addressing Shahji in one of his letters as, "To our son Shahji Bhonsle, the pillar of our State".²

Shahji had the privilege of meeting his wife, Jija Bai, son, Shivaji, and the tutor, Dadaji Konddev here at Bangalore. Shivaji’s military, civil and revenue organisation in Maharashtra could no longer be concealed from the knowledge of the public, particularly from the eyes of the Sultan of Bijapur. In order to place Shivaji on the traditional path of Bijapur service, Shahji, acting either on his own initiative or at the instance of the Bijapur Sultan, invited Shivaji to Bangalore with his mother and the tutor. Therefore the whole family journeyed from Maharashtra to Bangalore and staved there for about two years from 1640 to 1642. Jija Bai urged her husband to celebrate the marriage of Shivaji and make a provision for his life. She complained that her son got nothing from his father whereas Ekoji and Sambhaji who were growing at Bangalore would get all his wealth and power. A compromise was effected. Shahji celebrated the marriage of Shivaji with a girl named Sai Bai Nimbalkar and formally bestowed on him the Poona Jagir. Jija Bai was glad at this and having visited a number of Hindu temples in the Karnatak, ¹ Wilks, I, pp.45-46. ² Sarkar: House of Shivaji, p. 78.
she returned to Poona with Shivaji and his party. Thus Shahji organised the civil administration of the Karnataka territories under his control and had the satisfaction of meeting his first wife and the promising son, Shivaji.

Shahji appointed his own men to administer the Karnataka territories as Governors. Several inscriptions found in Mysore State particularly in Doddaballapur, Chikkaballapur and Kolar speak of the activities of the Maratha Governors in the Karnataka.

Shahji was not destined to enjoy peace at Bangalore for long time. He came into conflict with Mysore in 1642. The reason for this conflict was that Mysore was not reconciled with the stay of Shahji at Bangalore. The existence of the Bijapur settlements namely Bangalore, Turuvakere and Basavapatna in Mysore under enterprising generals such as Shahji, Afzal Khan and Murtan Baig respectively had not only posed a threat to the security of Mysore but proved a great obstacle to the expansionist policy of Mysore as well. Kanthirava resolved first to reduce Turuvakere which had served a stepping stone to further conquests of Mysore by the Bijapuris in the past. He sent his Dalvov, Nanjarajaiva to conquer Turuvakere. In May 1642 Nanjarajaiva went and occupied Turuvakere by putting to flight its governor, Afzal Khan. This was followed by the reduction of Anebagur. Leaving

2. Appendix, I.
3. K. N. V., XI. v. 56; Annals, I. p. 86.
the two fortresses in charge of Hampendra, a Mysorean, Nanjaraiva returned to the capital with large spoils of war in addition to forty horses and an elephant named Bokkalika. Shahji could not save Afzal Khan because his military equipment was inadequate to meet the situation. The consequence of this event was that Shahji was warned that unless effective steps were taken to undo the work of Kanthirava his position would be jeopardised. Thus Shahji could not live in peace in his new Bangalore principality.

Since Shahji's power at Bangalore was in its infant stage, he could not deal with Kanthirava independently. He was to depend either on the assistance of his overlord at Bijapur or on the military support of the Karnatak Chieftain in his wars against Mysore. An opportunity occurred in 1638 when Shahji could oppose Kanthirava in the battle field in alliance with the Navak of Holenarasipur. Shahji had to rely upon the Karnatak Chieftain because Bijapur was not in a position to help him. Panadulla Khan died in 1643 with the result Shahji lost an important friend at the Bijapur Court. Consequently Muhammad Adil Shah could not turn his attention to the immediate needs of Shahji at Bangalore. The reason for the war of 1644 was the refusal of Narasimha Navak of Holenarasipur to pay the arrears of tribute due to Mysore. When Mysore collectors went there, they were

insulted and forcibly driven out. Highly enraged at the
conduct of the Nayak, Kanthirava declared war. His Dalvov
went and besieged the fort in April 1614. As to the part
played by Shahji in this campaign, Govinda Vaidya says that
Narasimha Navak in his war with Mysore, was supported by the
Muslims. 1 By Muslims he meant those who represented Bijapur
interest in the Karnatak and the Bijapur army. References are
made to the Muslim army from Chapter 11 to 18 and to their plun­
dering expeditions in the Karnatak, particularly in the kingdom
of Mysore. According to him, the Muslim army consisted of
generals like Afzal Khan, Amber Khan, Vedoji, Shahji, Raghava
Pandit and others. 2 So, those who represented Muslim interest
at the time of the siege of Holenarasipur by the Mysore army,
were Murtaz Baig of Basavapatna and Shahji of Bangalore. It is
quite likely that Murtaz Baig and Shahji were the principal
generals who cooperated with Narasimha Navak of Holenarasipur
against Mysore at the head of an army consisting of 8000 horse. 3
In the fight that ensued, the combined armies were defeated and
dispersed by Nanjarajaiva. The hostility was terminated by the
conclusion of a treaty according to which Narasimha Navak retained
his principality by paying up all the arrears of tribute. Nanja­
rajaiva returned triumphantly with vast booty and the promise of
regular tribute. Viewed from the angle of the Mysore-Maratha
relations, the event reveals that Shahji did not remain an idle

1. K.N.V., XVIII. Vs. 2-3.
2. K.N.V., XI. Vs. 5, 9, 66, 89, 93, 94, 98; XII. Vs. 66-66;
   XIV. Vs. 25, 29; XVIII. Vs. 80-90, 113-123.
3. Ibid., XVIII. V. 13.
and unconcerned spectator in the drama staged by Kanthirava and that he used all possible means at his disposal to check the progress of Kanthirava by making alliance with such power that would oppose Mysore. The event further strengthened the resolution of Shahji to put down Kanthirava when convenient opportunities occurred to him. His active participation in the campaign of 1645 against Mysore was a clear indication of his determination.

The provocative activities of Kanthirava made Shahji think that if he wanted to retain the jagir in Mysore and serve his master as a loyal Bijapur representative, he should ally himself with some power that opposed the expansion of Mysore. That opportunity for making military alliance came when war broke out between the king of Mysore and Nanjundaraja, the Chieftain of Pirivapatna in 1645.

Several causes brought about the war between Kanthirava Narasaraja and Nanjundaraja. First, Nanjundaraja had not paid the annual tribute of 3000 varahas (Rs.9000) due to the Mysore Raja according to the terms of the treaty entered into between himself and Chamaraja Wodeyar. Secondly, he did not ally himself with king of Mysore against the Bijapur Sultan. Finally, Nanjundaraja felt strong after his defensive alliance with the ruler of Ikkeri.

1. K.N.V., XVIII. Vs. 20-182.
2. K.N.V., XVIII. Vs. 20 and 21; Annals, I. pp.69-71; Mys. Dho. Vam., pp.40-42. Wilks (Vol. I. p.64) says that the Raja of Pirivapatna was Viraraja, the son of Nanjunda Raja. This is incorrect because the K.N.V., specifically mentions the name of Pirivapatna Chieftain as Nanjundaraja.
Govinda Vaidya makes reference to the presence of Maratha and Muslim generals such as Vedoji Pandit, Shahji, Ankush Khan, Ambar Khan and Malik Pahim who figured prominently on the side of Nanjundaraja of Piriyapatna. This point leads us logically to the conclusion that in his war against Mysore, Nanjundaraja sought the assistance of Shahji and other generals and thus we find Shahji, Vedoji and others taking active part in the war against Kanthirava Narasaraja.

As to the question why Nanjundaraja solicited the military aid of Virabhadra Navak of Ikkeri and Shahji of Bangalore, it may be gathered that since 1639 Ikkeri and Mysore were not on good terms and that the people of Ikkeri used to call the people of Mysore by the epithet, Mayavais and Mayavadis (deluders and diplomatists) political jealousy and hatred, probably account for such a description. Further Ikkeri supported Bijapur against Mysore in 1639 and 1640. Shahji too, was on inimical terms with Mysore ever since the treaty of 1639. Well trained in war and diplomacy of the period, Nanjundaraja thought that he could keep Mysore ruler at a respectable distance by joining hands with Virabhadra Navak and Shahji. Therefore he allied with the Navak of Ikkeri and Shahji and went to war against Kanthirava. Shahji, Vedoji and other Bijapur generals advanced at the head of 8,000 horse and 15,000 foot and finally encamped at Bettadapur. The Ikkeri army went and joined Shahji. From there the combined army marched and reinforced the Piriyapatna army.

On the other side, Kanthirava Narasaraja instructed Dalvoy
Nanjaraiaiya to effect the conquest of Pirivapatna. Accordingly Nanjarajaiaiya set out at the head of a large army and took possession of Palupare, a place commanding the way to Piriyapatna. From there the Mysore army went and laid siege to the fortress of Piriyapatna. The siege was protracted for nearly ten months (January to October 1645). The besiegers and defenders fought desperately. A fierce battle was fought under the walls of the fortress of Pirivapatna in which Nanjundaraja was wounded, Ikkeri army was routed, Vedoji was driven out, and Shahji was put to flight. The palace was reduced to dust and the town was given to plunder. Thus Nanjarajaiaiya conquered Pirivapatna. At the news of this victory, Kanthirava Narasaraja visited the fortress and after making necessary arrangements for its administration, he returned to Mysore with vast booty. Pirivapatna was incorporated into the kingdom of Mysore on October 7, 1645.

Unfortunately there are no other sources to substantiate the account of the siege of Pirivapatna by the Mysore army and the role of Shahji in the campaign. Muhammad Nama maintains discreet silence on this important event. Maratha Rakhars also do not say anything about this warfare. The reason for the omission seems to be that generally court chroniclers do not take into account inconvenient factors. Almost all the Kannada sources such as

Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam, Annals of the Mysore Royal Family, Mysore Dhoregala Vamsavali, Chikkadevara Vamsavali, Mysore Rajara Charitre, are emphatic in stating that the siege of Piriya-
patna by the Mysore army was protracted one and the latter won a
brilliant victory over the enemies. On the whole these expeditions
of 1644 and 1645 clearly reveal that Shahji's life during this
period was full of political and military activities. In the light
Kannada sources, it is difficult to agree with J.N.Sarkar's view
that Shahji remained idle during the period between 1644 and 1646.
Zahur, the author of Muhammad Nama on whom J.N.Sarkar relied, was
not able to gather correct information regarding Shahji's activities
in the Karnatag during this period and therefore, omitted to make
mention of Shahji's deeds in his work.

The battle of Piriypatna proved advantageous to Kanthirava
Narasaraja for, he was able to extend his geographical limit as far
as Coorg. Defeated Nanjundaraja was pursued from place to place.
In his wanderings Nanjundaraja entered the region of Coorg seeking
the help of its ruler. While he was in Nanjarayapatna he was
murdered by a Mysorean in December 1645. Thus the king of Mysore
could extend his boundary as far as Nanjarayapatna in Coorg, in the
West.

1. Ch. XVII.
5. p. 23.
Shahji was pursued from Piriyapatna. The expulsion of Afzal Khan from Turuvekere and the defeat of Shahji and Vedoji at Piriyapatna had tremendous effect on the relations of Shahji with Mysore. His relations went from bad to worse. He saw the futility of resisting Mysore with the assistance of the Karnataka chieftains much inferior to Kanthirava. With the assassination of Nanjundaraja in Coorg in 1645 and the final annexation of Piriyapatna to Mysore Shahji's chances of reducing Mysore became remote. The hostile relations paved the way for the intervention of Bijapur in the affairs of Mysore because Shahji's position was at stake in the Karnataka.

Bijapur launched the Karnataka expedition in 1646. Shahji participated in the campaign. Several causes brought about this invasion. First, Kanthirava had defeated Shahji who had aided Nanjundaraja of Piriyapatna in his war against Mysore. The Sultan of Bijapur, being alarmed at this, met his generals in a conference and informed them that Kanthirava had grown dangerous by conquering strategic places like Ramagiridurga, Turuvekere and Bagur. He also emphasised the need of leading an expedition to Mysore to check the aggression of Kanthirava. At this, Mustafa Khan volunteered to be in charge of the expedition. Secondly, Kanthirava had expelled Afzal Khan and occupied Turuvekere. The subversion of Bijapur authority over Turuvekere was a terrible blow to the Bijapur interest in Mysore. Thirdly, Shivappa Nayak

2. Ibid., XIX. V.6.
ascended the throne of Bednur in November, 1645. Eversince the treaty of Bednur on 30 December 1637, Tirshadra Nayak, the predecessor and uncle of Shivappa Nayak, had been on friendly terms with Bijapur. Since the accession of Shivappa Nayak, suspicion arose in the mind of the Sultan whether the new Nayak would follow the same policy as his predecessor had done or could change his policy. The Sultan wanted to know the exact attitude of Shivappa Nayak towards Bijapur. There were two reasons to suspect Shivappa Nayak’s loyalty. First, Shivappa Nayak during the life time of his uncle, had wrested the fort of Ikkeri "from its careless indolent, pleasure loving Adil-Shahji commandant". But in 1644 it had been recovered together with Sagar. Secondly, he removed his uncle from the throne and took possession of the Bednur kingdom. From such an usurper, the Sultan could not expect loyalty to Bijapur.

However, it was good to know the disposition of the Nayak. Lastly, Sriranga Rava the last emperor of Vijayanagar, ascended the throne on 29 October, 1642, and organised his resources at Vellore. He had two objectives in view. One was to retrieve the past glory of the empire and the other was to check the Bijapur expansion in the south. It is true that Bijapur used to send annual expeditions to the Karnatak after 1637 regularly. These annual

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2. Ibid.,
expeditions enabled Bijapur to establish its authority over Bangalore, Sirs, Chikkkanavakshahalli and Doddaballapur. The slow and steady progress of Bijapur in the Karnatak made Sriranga Raya think that it might invade his zone of influence also. So, he desired to check the progress of Bijapur. This naturally created great resentment in the mind of the Sultan of Bijapur.

The Sultan sent out an expedition under Mustafa Khan on 5 June, 1646, with instructions to subdue the Karnatak territories. Passing by way of Gadag and Lakshmeswar, Mustafa Khan reached Yonvali, 12 miles west of Basavapatna in Shimoga District. Shahji and Asad Khan went and joined Mustafa Khan. The Bijapur expedition was mainly directed against three powers, Kanthirava, Shivappa Nayak and Sriranga Raya. Shahji took part against all these three. Shivappa Nayak met Mustafa Khan and convinced him of his loyalty by supplying the invaders with 1000 horse and 2000 foot for the conquest of the Karnatak.

On 3 October 1646, Mustafa Khan left the place and by successive marches he reached Sakkarepatna in Shimoga District where Chikkahanumappa Nayak of Basavapatna, Desais of Lakshmeswar and Kopal, Abaji Chatge and Haibatrao among others came and joined the expedition. From Sakkarepatna the entire army marched and

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2. Ibid., pp. 113-114; K.N.V., XIX. 14.
3. Ibid., p. 111.
4. Ibid., pp.111-112.
encamped in the neighbourhood of Turuvakere, the northern limit of Mysore in May 1646.\(^1\)

On receipt of the news, Kanthirava sent his Dalmoy, Nanjarajaiya to Turuvakere to deal with the enemy as he thought fit. Marching swiftly, Nanjarajaiya arrived at Turuvakere in December 1646. As to the total strength of the army each general commanded, sources differ. Muhamed Yama mentions that when Mustafa Khan arrived at Sakkerepatna, each Karnatakally contributed his quota of the army according to his capacity bringing the total to 57,300 in which the cavalry was 21,300 and infantry, 24,000.\(^2\) Leonard Cinnami, an Italian who visited Mysore at that time records that Mustafa Khan commanded an army of 60,000 troops and that Nanjarajaiya had at his disposal cavalry of 10,000. Sources are silent as to the strength of Mysore infantry.

In the previous war against Nanjumaraaja of Piriyapatna, Nanjarajaiya commanded an infantry of 15,000.\(^3\) Since the war had been fought in October 1645 and the Mysoreans had won a victory there could not have been much radical change in the strength of that army. So, with Nanjarajaiya fought against the enemy, Nanjarajaiya attacked the invaders and caused confusion in the camp. Before Mustafa Khan attempted to direct the counter attack, Nanjarajaiya was able to overpower the enemy completely. Mysore

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1. K.N.V., XIX. Vs. 16-18.
won a victory but its commander, Nanjarajaiya was killed in the battle in January 1647. However, in the same month, Lingarajaiya, younger brother of Nanjarajaiya was appointed the Talvoy of the Mysore army.

The defeat of the Bijapur army was a terrible blow to the Maratha interests in Mysore. Shahji might have been frustrated in his ambition to recover Turuvakere. The Maratha generals such as Haibat Rao, Jujhar Rao and Abaji Ghatge figured prominently on the Bijapur side in this action. It may be remembered that Shahji did not fight with Mysore quite independently and that he either used to ally himself with the opponents of Kanthirava or actively cooperate with the Bijapur generals who would undertake Karnataka expeditions. There was quite a sufficient reason for such an action of Shahji. He was just building up his power at Bangalore. Militarily he was not strong enough to face the Mysore ruler quite independently. Inadequate supply of the military equipment from Bijapur made Shahji adopt such a policy.

Mustafa Khan was not disheartened by the defeat. He persisted to conquer Mysore. Taking advantage of the confusion

1. K.N.V., XIX. 19-21. The date of the fight has been fixed as January 1647 depending upon Muhammad Nama. Though it is silent about the action at Turuvakere, yet it speaks of the marches of Mustafa Khan in the Karnataka between October 1646 and January 1647. The Annals (I. p.88) says that Nanjarajaiya was removed from the office in January 1647. Therefore, the date has been fixed as January 1647.

that followed the death of Nanjaraja, Mustafa Khan invaded the kingdom of Mysore. But he was defeated and pursued. Leonardo Cinnami, an Italian who visited Mysore at that time says, "Nor did he (Kanthirava) fight only against the weak but also against the Moors, who are very strong. Mustafa who Khan was a near relation and captain general of the Idalcan came at the head of 60,000 infantry against Messore (Mysore). But he was compelled to withdraw to the country where from he had come".

Being frustrated in their second objective of humbling Kanthirava, Mustafa Khan and Shahji turned their attention to their next objective namely that of dealing with Sriranga Raya. When Mustafa Khan arrived at Shivaganga in Bangalore District, Sriranga Raya, sent his envoy, Venkayya Somavaji with peace offerings to purchase the retreat of Mustafa Khan. The whole project was upset when Tirumala Navak of Madura (1623-1659), Vijaya Raghava Navak of Tanjore (1640-1674) and the Navak of Gingee, who were once the vassals of the empire, had rebelled and sent their envoys to Mustafa Khan offering their submission to the Bijapur Government. Highly enraged at the attitude of the Navaks, Sriranga Raya set out to punish them.

Venkayya Somavaji pressed Mustafa Khan to give up the idea of invading Vellore but the latter refused. At this stage,

Shahji mediated and told Mustafa Khan that "he (Shahji) had taken from Somavaji solemn oaths of fidelity of his pledge and himself undertook the responsibility for Somavaji carrying out his promise". Through the mediation of Shahji, Somavaji got permission to go to Vellore. But Somavaji intrigued against Mustafa Khan and brought about the war. Mustafa Khan invaded Jagadeva Raya's territory and encamped at Kasti, 30 miles east of Bangalore. Sriranga Raya rushed to the scene and launched his attack on Shahji. After a severe battle Sriranga Raya was defeated and pursued. Shahji plundered Jagadeva Raya's country and took possession of Hirabhadradurga. Relaji Haibat Rao was left in charge of the conquered territory. After conquering Krishnagiri, Ankusgiri and Devadurga, Mustafa Khan marched on Vellore in February 1647. Golkonda also cooperated with Bijapur in reducing Sriranga Raya. A terrible battle was fought at Vellore in which Sriranga Raya was completely defeated. The war came to a close by the conclusion of a treaty according to which Sriranga Raya paid 50 lakhs huns (1 hun is equal to Rs.3/-) and 150 elephants to the besiegers.

Mustafa Khan stayed at Vellore for one month and returned conquering on the way Ambur, Gangavati, Tirupattur, Kaveripattan, Hassan, Ravadurg, Ratnagiri, Melgiri, Arjunkot and Thalenkot - all in Jagadeva Raya's country. As Mustafa Khan received a

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2. Ibid., pp. 115-118.
3. Ibid., p. 119.
message from the Sultan, he returned leaving Asad Khan and Shahji with other officers to administer the conquered territories.¹

Why did Kanthirava not support Sriranga Raya against Mustafa Khan and Shahji? First, Kanthirava wished to be independent in all aspects as indicated by the issue of coins named after himself in April 1645.² Secondly, up to 1643 all the inscriptions pertaining to Kanthirava mention Sriranga Raya as the overlord of Mysore and Kanthirava as his loyal feudatory. But after 1643 the records are conspicuous by the absence of the name of Kanthirava's prominence.³ Secondly, he was engaged in building a stone fort and bastion for cannons at Channaravapatna with a view to strengthening himself against the Bijapuris. This seemed to be an excuse rather than a reason for not assisting Sriranga Raya. The ambition in him to become an independent king of Mysore seemed to be the main reason for not supporting Sriranga Raya.

Viewed from the angle of repercussions of the campaign, it may be said that the way in which Shivappa Nayak offered his assistance to Mustafa Khan, convinced the Bijapur Government that the new Nayak was sincere in his loyalty towards the Sultan. Shivappa followed the policy of accommodation with the Bijapur

². E.C.VI section on coinage in Ch.IX.
³. Ibid., V(1) and (2) Ch. 158, 160, Ag.64; III (1) Sr.103; IV(2) Ch.142; IX C.P.23; M.A.R., 1914-1915, p. 63.
⁴. Ibid., V(1) and (2) Ch.158, 159, 160 and 165.
Government with the object of advancing his own interests. He removed his uncle from the throne and usurped the power. He knew that the Bijapur Government would object to it. Realising his precarious position in relation to Bijapur, he readily went to assist Mustafa Khan as soon as the latter arrived at Honnali. Having accommodated with Bijapur, in 1647 Shivappa sent an embassy to Mysore seeking a friendly alliance with Kanthirava because he wanted Kanthirava to recognize his claims to the throne of Ikkeri, but the latter did not recognize his accession as proper and consequently he rejected the offer and sent back the envoy.

Secondly, the Bijapur Government could still count upon Kanthirava as a bitter opponent checking the expansion of Bijapur in the south. The successive reverses, first, at Turuvekere and then at Mysore blasted all the hopes of Mustafa Khan making headway in Mysore. Consequently, Shahji's hopes were also frustrated. He knew his jagir was small in extent and his resources were limited. He could not directly wage war against those whom he considered serious rivals. Therefore, he wished to get territorial concessions little by little by cooperating with the Bijapur generals. In this way he extended his frontiers towards Jayadeva Raya's territory.

Lastly, Mustafa Khan crushed Sriranga Raya, occupied Vellore and took from him sufficient war indemnity. When

2. C.Vam., p. 190.
Mustafa Khan received a message from the Sultan urging him to return immediately, he left the Karnatak leaving the conquered territories in the region of Sriranga Raya to Shahji and Asad Khan. The Bijapur belt of territory to the north and north-east of Mysore comprising Bangalore, Hoskot, Kolar, Doddaballapur and Sira went under the designation of Karnatak-Bijapur-Balaghat, Shahji administered all that. In addition to that tract, new places like Kanakagiri, Ankushagiri, Ambur, Vellore, Gangavati, Kaveripattan, Hassan, Rayadurga, Patnagiri, Melgiri and Dhahanakot were conquered and left in charge of Shahji. Shahji could count himself as a prominent Maratha general sent out from Bijapur to govern the conquered territories. As the Bijapur Government exercised very little or no power over Shahji, no wonder, if he wished to become an independent ruler in the Karnatak. Viewed from the angle of Shahji’s relations with Mysore, it can be said that their relations were strained further. The Sultan of Bijapur organised another Karnatak expedition in 1648 under the generalship of Mustafa Khan.

Shahji took part again in this Karnatak expedition of 1648. Muhammad Nama does not explain the circumstances that led to this expedition. It is only the non-Persian sources that enlighten us on the point. It was Tirumala Nayak of Madura who was mainly responsible for the Bijapur intervention in the affairs

2. Ibid.
3. Wilks, I. p. 46.
Tirumala Nayak was an ambitious ruler. He wanted to free himself from the yoke of Vijayanagar empire of which he was a feudatory. As he was not militarily strong to resist Sriranga Rava, the last ruler of the decadent Vijayanagar empire, he implored the help of the Nayaks of Tanjore and Gingee for an united action. But the Tanjore Nayak betrayed the scheme by divulging it to the emperor. Enraged at this, Sriranga Raya marched with his army against Tirumala Nayak. On the way Sriranga Raya reached Gingee and took its Nayak to task for his treachery. A grave situation arose for Tirumala. All that he was required to do was either he should submit to Sriranga Rava, or he should secure the assistance of some strong power to resist his enemy. Tirumala chose the last one. He wrote a letter to the Sultan of Golkonda and requested him to invade Vellore kingdom. This diplomacy worked successfully. Mir Jumla was despatched by the Sultan of Golkonda. Mir Jumla entered the kingdom of Vellore. Now Sriranga Raya had to abandon the siege of Gingee and retrace his steps to defend his own kingdom. At first Sriranga Raya won a victory over his enemy in Vellore, but at a later stage he suffered defeat. This defeat made him realise that unless all the three Nayaks of Gingee, Tanjore and Vadura would join together against a common enemy, Mir Jumla could not be repulsed. Sriranga Raya "invited them to join him against the common enemy and offered them favourable conditions which were accepted." 1

Sriranga Raya was inactive nearly for a year discussing with the Nayaks the question of "the means of defence and attack". To promote their own interests, the three Nayaks drove out Sriranga Raya. Spending four months in the forest north of Tanjore, the "grand monarch, one of the richest in India, was forced to beg for help from the king of Vysore, once the vassal of his crown." Kanthirava Narasaraja received Sriranga Raya warmly, provided him with all the facilities befitting his rank and accommodated him in his kingdom.

The Sultan of Gokonda was disgusted with the three Nayaks, particularly with Tirumala Nayak, for the three Nayaks joined in league with Sriranga Raya against him. Realising that unless the three Nayaks were reduced he could not consolidate the conquered kingdom, the Sultan of Golkonda instructed Mir Jumla to advance on the territory of Gingee. The Tanjore Nayak submitted to the enemy without any opposition. Tirumala was perturbed over the developments. Only an alternative was before him, either he should submit to Golkonda or oppose it. He chose the latter. He sent his ambassadors to the court of Bijapur and solicited the Sultan's aid to defeat the Golkonda army and relieve Gingee. Thus occasion arose for the Bijapur Sultan to interfere in the affairs of the south.

On 12 January 1648, at the instance of the Bijapur

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1. Bertrand: La Mission Du Madure III, pp. 43-44.
2. Ibid.,
3. Ibid., pp.44-46.
Sultan Mustafa Khan set out with an army of 17,000 horse on his last Karnatak expedition. Shahji was ordered to accompany him. Along with Shahji, Siddi Dalhan and other nobles, Mustafa Khan reached Gingee. Tirumala expected that Mustafa Khan and Shahji would raise the siege of Gingee by driving out the Golconda army under Mir Jumla, restore peace and settle the affairs of the Karnatak to the satisfaction of the contending parties namely the three Nayaks of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee and Sriranga Raya of Vellore. But his hopes were foiled when Mustafa Khan entered into a negotiation with Mir Jumla. The Golconda general left the siege of Gingee to the Bijapur's and withdrew to consolidate his recent conquests of Sriranga Raya's territory. At once Shahji proceeded and conquered in one day two forts of Jangama and Trinomali. Shahji was the only great and experienced general among other generals of Mustafa Khan. It was during the siege of Gingee Shahji was arrested and put in fetters on 25 July 1648.

Why was Shahji arrested? The captivity of Shahji as detailed in the Kannada source differs largely from that of Muhammad Nama and Shiva Bharat. According to the Kannada source, the arrest of Shahji was due to Shivaji's aggression in Maharashtra. The Bijapur Sultan directed Shahji to advise

1. Ibid., v. N., in Shiv. Mh., II. pp. 124-126.
2. Ibid., p. 122.
3. Ibid.,
his son to refrain from anti-Bijapur activities. Shahji advised him. Turning deaf ear, Shiva plundered the Bijapur territories. Learning this, the Sultan was angry. The Sultan instructed Shahji to capture his son dead or alive. Shahji frankly told that he had no connection with his son and that the Sultan was at liberty to punish him as he thought fit. According to Muhammad Nama, "As the siege lingered on Shahji Raja sent his agent to the Nawab requesting his permission to go to his own dominion, so that his soldiers may get some rest. The Nawab replied that it amounted to creating disturbance if he were to break off at that critical time. Thereupon Shahji Raja again sent a word to him that in the camp grain was very dear and the soldiers could no longer put up with hardships and trouble and that under those circumstances there was no need of taking any permission and that he would leave for his country without any permission. When the Nawab found that Shahji Raja was bent upon kicking up a row, he used extreme prudence and skill and imprisoned him".

Another Persian source, Basatin-us-salatin, which J.N. Sarkar holds "very reliable", gives us some additional information. "When the siege of Jinji was going on some incidents happened which became the cause of dis-union and dissatisfaction between the Nawab and Shahji Raja. Shahji, turning his head

1. Fe.V.Y., IX. 150-151.
abandoned from obedience to the Nawab, practised opposition.
It came to such a pitch that the Nawab thought of plans to
arrest him. One day he made Baji Rao Ghorpade, Yeswant Rao
and Asad Khan ready and entered the camp of Shahji early in
the morning. By chance Shahji, having passed that night in
mirth and revelry was sleeping at that time of the dawn. As
soon as he came to know about the arrival and intention of Baji
Rao and Yeswant Rao, he came out of his tent in great confusion,
jumped on his horse and spurred it on alone in order to carry
himself to a place of safety. Baji Rao pursued him close and
quickly, arrested him, brought him before the Nawab and kept him
in confinement.1

The account of Shiva Bharat is similar to that of
Muhammad Mama and Pasatin-us-salatin. "Shahji was believed
to have become over mighty in the Karnatak and Hindu princes
there, under his inspiration had ceased to fear the Muhammadans".2
So, the Sultan sent Mustafa Khan to arrest Shahji. "Early in
the morning the nobles of Mustafa Khan besieged the camp of Shahji.
As they had kept awake last night, they had no idea of such a
surprise attack and were unprepared and so there was great disorder
and tumult in the camp. Mustafa Khan himself was commanding the
forces. Then Baji Rao Ghorpade, Yeswanta Rao and others entered
the camp of Shahji and thus awakened him. Shahji ordered all his

1. Shiva Bharat, XI. 3-11.
2. Shiva Bharat, XI. 3-11.
nobles to be prepared. Then Shahji rode on a powerful horse and attacked Baji Rao Ghorpade. Shahji exchanged blows with the latter and in the end swooned, fell down, wounded and was arrested by Baji Rao himself.\(^1\)

The letters of Abdulla Cutb Shah, in the words of J.N. Sarkar, "give some extremely valuable information on Karnataka history of the time". A letter of Abdulla Cutb Shah informs that on 23 December 1647, the Sultan received a petition from Shahji Bhonsle begging to be taken under his protection but the Sultan rejected his prayer and told him to serve Adil Shah.\(^2\)

On the basis of Persian sources, J.N. Sarkar concludes that "the arrest of Shahji at Jinji was clearly due to these disloyal intrigues. He was coquetting both with the Royal and Cutb Shah and the latter sovereign divulged the fact to Adil Shah".\(^3\)

G.S. Sardesai advances four reasons for the arrest of Shahji. First, the negotiations that went on between Sriranga Raya and Shahji were an open secret. The Sultan of Bijapur was informed of Shahji's support to Sriranga Raya. The Sultan construed the action of Shahji as disloyalty. Secondly, it was exactly at that time Shivaji had captured Sinhgad and practically asserted independence in the district of Poona. The Sultan concluded that Shahji was at the back of his son. Thirdly, after

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1. Shiva Bharat, XII. 1-119.
3. Ibid.,
having kept a close watch on the movements of Shahji at Vellore as per the instructions of the Bijapur Government Mustafa Khan reported the Sultan that Shahji was not loyal at heart but secretly supported the Hindu faction. Relieving upon the convincing report, the Sultan believed that the Hindu chieftains of the South looked up to Shahji for a lead and that if he was not checked in time, it would be difficult for the Muslims to retain their sway in the southern regions. Lastly, the Sultan was worried about Shivaji's activities in Maharashtra. Therefore, G.S. Sardesai concludes that "Bangalore and Sinhgad had turned out to be the danger signals for the ruler of Bijapur". On the whole the contention of G.S. Sardesai is that Shahji's arrest was not so much due to the aggression of Shivaji in Maharashtra as Shahji's own insubordination and disloyalty in the south. G.H. Khare on the basis of a contemporary Marathi document states that "Shahji was arrested as a consequence of misrepresentation at the Adil Shahji court to the effect that he was connected with the Pachewars and the Marathas of Jinji and other places and arranged for their supplies".

Wilk's opinion is that the predatory incursions of Shivaji had retarded the progress of the Bijapur arms, that Shahji was called upon by the Sultan of Bijapur to check the licentious

1. M.T.V. I. pp. 82-83.
conduct of his son and that some of the courtiers suspected a
secret communication between the son and the father. Shahji
told the Sultan that since he had divorced his first wife with
her son, he had no connection with Shivaji. Finally, Wilks
concludes that "sufficient evidence however appears to exist,
not only of the imputed intercourse but of the deliberate inten­
tion of Shahji to establish an independent Government". So,
according to Wilks Shahji's disloyal conduct was the reason for
his arrest.

What the Kannada source says namely that Shahji was
arrested for the aggression of Shivaji cannot be improbable.
The Sultan was perturbed over the provocative activites of Shivaji.
Shivaji organized the troops of the Mavals, repaired and garrisoned
the forts and supplied them with provisions, captured the Sinhgad
fort in 1644 and commenced open aggression against Bijapur. The
Sultan valued the stability of his own kingdom much more than the
distant land like Bangalore, Bednur and Jagadeva Raya's country.
The declining health convinced Muhammad Adil Shah that unless some
effective steps were taken, it would be impossible to resist Shivaji.
So, he might have thought of arresting Shahji so that his son would
behave better. The Kannada source gives a contributory cause, if
not the sole reason for the arrest of Shahji. On 25th July
1648, Mustafa Khan arrested Shahji. While taking Shahji to
Bijapur at the instance of the Sultan, Mustafa Khan died on 9 Nov.1648.

1. Wilks, I. p. 147.
2. Ke. N.V., IX. 150-1.
Then the command of the Bijapur army was devolved upon Khan Muhammad who conquered Gingee on 28 December 1648.¹

From the study of the sources, it is possible to believe that in order to check the progress of the Marathas, the Sultan had three plans, first was to capture Shahji, second was to seize the two important strongholds of the Marathas, Bangalore in the Karnatak and Sinhgad in Maharashtra and the third was that in the event of his failure to take the two places, to conciliate Shahji.² Having accomplished the first objective of Shahji's arrest, the Sultan proceeded to implement the second, namely the conquest of Bangalore and Sinhgad. Bangalore was held by Sambhaji and Sinhgad by Shivaji. Both sons were bold and courageous. The Sultan could not feel his conquests safe until the two danger spots were taken. A detachment was despatched from Gingee against Bangalore and another from Bijapur against Sinhgad and the sister fort of Purandar. Both the attacks were repulsed with heavy loss. Sambhaji defended Bangalore successfully, Shivaji too did the same at Purandar.³ The news of the defeat distressed the Sultan. Having failed in his second plan, the Sultan implemented the third one, namely conciliation with Shahji. He proposed that if Shahji were to surrender Sinhgad and Bangalore, and to serve the Bijapur Government loyally as before, he would be released. Shahji agreed to the compromise and wrote letters to his two sons to

³. Shiva Bharat, Chapters XIII and XIV.
deliver Bangalore together with Kandarpi, 40 miles east of Chitradurga, and Sinhgad to the officers of Bijapur. The two sons obeyed promptly. Then the Sultan called Shahji to his presence, honoured him with the robe of a minister and set him at liberty on 16 May 1649. Shahji was restored to his former position and honour and asked to leave for the Karnatak to complete the conquest of Tanjore and other districts. Shahji returned to the Karnatak and remained in Poichur making Kanakagiri his headquarters.

Shahji was in possession of four Jagirs, one was the Jagir in Maharashtra which was first governed by Dadaji and then Shivaji, the second was Bangalore which was governed by Sambhaji and Ekoji, the third was the Jagadeva Raval's country which although was in charge of Asad Khan was really under the control of Shahji and the fourth was Kanakagiri under himself. With these territories Shahji could count himself a great Maratha leader and an administrator.

What did Kanthirava Narasaraja do during the absence of Shahji from Bangalore? It was a fine opportunity for Kanthirava to extend his schemes of conquest first to the Bijapur zone of influence at Bangalore and then to the Jagadeva Raval's territories at Vellore which were governed by Shahji. Kanthirava concentrated his attention on the conquest of Magadi. Ever since the treaty of

2. Ibid.
1638 Magadi had been under the Kempe Gowda family. Under the terms of the treaty of 1638 Kempe Gowda II was entitled to enjoy the protection from the Bijapur Government. Shahji was authorised to collect tribute from Kempe Gowda II and remit it to the Bijapur treasury. As Magadi and Bangalore were not far from each other and as Shahji was the immediate neighbour to Kempe Gowda II, the latter could expect help at any time if he was threatened by an outside power. It seems quite likely that it was only by understanding the closest connection between Shahji and Kempe Gowda II that Kanthirava Narasaraaja restrained himself from interfering in the affairs of Magadi upto 1642. Taking advantage of the absence of Shahji from Bangalore, Kanthirava attacked Magadi and took possession of it. In the fight that followed, Mumradi Kempe Gowda son of Kempe Gowda II showed remarkable military skill. Ekambara Dixit pays particular attention to the brave fight put up by Mumradi Kempe Gowda against the invaders.

In April 1650 Kanthirava renewed his effort, seized Hebbur, a dependency of Magadi and took it by inflicting a crushing defeat on Kempe Gowda II. The latter submitted and accepted the suzerainty of Kanthirava. Shahji could not help Kempe Gowda II, for he had his own difficulties namely that he had been released from confinement a few months ago that he was far away from Bangalore and that he had to care more for the defence of his new territories.

than assisting his neighbour. As to the question why Ekoji did not help Kempe Gowda at the critical time, it can be said that Ekoji did not like to purchase trouble when his Bangalore principality remained undisturbed by the pillaging activities of Kanthirava. The failure of Shahji to support Kempe Gowda against Kanthirava became the cause for hostility between them. The friendly relations that existed between the two ever since the treaty of 1639 was strained and the enmity that was started in 1650 culminated in a war in 1658 when Mummadi Kempe Gowda (1658-1678) stood up in arms against Shahji.¹

Having reduced Magadi and its dependencies, Kanthirava turned his attention towards Jagadeva Raval’s territory consisting of Wirabhadradurga, Kanakagiri, Raidurga, Melagiri, Kaveripattan, Patnagiri, Arjunkot and Dhalenkot. The Jagadeva Raval’s country was under Shahji. It was situated to the south east of Bangalore. Asad Khan was the governor for some time and after him Vatibala Rao acted as its governor. The Jagadeva country was the third jagir entrusted to the care of Shahji, the first being his Jagir in Maharashtra and the second being Bangalore in the Karnataka.

Kanthirava undertook the campaign for several reasons. First, it was to restore Sriranga Raya to his former position. Proenza says, “this grand monarch was forced to beg for help from the king of Mysore. He received from him invitation to choose, for his stay, a province more agreeable to him and assurance of a

¹ Ekambra Dixit: Vira Phadra Vijaya Champu.
brilliant treatment worthy of his rank; he eagerly accepted the offer, so obliging and found a hospitality which even surpassed the promises made to his ambassadors. This is corroborated by the Kannada source, Mysore Rajara Charitre. Sriranga Raya stayed in Mysore for two years (1650-52) during which time he regained his strength and decided to recover his kingdom in alliance with Kanthirava Narasaraja. Proenza observes, "Narasinga (Sriranga) had more wisdom, encouraged by the good reception and help of the king of Mysore, he undertook to recover his kingdom. Accordingly, with an army of Mysoreans, he entered the field." Thus Kanthirava undertook the campaign to reinstate Sriranga Raya to his former position. Secondly, Kanthirava allied himself with the Siddi Raja of Sira who had revolted against the Sultan of Bijapur. Zahur says: "The Rajah of Mysore came out of his territory at the instigation of Siddi Raihan and wrested all the forts in the Jagadev country." Thus a combination of three potentates came about. At this stage, Tirumala Navaak of Madura was perturbed. He feared that the combination of the three potentates would endanger his position. He appealed to the Sultan of Bijapur, opened to his army again the passage through the Ghats and urged them to declare war against the king of Mysore. Proenza rightly observes, "Tirumala Navaak, instead of cooperating in the establishment of the affairs of Narasinga, recommenced negotiations with the Muhammadans and urged them to

2. P.2k.
3. La Mission Du Madure, III. p.47.
declared war against the king of Mysore.\footnote{1}

At the time when the three potentates were invading the Jagadev's territory, Khan Muhammad, the general of the Bijapur army was besieging the fort of Penukonda and it was his plan to return to Bijapur after the fall of Penukonda. But Sayyad Narullah, a representative of the Sultan of Bijapur met Khan Muhammad and urged him to advance on Jagadeva Raval's territory to crush Kanthirava.\footnote{2} Thus a complete change had come about in the Karnataka. The combination of Kanthirava, Sriranga Raya and Siddi Raihan had not only alarmed Tirumala Navak of Madura who had worked against Srirang Raya previously but involved the Sultan of Bijapur in a conflict as well. Tirumala Navak feared that Sriranga Raya with the help of Kanthirava and Siddi Raihan would destroy him. So, he urged action against the three allies and the Sultan ordered Khan Muhammad to proceed from Penukonda and put down Kanthirava. Accompanied by Shahji Khan Muhammad advanced on Jagadeva Raval's territory.\footnote{3}

Between November 1652 and January 1653, Kanthirava and his allies took in rapid succession Ratnagiri, Virabhadradurga, Fengerekote, Pennagara, Denkanikote and Dharma puri which were governed by Vatibala Rao, Shahji's representative, also called Balsali Haibat Rai by Muhammad Nama.\footnote{4} Kanthirava wrested almost all the forts in the

\footnote{1} La Mission du Madure, III. pp.7-40.
\footnote{3} The Hague Transcripts, p.XXIII.
\footnote{4} Annals, I. p.70; C. Vam., p. 36.
Jagadeva Raval's country which "Mustafa Khan had conquered with so much effort".¹ Shahji and Khan Muhammad set out for the reconquest of Jagadeva Raval's territory. Siddi Raihan submitted. They reconquered all the forts wrested by Mysore. Krishnagiri fortress protected by its advantageous position was, besides, defended by good fortification, furnished with a strong artillery and by the troops of Mysore. Khan Muhammad attacked the fort and took it. Kanthirava fled for life.²

Evacuating Krishnagiri fort, Kanthirava arrived at Mysore, strengthened the defences of the fort and stood ready to face the enemy. But he was overwhelmed. Khan Muhammad and Shahji pursued Kanthirava upto the Mysore fort, attacked it and took it in addition to other three forts.³ Sriranga Raya was left alone in Vellore.

Undeterred by the defeat of his ally, Sriranga Raya despatched Mir Jumla to the Mughal court for help. This needed the immediate attention of Khan Muhammad. So, Khan Muhammad abandoned the forts recently conquered by him in Mysore and marched towards Vellore.⁴ As soon as Khan Muhammad left Mysore, Kanthirava despatched Dasarajayya Kaveripattan to fight the invader. Khan Muhammad had to fight at two places, Vellore and Kaveripattan. Khan Muhammad detached Sidi Masud against Dasarajayya. In a sanguinary action fought at Kaveripattan in October 1653, Dasarajayya was defeated and beheaded.⁵

¹ M.N. in Modern Review, 1929, p.502.
² Ibid.
³ Ibid.
⁴ Ibid.
⁵ Ibid., Muhammad Nama calls the Mysore Dalvoy as 'Das Raj' and Sarkar spells his name as 'Tes Paj'. According to Annals (I. p.89) Dasarajayya was removed from the office as he was not able to discharge his duties satisfactorily due to his old age in November 1653. This is incorrect in the light of M.N., which is more reliable than the Kannada source.
Khan Muhammad besieged the fort of Vellore. Unable to resist the besiegers, Sriranga Raya took flight leaving the garrison to its fate. Realising the futility of further resistance Sriranga Raya sued for peace. Khan Muhammad granted Chandragiri and its dependences. Taking possession of Kaveripattan and Vellore Khan Muhammad demanded tribute from the Navak of Madura. The Navak told, "first defeat the Rajah of Mysore and then I will give you tribute". This was enough for Khan Muhammad to invade Mysore. Kanthirava offended the Bijapuris sufficiently by resisting them first at Krishnagiri, then at Mysore and Kaveripattan. When Sriranga Raya had indulged in anti-Bijapur activities by soliciting the Mughal aid, Khan Muhammad had left all the conquests in Mysore to Kanthirava and marched on Vellore. By doing this, Khan Muhammad might have thought that Kanthirava would not trouble him further. But contrary to his expectation, Kanthirava had despatched his Dalvo Dasarajayya to Kaveripattan to fight the enemies. This and the inducement of Tirumala Nayak to declare war against Kanthirava made Khan Muhammad and Shahji invade Mysore territory again. They marched with their army and plundered Mysore. Kanthirava despatched Balaji Haibat Rao to arrest the progress of the enemies. But Balaji was killed by Sidi Masud in the action. Then Kanthirava submitted and entered into a treaty with Khan Muhammad. The terms of the treaty were that Kanthirava was to meet the expenses of the war.

1. Ibid.
3. Balaji was the Governor of Jagadeva Raya's territory. He had been working under Shahji. When Kanthirava had invaded that territory, he had won Balaji to his side and given him a position befitting his rank. After the death of Dasarajayya, Kanthirava appointed Balaji as the supreme commander of the Mysore army.
and that he was to pay regularly annual tribute in return for the restoration of his devastated kingdom. The treaty was ratified by the Sultan and Mysore was left to Kanthirava.\(^1\) Khan Muhammad received presents as well as tribute from Kanthirava. Before leaving Mysore, Khan Muhammad raised large contributions from the Navak of Madura and returned to Bijapur with vast booty.\(^2\)

The confederacy consisting of Kanthirava, Sriranga Raya and Siddi Paíban was formed with the object of driving out the Bijapuris from Jagadeva Raval's territory. That means to abrogate the authority of Shahjì over Jagadeva Rayal's territory. Sriranga Rava surrendered and entered into a treaty with Khan Muhammad according to which he was given Chandragiri and its dependencies; and lastly Kanthirava also submitted and made peace with Khan Muhammad by agreeing to pay a large sum of money as war indemnity and yearly tribute to the Bijapur treasury; Khan Muhammad collected contributions from Tirumala Navak also. The only party which was on the gainside was Sriranga Rava, for he got back Chandragiri and its dependencies which he had lost. Kanthirava was humbled and Tirumala was punished.\(^3\) The Sultan's Karnatak expedition was carried to its successful ending because of Khan Muhammad and Shahji. Particularly Shahji took a leading role in the campaign of 1652-54 and with the help of Khan Muhammad he was not only able to retain

2. Ibid., La Mission Du Madure, III, p. 48.
3. Ibid., Ibid., pp. 47-48.
4. The Hague Transcripts in William Foster's English Factories in India (1651-1654), Introduction, p. XXV.
Jagadeva Raval’s country as a part of his Karnatak Jagir but to secure the submission of Kanthirava as well. Shiva Bharat says that Shahji went and subdued Sripanga Raya of Vidyanagar (Vijayanagar), Kanthirava of Srirangapatna and Tirumala Nayak of Madura. Shiva Bharat which gives the achievements of Shahji in a summary form states that Shahji conquered the cruel Kanthirava the ruler of Srirangapatna and the brave Sripanga Raya, ruler of Vidyanagar.

The brave resistance put up by Kanthirava at Krishnagiri, Mysore and Kaveripattan against Shahji and Khan Muhammad seemed to be the main reason why Kanthirava was branded as cruel. The defeat of Kanthirava by Shahji was further corroborated by an account compiled in Tanjore in the days of Raja Sarfoji in 1603. Though the account is of a later compilation its historical data is not defective. The account maintains that Shahji went on the southern invasion and brought under control Kanthirava of Srirangapatna, Sripanga Raya of Vijayanagar and Tirumala Nayak of Madura. So, it is clear that Shahji cooperated with Khan Muhammad in his conquest of Jagadeva Raval’s country, subdued Kanthirava Narasaraja and reestablished his authority over Jagadeva Raval’s country. Kanthirava who maintained his independence ever since his accession to the throne of Mysore was at last reduced by Shahji. Kanthirava accepted the suzerainty of the Bijapur Government by agreeing to pay annual tribute to its Sultan. The conquest of the Karnatak countries was complete and Shahji was at the helm of his affair in 1654. Kannada sources do not mention this important historical event, for in the

first place they are poetical works and as such they do not mention what is inglorious to their master. It is only in Chikkadevarava Vamsavali that reference is made to the plunder of Vellore and Chandragiri by the Bijapur army.

Viewed from the angle of Mysore-Maratha relations, it can be said that with the defeat of Kanthirava, Shahji's objective of humbling Kanthirava and bringing Mysore under Bijapur control was complete. The relations went from bad to worse. Mysore had not only lost her new conquests in the Jagadeva country but lost her independent status also. The Maratha settlements in the region of Mysore were free from the aggression of Kanthirava. The policy of the Bijapur Government namely the conquest of the Karnataka countries one after another and entrusting them to the care of Shahji increased the power and prestige of Shahji in the Karnataka. For political and administrative purposes, he imported a large number of Maratha families to Mysore from Maharashtra. Their vestiges can be seen even today in the existence of several Maratha families in Mysore after centuries of change.

Shahji's prominence reached its climax in 1654. He was the principal supporter of Adil Shahi possessions in the Karnataka. Ekoji remained at Bangalore and Sambhaaji was with his father at Kanakagiri. The wars fought by Bijapur and Golconda in the Karnataka came to an end by 1654. The Bijapur belt of

territory north of the kingdom of Mysore comprising Bangalore, Hoskote, Doddaballapur, Chikkaballapur, Kolar and Sira went under the designation of Karnataka-Bijapur-Balaghat while the territory below the ghats almost coterminous with the southern frontier of Mysore under the designation of Karnataka-Bijapur-Pavaghat. These possessions in addition to Kanakagiri were all governed by Shahji. Kanthiravadi not seem to have honoured the terms of the treaty as indicated by his subsequent attitude. Neither the Bijapur Government nor Shahji seemed to have demanded what was due to them from Mysore. Several causes prevented them from pressing for tribute.

First, after the successful campaign of 1652-53, Shahji returned to Kanakagiri which became the centre of his activities. Sambhaji also joined his father. Rebellious chieftains around did not allow Shahji to lead a quiet life there. Appakhan, the chieftain of Kanakagiri revolted and proceeded to seize Doddaballapur which was under the control of Shahji. Unable to cope with the situation Shahji appealed to the Sultan of Bijapur. In 1654 the Sultan despatched Afzal Khan to assist Shahji and Sambhaji. In the encounter that followed Sambhaji was killed. The death of Sambhaji was a terrible blow to Shahji.1 Secondly, Muhammad Adil Shah died on 1 November 16562 and intrigues started at Bijapur for succession. Added to this, Aurangzeb, Governor of the Deccan, started aggression against the Bijapur State. This was followed by the death of Khan

1. Takakhav: Life of Shivaji Maharaj, pp.20-21. Afzal Khan was held responsible for the death of Sambhaji because he failed to reinforce Sambhaji at a critical hour of facing death. The popular belief is that Afzal Khan's murder by Shivaji later is just a revenge for his part in the death of Sambhaji.
2. Shivaji Souvenir, p.15.
Muhammad in 1657, with the result there was none to press for the tribute due from Tunis. Thirdly, Shahji remained at Kanakagiri for three years from 1654-1657 leaving the administration of Bangalore in the hands of his son Ekoji. He was fully occupied with the conquest of new territories and raising the armies in order to keep the frontier tribes in constant awe. Shahji wrote to 'Ali Shah (1560-1672), "I have been deputed to the expedition against Kanakagiri, and on having carried out the mission successfully, was duly rewarded. Subsequently I was despatched to Anegundi where also I did my duty with credit. My army also remains to be paid for that service". He employed about a thousand and five hundred more men into his service in order to keep the rebellious tribes under constant threat. Shahji conquered Kamuli, south east of Anegundi. He built a house and reared a garden as the climate was salubrious. As several regions occupied by Bijapur such as Kundagola, Bellary and Tungaud were the centres of intrigues and revolt, Shahji was forced to stay there. Lastly, the differences between the Bijapur authorities and Shahji widened over the question of Shivaji's aggression. Shahji was asked to restrain his son from encroaching upon the Adil Shahi territories. He replied that he was not responsible for his son's conduct and the Bijapur Government might take any steps it deemed fit against him. During the days when the Bijapur Government was declining and the nobles were turning disloyal, it was only Shahji who stood loyal by his master.

2. Ibid., unp. 138 141.
The Bijapur Government addressed a letter on 27 May 1658 to Shahji, "We are satisfied with your explanation that you can not restrain your son and that you are not responsible for his acts. We have therefore restored to you all your jagir at Bangalore together with all the honours and titles which you formerly held". In accordance with the Bijapur order Shahji returned to Bangalore with all his former dignities restored. Thus Shahji's distress over the death of his son Sambhaji at Kanakagiri in 1654, the declining powers of Bijapur, Aurangzeb's aggression against Adil-Shahji territories, the death of Muhammad Adil Shah in 1656 and Khar Muhammad in 1657, Shaji's conquest of Anegundi and Kampli and the differences between Bijapur Government and Shahji all prevented the Bijapur Government from interfering in the affairs of Mysore from 1654 to 1658.

Why did Ekoji of Bangalore not interfere in Kanthirava's affairs? There seemed to be no occasion for Ekoji to interfere in the affairs of Mysore, because soon after the departure of Khan Muhammad from Mysore in 1654, Kanthirava turned his attention toward Tirumala Navak of Madura who was responsible for the disaster. Proenza observes, "His departure was the occasion for a new war, more furious than the previous ones. The king of Mysore took Tirumala Navak to task for his disloyal conduct. To wreak just vengeance and compensate himself for the cost of the war, he despatched an army to seize the province of Satvamangalam which border his kingdom". 2 Hamparajavva who was appointed to the command of

2. La Mission Du Madure, p. 48.
the Mysore army by Kanthirava in May 1655 set out with an army and conquered Satvamangalam where he found vast booty.\(^1\)

Highly elated at this success Hamparajaivva marched and surrounded Madura. Tirumala Navak was about to take to his heels. Exactly at that time, Raghunatha Sethupati, the Marava Chief came to the assistance of Tirumala with 25,000 men. Being joined by Tirumala Navak's army of 35,000, Raghunatha Sethupati fell upon Hamparajaivva and repulsed him. The retreating army of Hamparajaivva was pursued into the kingdom of Mysore by Tirumala Navak.\(^2\) Proenza exaggerates certain points. He says that in the combat that ensued at Madura "each army left nearly 12,000 dead on the battle field", and that when the Navak's army "burst out into the province of Mysore, the king of Mysore lost his own nose".\(^3\) No Kannada source mentions these events. It is quite likely that Hamparajaivva as also Tirumala Navak might have lost some soldiers on the battle field but not to the extent of 12,000 as Proenza thinks. Even with regard to Kanthirava losing his nose, Proenza exaggerated. It is not correctly known whether Kanthirava himself led the army against Tirumala. It is quite likely that his general or his Deputy in charge of the Mysore army might have lost his nose in the general action in Mysore. Any way the war with Madura came to a close by the end of 1658 and this Madura war kept Mysore away from the Marathas. Ekoji was not worried about Mysore as long as his


\(^2\) La Mission Du Madure, pp.18-50.

\(^3\) Ibid., p.49.
Further, almost simultaneously Kanthirava had to face the danger from Shivappa Nayak of Ikkeri (1645-1660). Shivappa was an able ruler among all the Navaks of Ikkeri and during his reign the dynasty reached the climax of its glory and prosperity. About 1656 Shivappa Nayak invited Sriranga Pava from the forests of his kingdom where he led a miserable life in consequence of the betrayal by the Navak of Madura and afforded him shelter. Between 1656 and 1659 Sriranga Pava was in the kingdom of Bednur. On the pretext of restoring Sriranga Pava to his former position, Shivappa launched forth his schemes of conquest. Shivappa's power and resources increased so much that he overthrew the vake of Bijapur Government, asserted his independence and attempted to recover Belur from the hands of Krishnapa Navak of Arkalgud. Kanthirava assisted Krishnapa Navak, for there subsisted enmity between the former and Shivappa since 1647. However, Shivappa succeeded in defeating Krishnapa and establishing Sriranga Pava at Belur with Hassan under him about 1659. These factors explain that Kanthirava was fully occupied in his wars with Madura and Ikkeri during the period between 1654 and 1658 and as such there was no occasion for Kanthirava to come into collision with Ekoji of Bangalore.

The Mysore-Maratha relations were thoroughly embittered

1. Ibid., p.148; C.Vam., pp.190-191.
2. Ibid., Ke.N.V., VII. 114.
in 1658 when war broke out between Shahji and Mummadi Kempe-Gowda of Magadi (1659-72). Eversince the acquisition of Hebbur in 1650 by Mysore, Mummadi Kempe Gowda remained an intimate ally of Kanthirava. Mummadi Kempe Gowda had not forgotten the loss of Bangalore. The existence of the miniature Maratha court at Bangalore under Shahji, that too in his neighbourhood was an additional humiliation to Mummadi Kempe Gowda. Intent upon re-taking Bangalore in alliance with Kanthirava, Mummadi Kempe Gowda declared war against Shahji and inflicted upon him a crushing defeat capturing all the spoils of the war left by him in the field of battle. Ekambara Dixit, the court poet of Mummadi Kempe Gowda, who relates this event, does not mention more details relating to the war between Shahji and Mummadi Kempe Gowda than this defeat. This is because the primary object of the court chronicler was to narrate the car festival of the God Virabhadra but not the war. While narrating the achievements of his patron, he incidentally refers to the war between Shahji and Mummadi Kempe Gowda. Further there is no reference to the expulsion of Shahji from Bangalore. If Mummadi Kempe Gowda had really evicted Shahji, Ekambara Dixit would have mentioned it and credited its patron with more laurels of victory. As no such reference could be found in the work, some mutual understanding must be assumed to have been entered into between Shahji and Mummadi Kempe Gowda sometime in 1658. Bound by the alliance of 1650, Kanthirava sided Mummadi Kempe Gowda to win a victory over Shahji. But

1. Virabhadra Vijaya Champu.
Kanthirava did not remain for long to enjoy the fruits of victory. In July 1650 Kanthirava died. His death removed from the scene of action an important ruler. His death offered Shahji a fine opportunity to reduce Mysore but the opportunity was missed.

Since Shahji had already been despatched by the Bijapur Government for the purpose of punishing the Navaks of Madura and Tanjore for their disloyal conduct, Shahji could not take advantage of the death of Kanthirava at Mysore. For twenty years (1639-1659) Shahji and Kanthirava fought with each other almost frequently. There existed no occasion for them to improve their relations. Shahji cooperated with every general that was despatched by the Bijapur Government on the Karnatak expedition and fought against Kanthirava with varying success. Kanthirava on the other hand resisted every Bijapur general with all his power and resources at his disposal. Mysore suffered greatly by the devastating expeditions of Bijapur. Kanthirava's efforts to exterminate Shahji from Bangalore proved failure. Similarly Shahji's efforts to conquer Mysore failed. Both of them tried to overpower each other but none of them succeed in the adventure. On the whole the Mysore-Maratha relations during the time of Kanthirava were not improved.

Shahji ruled almost with independent sovereignty. Over a

2. La Mission Du Madure, pp.50-51. Satyanath Iyer (Navaks of Madura, p.152) assigns 19 March 1659 as the date for the attack of Tanjore by Shahji and Mulla.
large belt of territory comprising the Karnatak-Bijapur-Balaghat as well as the Karnatak-Bijapur-Pavanghat. Vanthirava had extended his kingdom on the north upto Channapatna and Turuvekere coterminous with the Karnatak-Bijapur-Balaghat, while Channaravapatna had become his north-western limit, in the south he extended his kingdom, as far as Danavakankote and Satamangala and in the south-east upto Kaveripattan coextensive with the Karnatak-Bijapur-Pavanghat, in the east he went to the borderland of Jagadova country while in the west he extended his kingdom upto Nanjaravapatna in Coorg.

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