CHAPTER II

DODDADEVARAJA WODEVAR'S RELATIONS WITH SHAHJI AND EKOJI (1659-1673)

Doddadevaraja Wodevar, son of Kupamina Devaraja

Wodevar ascended the throne of Mysore on 19 August 1659. His rule for nearly thirteen and a half years (1659-1673) was full of political and military activities. In his relations with Shahji and Ekoji, he continued the traditional policy of hostility. An occasion was offered itself to improve his relations with the Marathas but Bahul Khan and Shahji, the Bijapur generals, deceived the Mysore Raja and avoided all possibilities of good relationship. It was Shivappa Navak's invasion of Mysore in 1659 that provided the opportunity for Doddadevaraja and Shahji to improve their relations but the opportunity was missed.

At the time of Doddadevaraja's accession to the throne, Shahji was in Madura. Muthu Tirappa Navak, successor of Tirumala Navak of Madura, turned disloyal and refused to pay the tribute due to the Bijapur Government. He showed war-like preparations by fortifying Trichinopoly and providing it with stores and provisions. This alarmed Vijayaraghava Navak of Tanjore. Fearing the war-like preparations of Madura ruler, Vijayaraghava appealed to Bijapur for help. The Sultan of Bijapur commissioned "Sagori" (Shahji) and "Mulla" (Mulla Muhammad) to Tanjore. Shahji and Mulla Muhammad

reached Trichinopoly and invested the fort. "Defended by a strong artillery and numerous troops, provisioned for several years, it could defy the besiegers." Terrified by the defences of the fortress of Trichinopoly which was the key to the Madura kingdom, Shahji and Vulla withdrew. Pretending to devastate the surrounding country, they fell on Tanjore and took it. Money seemed to be the governing principle of their conquest. The fall of Tanjore was followed by that of Kannar Kovil and Vannan. A severe famine broke out as a result of the war. It carried away a large number of Shahji's men and horses. Frightened by the sad plight of his troops, Shahji and Vulla proposed to the Nayaks that they would leave the country in case they paid the tribute of three years. The Nayaks offered them a moderate sum and secured their retreat. These conquests in the region of Madura had kept Shahji out of the pale of what was happening in the kingdom of Mysore.

Under Doddadevaraja Wodeyar, the traditional policy of hostility towards Bijapur was relaxed and consequently Shahji too had to relax his hostile attitude towards Mysore. But the relaxation of hostility was a short-lived one. The circumstances that led to a change of policy was the invasion of Mysore by Shivappa Nayak of Ikkeri in October 1659. Shivappa Nayak invaded Mysore for two reasons, first was that Kanthirava Narasaraj had turned down the peace offerings of Shivappa Nayak in 1657 and

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., pp.110-120.
4. Ke.N.V., VII.
the second was that the former had assisted Krishnappa Navak of Arkalgud against Ikkeri. Taking advantage of the death of Kanthirana, Shivappa invaded Mysore and arrived at Crama, Hassan. Hamparanjaya, the Ikkeri Beluow sent and encountered the Ikkeri army but was defeated. Encouraged by the success, Shivappa Navak marched on Mysore and invested the fort of Srirangapatna. Doddaedavanda Wodeyar was perturbed. In his anxiety to save the capital, he appealed to Bijapur for help. As was the practice, the Sultan of Bijapur sent Bahul Khan from Bijapur to help Doddaedavanda Wodeyar. Linganna Kavi who mentions Bahul Khan does not refer to Shahji. This can not be taken to mean that Shahji was not present at Mysore and that he did not join Bahul Khan in his efforts to punish Shivappa Navak. The past record of Shahji in the Karnatak reveals that whenever Bijapur had undertaken the Karnatak expeditions, Shahji had been directed to cooperate with the generals of the expedition. As Shahji had been a loyal Bijapur officer in the Karnatak, he used to work wholeheartedly for their successful campaigns. He had assisted Panduulla Khan, Mustafa Khan, Khan Muhammad and Yulla Muhammad during their expeditions to the Karnatak between the period from 1637 to 1650. And as such it must be presumed that Shahji did take part in this expedition against Shivappa Navak who had invested the fort of Srirangapatna. There was also a reason for Shahji to punish Shivappa Navak. Shivappa who had assisted Mustafa Khan in his

1. Ibid., XIII., p.111., Vs. 38-13.
2. Ibid.
Karnatak expedition had turned disloyal and overthrown the yoke of Bijapur. He had conquered Vasudhara, Sakrapatna and other places from Bijapur between 1647 and 1652. After the death of Muhammad Adil Shah, Shivappa had taken the forts of Ikkeri, Soraba, Wagani, Mahadevapura, Amboligolla, all in Shimoga District, belonging to Bijapur. So, Shahji thought that Shivappa should be punished. The combined army of Bijapur and Mysore under Bahlul Khan, Shahji and Hamparajavva respectively proceeded to meet the challenge. Shivappa, a shrewd diplomat that he was, won Bahlul and Shahji to his side and induced them to return to the country. The policy of Shivappa was to isolate the enemy from his allies and then to attack the Mysore army. Despite this diplomatic move, Shivappa could not take the fort, for Dalvoy Hamparajavva resorted to stratagem bribed the commandants of the Ikkeri troops and compelled the enemy to withdraw. The retreating army was pursued and the spoils of the war were taken by the Mysore army. In January 1660 Shivappa reached Ikkeri sustaining a heavy loss in men and materials. The policy pursued by Bahlul Khan and Shahji was not consistent. They seemed to have agreed to render assistance to the Mysore ruler not with the object of preserving Mysore from Shivappa's aggression but to gain their own ends. Shivappa's diplomacy worked successfully and consequently Bahlul Khan and Shahji withdrew leaving Doddadevaraja Wodevar to his own fate. But Doddadevaraja Wodevar, cleverer than Shivappa, bribed the commandant of the Ikkeri troops and won the day.

2. Ibid.
For three years (1660-1662) Shahji did not interfere in the affairs of either Bednur or Mysore, because from 1660 to 1661 he was in Gingee to undo the work of Chokkanatha Nayak, successor of Vuthu Virappa Nayak of Madura, namely to break up the combination formed by Chokkanatha with the object of re-establishing "the ancient king of Bishnagar (Vijayanagar) in his country, to give Gingee to its Nayak and thus to remove the evils that had resulted from the mistaken policy of Tirumala Nayak".¹

In 1661 Shahji succeeded in conquering the forts of Tegnapatam (Cuddalore) and Porto Novo² and in 1662 he went to Poona in order to bring about reconciliation between his son, Shivaji and the Sultan of Bijapur. Towards the end of 1662 Shahji returned to Bangalore.

Shahji practically had no rest towards the end of his life in the Karnatak. There arose misunderstanding between the ruler of Sode and Bhadrappa Nayak of Ikkeri who succeeded Shivappa in 1660. The former in his anxiety to crush Bhadrappa Nayak sought the military aid of the Bijapur Sultan. The Sultan commissioned Shahji to invade the Bednur kingdom. With him were the other Bijapur generals such as Bahlul Khan, and Sharja Khan. Being reinforced well in time by numerous elephants, horses and infantry, Shahji started on his expedition. The advancing Bijapur army was met by the Ikkeri army under the command of Jatapana Bhadrappa, brother of Shivanpa Nayak at a place called Amabaligolla near

¹. La Mission Due Madure, p.121.
². English Records on Shivaji, pp.33-34.
Bhuvanagiri. In the fierce battle that was fought there Shahji won a victory over the Ikkeri army. Highly elated at this success, Shahji moved on and finally encamped near Bednur with a view to conquering the fort. The Bijapur Sultan himself arrived in Bednur to conduct the operation. Shahji invested the fort of Bhuvanagiri with the help of the additional army of the Sultan. On the other hand, Bhadrappa Navak defended the fort ably. Before this well conducted defence of Bhadrappa Navak, Shahji and his vazirs were forced to retrace their steps from the scene of action. The hostility was terminated by the conclusion of a treaty with the Sultan of Bijapur through the mediation of Huvaiva, the Bednur representative. The Dutch source, Batavia Dagh Register, however mentions that an indemnity of 150,000 pagodas was fixed. It is only in the Kannada source we can get this phase of Shahji's war with Bhadrappa Navak of Bednur. Another point brought into light by the Kannada source is Shahji's conflict with the commander of the Mysore army namely Nandinathaiya (1662-1669). The latter started his vigorous activities for the seizure of those principalities which were governed by Shahji. The reason for his conquest was that Shahji who had come to support Doddadavaraja in his war with Shivappa, had betrayed his ally by joining hands with the Ikkeri Navak in 1659. This territorial aggrandisement provoked both the Bijapur Sultan and Shahji alike. The conquest of

1. Ke. N.V., VIII, p. 120.
2. Dagh Register, 166h, p. 320.
Chikkanavakanahalli by Nandinathaiya came as a shock to Shahji. Then the victorious commander went and demanded tribute from Chikka Kempegowda of Gaganagiri. The latter stoutly refused the demand and offered war in which he was totally defeated. Thereupon Nandinathaiva occupied Gaganagiri and looted all the treasures hidden in the palace. After taking the other minor places on the way, Nandinathaiva went and invested the fort of Bangalore. Musuru Dhoregala Purvothara says that "Shahji of Bangalore was next attacked and his elephants, horses and belongings were all taken possession of. Those that submitted were given protection and their insignias and tributes were accepted by Nandinathaiva". This war seemed to be more in the nature of a plundering raid than the real conquest. It is quite likely that Shahji bought off the enemy by paying a small sum and it is too much if we take the literal meaning of Musuru Dhoregala Purvothara, that Nandinathaiva took possession of Bangalore.

The disastrous consequence of the Bangalore war was that Shahji was urgently summoned by the Bijapur Sultan. On arrival at Bankapur Shahji and Bahlul Khan were put in fetters. Shahji was, however, released after two days and was commissioned to march in against the ruler of Rednur who was up arms violating the treaty concluded in the recent war through the mediation of Huvaiya. This

1. Annals, I, p. 97. This work says that Chikkanavakanahalli was held by Kolonda Sultan which is apparently incorrect as we kn that it was held by Shahji – see Wilks, I, p.37; Archaeological Report of 1942, p.89.
explains that the main reason for Shahji's arrest was his ill-conducted defence against the besiegers and his consequent defeat at the hands of Nandinathaiya.

Shahji died in 1664 after an eventful career of 26 years in the Karnatak. Linganna Kavi says that Shahji died of a disease in the vicinity of Sira while he was proceeding from Tanjore to Bijapur. The Kannada account does not agree with the prevailing version that Shahji died while hunting. Perhaps, Linganna Kavi while writing Keladi Nripa Vijaya, might have been misinformed about this incident and therefore this may be relegated to the background as incorrect.

Scholars like Grant Duff and Balakrishna think that Shahji died at Basavapatna. Grant Duff says, "On Shivaji's return, he heard the death of his father which happened by an accidental fall from his horse when hunting in January 1664 at the village of Basavapatna". This account has been repeated in Balakrishna's work "Shivaji the Great".

It is found to be incorrect since the Brindavan and epitaph of Shahji have been found now at Hodigere, a small village in Channagiri Taluk, Shimoga district. It is 25 miles from Basavapatna.

1. Ve. N.V., Ch. IX, p.152.
4. Shivaji the Great, p.91.
It is true that Shahji was despatched by the Sultan against Bhadrappa Yavaka of Ikkeri who became refractory. Shahji went and defeated him. After accomplishing his mission, he started his return journey to Bangalore. While halting at Modigere, he heard that wild beasts were giving a lot of trouble to the villagers. Shahji who was then 60 years of age went out on horseback to hunt these animals. During the course of hunting his horse's foot got entangled in a hole and both horse and the rider fell, the latter dying instantly. Shahji's death occurred, according to Jedhe on 23rd January 1664. Shahji's Brindavan or tomb was also found along with the inscription in Modigere. The inscription runs as follows:

First line .......................................................Sri Shahji
Second line ............................................Rajana sa ............

After the word 'sa' the stone is broken. The original word was evidently "samadhi" as on "about Champana's eminence which is nearby. The enclosed portion of the field even today is called by the name "Lavadahola" which means Stable's field - perhaps Shahji's stable. In the middle of the field is a low platform of brick and mortar about 9' x 3' x 1'. A tapering stone pillar stands near the head with a lamp niche carved near its top. A little to its east is said to have stood a stone slab with an inscription mentioned above.

1. Mysore Archaeological Report, 1940, pp.58-59. Even today the people of Shimoga District remember the name of Shahji and welcome people of great historical interest to visit Modigere where Shahji died.
in Kannada, meaning thereby "this is the tomb of Shahji Raja".

Shahji's funeral ceremony was conducted by Ekoji, his son. Soon after this, Ekoji got a confirmation sanction from Adil Shah of Bijapur to the heritage of his father. The joy of Shivaji, for having sacked Surat which gave him a lot of fund for furtherance of his object was marred at the tragic news of the death of his father. Jija Bai wanted to become sati but was prevented by the great exertion of Shivaji. Shivaji got a pavilion or Chatri put up at the place of his father's death. Adil Shah issued a sannad granting Vergatanahalli for maintaining worship at the pavilion.

The study of the Kannada sources reveals that Shahji was an able man both as a general and as an administrator. Shahji marched on the Karnatak expedition of 1638, as second in command to Panadulla Khan, the general of the Bijapur army and after the conquest of Bangalore he was left in charge of it. The conquests made in the Karnatak by Bijapur were all left to the care of Shahji. By 1660 he was not only the ruler of the Karnatak-Bijapur-Balaghat but the Karnatak-Bijapur-Payanghat as well. Starting the conquests of the Karnatak countries in the name of the Bijapur Sultan, slowly but steadily he had worked up to build up a pretty big Government for himself. As the Bijapur Sultan exercised very little power over his Karnatak possessions, there is no wonder, if Shahji had built up

a court at Bangalore which resembled almost a royal splendour. As Bangalore and Mysore were not far from each other, the clash of interests were inevitable. Shahji from Bangalore and Kanthirava from Srirangapatna opposed each other.

In reviewing the Mysore-Maratha relations during the time of Shahji, three powers attract our attention, first was Bijapur, second was Shahji and third was Mysore. Bijapur was always ready to fish in the troubled sea of the Karnataka politics in general and Mysore politics in particular. An appeal from a Karnataka chieftain was enough for the Sultan to fit out an expedition against the Karnataka. The main reason for this policy was that after the treaty of 1676 between the Mughals and the Bijapurs, the latter was convinced that Bijapur expansion in the south was more profitable and practicable than in the north. Mysore was their favourite field of exploit.

From 1637 to 1648 expeditions to the Karnataka were undertaken almost every year under able generals like Panadulla Khan, Mustafa Khan, Khan Muhammad and others. In all these campaigns Shahji played a leading role making Bangalore the seat and centre of his activities. The ambition of Shahji to carve out an independent principality in the Karnataka and the frequent expeditions that were fitted out into the Karnataka by the Sultan against Mysore desiring Shahji to participate in the campaigns were the main obstacles in the way of better relations between Mysore and the Marathas and Mysore and the Bijapuris.
Another feature is that Shahji remained loyal to the Bijapur Government throughout his life in the Karnatak. He fought for the cause of Bijapur but he had not forgotten the inner idea that these wars were not without advantages for him. Gold and land were the ultimate objectives of the Bijapur Sultan in undertaking the Karnatak expeditions. Gold went to the Bijapur treasury and land went to the possession of Shahji. Bijapur Sultan exercised very little power over his distant possessions. Consequently, Shahji grew powerful and acteduated by the dominant impulse of establishing an independent Government for himself he came into bitter conflict with the rulers of Mysore who were his immediate neighbours. At no time they were friendly with each other. Shahji's policy was to promote his own interests for which he would favour any one who would help him in his designs.

Several factors contributed to widen the gulf between Shahji and the rulers of Mysore. The frequent incursions of Bijapur, the unimaginative Nayaks of Madura, Tanjore, Gingee and Bednur, the Vijayanagar emperor's delicate relations with the Nayaks and his hostile relations with Bijapur and the ambitious plan of Mysore to extend its geographical limits never brought Mysore and the Marathas closer together.

Shahji was succeeded by his son, Ekoji in 1664. He

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1. Ekoji is spelt differently by several writers. Grant Duff spells his name as Venkaje, Elphinstone spells as Venkaji, Scott Angloje, Wilks Eccojee. Tuka Bai, the second wife of Shahji was Ekoji's mother. Ekoji was born in 1630 and he grew up under the loving care of his father in the Karnatak.

(contd.)
secured the confirmation sanction from the Sultan of Bijapur for all the Karnataka possessions which he had inherited from his father and "assumed forms and demonstrations of royalty still more direct and pompous than those adopted by his father". This grandeur was possible at Bangalore because Bijapur declined and consequently, its control over its distant territorial possessions was relaxed. He controlled and regulated the affairs of the Karnataka. He stationed Vedeji Pant at Gingee and Anantoji at Tanjore and instructed them to keep a close watch on the movements and activities of the chieftains of the south.

During the period from 1664 to 1666 nothing particular happened in his relations with Mysore. But in 1667 Ekoji came into conflict with Doddadewaraja. The occasion for the conflict was the projected expansion of Mysore in further south. Doddadewaraja defeated Ghattha Mudaliar of Samballi in January 1667 and incorporated his territories into the kingdom of Mysore. Chokkanatha Navak of Madura was alarmed. There were three reasons for his fear, first, Ghattha Mudaliar was his immediate neighbour and an intimate ally and his reduction by Mysore was not a thing to be tolerated; secondly, the extension of Mysore territory up to the kingdom of Madura was a

(Foot-note continued from previous page)
He participated in the campaigns of Srisailam and Tanjore in 1658. Ekoji accompanied his father wherever he went and participated in whatever events his father was involved. He accompanied his father to Poona in 1662 and saw the old jagirs of his father. He acted as the Governor of Kolar from 1662 to 1663 as indicated by an inscription found in Kolar District (E.C.X, St.47, p.185). He gained sufficient knowledge in both military operations and administration of territories. He was of great help to his father.

2. C.Vij., V. 37; Krishnaswami Aiyangar: Ancient India, p. 296.
dangerous project from the Nayak's point of view and lastly, Mysore and Madura were the traditional enemies and each attempted to put down the other whenever opportunities occurred to them. In order to arrest the progress of Mysore in the south, Chokkanatha formed a confederacy consisting of Sírranga Raya, the last ruler of Vijayanagar, Vedoji Pant and Anantoji early in 1667. Though these Maratha generals figure prominently in the war of 1667, there is no reference in the sources to the presence of Ekoji. It is not proper to presume that Vedoji Pant and Anantoji acted independently and joined Chokkanatha on their own accord without the knowledge of Ekoji. The policy of the Bijapur Government has been to authorise its Maratha representative at Bangalore to have full control over all his Karnatak possessions. Ekoji was the loyal representative of the Bijapur Government in the Karnatak with several Maratha generals working under him. Therefore it is quite likely that Vedoji Pant and Anantoji were instructed by Ekoji to support Chokkanatha against Mysore. Thus occasion arose for the revival of the traditional policy of hostility between the Mysore Raja and the Marathas.

Why did Sírranga Raya and the Marathas join Chokkanatha against Mysore? Sírranga Raya followed no consistent policy towards the Karnatak chieftains. He was very anxious to retrieve the past glory of the empire and to realise his ambition he was

ready to help those that would help him. He had come and stayed
in Mysore for two years (1650-1652) with the object of regaining
his territories with the help of the Mysore Raja but Kanthirava's
attempts proved failure. Then he had gone to Bednur but Shivappa
died in 1660 and with his death had disappeared the last hope of
Sriranga Raya. Doddadevaraja did not do anything to restore
Sriranga Raya to his former position. On the contrary, he asserted
his independence and omitted to make mention of his overlord in all
his inscriptions. In all the inscriptions, lithic and copper plate
ranging from April 1663 to March 1664 Doddadevaraja appears with a
number of titles implying imperial ideas. The chief among them
are Muru Mannevara Ganda (Champion over three chiefs), Para Raya
Bhavankara (dreaded by enemy kings), Hindu Raya Suratrana (Sultan
of Hindu kings), Nana Varna Makuta Mandalikara Ganda (Champion over
chiefs of many coloured crowns) and Chatusamudradhishwara or
Chatusamudra - Parvantha - bhumandaladhiswa a (Lord of the world
as far as four oceans). The use of the boar seal is also
in evidence in some of these records while there is a marked ten­
dency on the part of Doddadevaraja to claim imperial rule from the
throne of Srirangapatna. The absence of the name of Sriranga Ray
in all these inscriptions shows that Doddadevaraja cared very little

2. We have a number of inscriptions of Sriranga Raya from Belur,
ranging from 1650 to 1663. See Mysore Gazetteer, ii, iii,
2352-2353, 2366-2367, 2386. E.C., V (1) and (2), HN.39 and
Mj(21). In the light of Mysur Dhoregala Purvothara(II,pp.24-26
it can be said that Sriranga Raya left Belure for South not late
than April 1663.
3. E.C., Mys. Dis.Supplemental Vol., Mys. 11h, 27-28; XII, Kg. 33,
11, 9-11; 3, 7, 11, 92-101; M.A.R., 1917, pp.58-89; E.C., IV(2)
Kr.67; III (1) 'WN.23, ii, 6-18; Mj.114 and Sr.13. (1664.)
4. E.C., Mys. Dis.Supplemental Vol., Mys. 11h, ii, 48-49; XII Kg.33,
I.12; 37, 11, 98-99; M.R.R., 1917, I. C; E.C., IV(2) Kr.67, ii.
12-13; III (1) TV.23, Md.114 and Sr.13(1664).
to the declining Vijayanagar empire. Moreover Doddadevaraja assumed the title, Samrat (emperor) in 1665 and in the subsequent year he plundered Holenarasipur and its dependencies which were once ruled by Sriranga Raya during his stay at Belur (1660-1663). Sriranga Raya was offended by the aggressive attitude of Doddadevara In order to punish the Mysore Raja, Sriranga Raya joined Chokkanatha

The reason for the Marathas joining Chokkanatha was their deep rooted hostility towards Mysore. At no time did they live in amity with the Mysore Rajas. It was their policy to arrest the progress of Mysore wherever it was possible. When Chokkanatha appealed to the Marathas for help, they immediately joined him. Being joined by these confederates, Chokkanatha went and laid siege to the fort of Erode.

Doddadevaraja was perturbed over the disturbing activities of Chokkanatha and his allies. He summoned the war council. Chikka devaraja Wodevar who was to play a vital role in the changing politics of Mysore in later years, then 22 years of age, volunteered to be in charge of the expedition. Doddadevaraja was glad at the daring qualities of the promising son but realising the gravity of the situation at Madura he gave the supreme command of the Mysore army to Kumaraiva, successor of Nandinathaiva and permitted Chikka-devaraja to accompany Kumaraiva.

1. Ibid., My. 116(1665), ii. 9-11; Mys. Dho. Pur., II. 27; Annals, I., 97; C.Vij., V., 914.
2. C.Vij., V. 39-140.
3. Ibid., 39-90.
By making rapid marches, the Mysore army reached Erode in June 1667. A terrible battle was fought under the walls of Erode in which Anantoji was put to flight, Damarlayapna Nayak, an important general of Chokkanatha, was put to the sword and the Madura army was pursued. It was a distinct victory to Mysore. After incorporating Erode into the kingdom of Mysore, Kumaraiva went and took Dharapuram in November 1667 and in February 1668 he conquered Vamalur, Kamalur and Samballinura. Chokkanatha was reduced and compelled to pay tribute to Mysore.

The results of this war were that the important places of Madura such as Erode, Dharapuram and Trichinopoly were included in the southern zone of Mysore; the pride of Chokkanatha was crushed and the hope of Sriranga Raya to humble Doddadevaraja was failed. Viewed from the angle of Mysore-Maratha relations, the battle of Erode reveals that the Maratha generals followed a policy which Shahji had adopted towards Mysore, namely helping the opponents of the Mysore Rajas but not directly involving themselves in wars against them. The reasons for this attitude seem to be that they were in a distant place and their armies and equipments were inadequate to face the Mysore army in an open battle. On the whole the Maratha influence during the time of Ekoji was checked and the relations between Doddadevaraja and Ekoji were strained.

1. Ibid; E.C., (1) Sr., (1686), ii. 36-38; Hastigiri Mahatmya, I., 67. Regarding the date of the event, R. Sethvanatha Aiyer (Tamila in the 17th century, p.53) assigns 1670 on the basis of epigraphic evidences but Wilks (I., p.37), Mvs. Dh. Pur (II, 28-29) fix the date of the event as June 1667.
4. Being frustrated in his ambition, Sriranga Raya went first to Trichinopoly and then to Penukonda in 1668 from where continued his rule till 1672. (English Records on Shivaji, Vol.I., p.232).
Ekoji's conquest of Tanjore is an important mile-stone in the history of the Mysore - Maratha relations. It stood in the way of better relations between the Mysore Raja and Ekoji. Ekoji shifted the capital from Bangalore to Tanjore. It was an unwise policy. The transference of the capital showed the hollowness of the Maratha principality. In later years it dealt a death-blow to the Maratha interest in Mysore.

As to the point who conquered Tanjore, sources differ. The Kannada sources, Keladi Nripa Vijaya and the Annals of the Mysore Royal Family state that Tanjore was conquered by Shahji, father of Ekoji. Keladi Nripa Vijaya says that Shahji "failed to bring about reconciliation between the Bijapur Sultan and Shivaji who followed anti-Bijapur activities. The Sultan was angry. Unable to meet the Sultan, Shahji went to the south with his son Ekoji and captured the fortress of Candavuru (Tanjore) in the neighbourhood of Madura". According to Annals of the Mysore Royal Family, Shahji went and conquered Tanjore because of Kanthirava's aggression. It says, "finding it difficult to live in Bangalore in face of the open aggression of Kanthirava Narasaraja, Shahji went to Tanjore. Vijayaraghava Nayak was its ruler. He was a devotee of a Telugu priest. By his influence, Vijayaraghava renounced his royal duties and assumed those of an ascetic. Shahji studied the political situation of the Tanjore kingdom. At a suitable opportunity, Shahji attacked

Tanjore, drove out its ruler and laid the foundations of the Maratha power there. None of these points seems to be correct because Shahji remained loyal to the Bijapur Government throughout his career in the Karnatak and such there is no point in Shahji's breaking connection with the Bijapur Government and founding a separate kingdom for himself. As to the point of Kanthirava's aggression, it is well known that Shahji faced Kanthirava boldly in all his wars. The authors of the Kannada sources, while recording these political events, might have been misinformed or depended on unreliable sources. The non-Kannada sources point to a different conclusion. They say that the conquest of Tanjore was the work of Ekoji after the death of his father. The Telugu sources, Tanjavuri Andhra Rajalu Charita and Tanjavuri Vari Charita say that Ekoji marched into the kingdom of Tanjore, defeated Alagiri Nayak, its ruler and took possession of it. Ekoji crowned Chengamaladasa as the ruler of Tanjore according to the instructions of the Bijapur Sultan. By the mischief of Venkanna, the Secretary of the Tanjore ruler, Ekoji invaded Tanjore again. Chengamaladasa took to flight and Ekoji occupied Tanjore without any difficulty. Andre Freire's letter of 1676, Wilks and Nelson agree in stating that the conquest of Tanj was effected by Ekoji. Andre Freire writes, "The Nayak of Madura after the disastrous war took possession of the kingdom of Tanjore and cut off the head of the king, his enemy. Idal Khan, informed of

these events, sent an army under the command of General Ekoji to reestablish on the throne of Tanjore, the son of the defeated king who had gone to implore his help. Ekoji remained for one full year on the frontiers of the kingdom and convinced of the follies and mutual jealousies between the two brothers (Chokkanatha Navak of Madura and Alagiri Navak of Tanjore), Ekoji fell on the town of Tanjore and captured it. General Ekoji, instead of placing the son of the late Navak on the throne, preferred to usurp the title and authority of an independent king.¹

Depending upon a family manuscript in the MacKenzie collection, Wilks says that Ekoji undertook the expedition against Tanjore with a view to conquer on his own account, but under the ostensible authority of the Government of Bijapur. Nelson also says that the conquest of Tanjore was effected by Ekoji.² Thus it is clear that Ekoji conquered Tanjore.

What were the circumstances for the shifting of Ekoji’s capital from Bangalore to Tanjore? Two factors were mainly responsible for the change of the Maratha capital. One was the Mysore aggression and the other was the confusing political situation in Madura region. Roodadevarajay projected his schemes of expansion in the north. He attacked and occupied Huliyurduga in December 1667. Kunigal

¹ La Mission Du Madure, III, pp. 247-250.
² Wilks, I. p. 93. “From a comparison of authorities I am disposed to suspect that the author (of the manuscript) confounds this event with some former invasion for the purpose of levying contributions, one of which we know to have occurred in 1656. The terms of the submission of Tanjore on that occasion may have been considered equivalent to the actual conquest, but the final occupation of that country was probably achieved by Ekojee after the death of his father.”
was wrested from Mummadi Kempe Gowda of Magadi in January 1668. These conquests in the neighbourhood of Bangalore alarmed Ekoji. Apart from Doddadevaraja's aggression, Ekoji had to live in the midst of hostile surroundings. Mummadi Kempe Gowda of Magadi was his bitter opponent. He was not reconciled to the stay of the Marathas at Bangalore. His war of 1658 against Shahji was a clear indication of his attitude towards the Marathas. Ekoji's position became still worse when Mysore launched its expedition in the east in 1673. Vedoji Pant and Anantoji who were placed at Gingee and Tanjore respectively were awakened to the danger from the extension of Mysore territory to the region of Madura. Chikkadevaraja took in rapid succession the forts of Dhuligote, Malali, Muttanjatti, Paramatti and Salem. Proceeding further, Chikkadevaraja met Chokkanatha Nayak in an open battle at Sadamangalam and defeated him. Thereafter the chiefs of Ananthagiri, Arivalur, Toreyur and Dharapuram were reduced and compelled to pay tribute. Thus Ekoji was hard pressed by the Mysore aggression.

The second factor was the confusing political situation in the south. Ekoji exploited the situation for his own advantages. The occasion was the conflict between Madura and Tanjore. In the action that followed Chokkanatha Nayak of Madura killed Vijavaraghavan.

2. Virabhadra Vijnava Champa, I.C.
3. Ancient India, p.296.
Navak of Tanjore and appointed Alagiri Navak, his foster-brother to be the Viceroy of Tanjore. Alagiri grew indifferent in later years. He declared independence as a ruler of Tanjore, and showed no respect to his brother. Taking advantage of this, Venkanna, an officer of Vijayaraghava Navak of Tanjore wished to restore the old dynasty in the person Changamaladasa, a boy of the Nayak family. Venkanna implored the help of the Bijapur Sultan. The latter despatched Ekoji with instructions to depose Alagiri and enthrone the boy of the Navak family. Ekoji accomplished the task ably. Venkanna played mischief and induced Ekoji to take possession of Tanjore for himself. Ekoji went and occupied Tanjore in 1675 establishing Maratha rule there. Thereafter he shifted the capital from Bangalore to Tanjore. Tanjore remained a principal centre of the Maratha activities after 1675. Ekoji retained his control over Bangalore up to 1687. Thus the pressure of Mysore and the presence of Mummadi Kempe Gowda made Ekoji quit Bangalore. A favourable opportunity was offered itself in the south. Ekoji exploited the situation and filled the political vacuum caused by the death of Vijayaraghava Navak at Tanjore by permanently establishing himself there.

On the whole the study of Doddadevara Ja's relations with Shahji and Ekoji reveals that they never lived in amity. By 1673, the last year of Doddadevara Ja's reign, the kingdom of Mysore, powerful and practically independent, having extended as far as Hassan and Sakkarepatna in the West, Salem in the east, Chikkanavakanahalli in the north and Erode and Dharapuram in the south,

was in a position to withstand the influence of the Marathas. The traditional hostility between Mysore Raja and the Marathas was relaxed considerably in 1659 when Shivappa Nayak of Ikkeri invaded the kingdom of Mysore. Shahji went and helped Doddadevanaja against Shivappa Nayak but having been bribed by the Ikkeri Nayak, Shahji left the camp leaving Doddadevanaja to his own fate. Doddadevanaja was deceived. Naturally his relations with Shahji were strained. In 1663 Nandinathaiva, the Mysore Dalvoy went and inflicted a crushing defeat on Shahji. The war was terminated by the conclusion of a treaty. Despite the treaty the under-current of hostility and discord continued between Shahji and Doddadevanaja.

The relations of Doddadevanaja with Ekoji were no better. From his accession to the Karnataka heritage of Shahji to 1667, the policy of Ekoji was neither one of hostility, nor of cordiality but of disinterestedness in the affairs of Mysore. compelled by circumstances he had to change his policy. He helped Chokkanatha Nayak in 1667 against Mysore and in 1675 he fought against Chokkanatha for his own advantages. From taking part in the war of 1667, Ekoji only revived and renewed the traditional policy of hostility towards Mysore. The result of his policy culminated in the transferrence of the Maratha capital from Bangalore to Tanjore. It was not a good venture. The Bangalore principality which was built up by Shahji with so much of effort received a staggering blow at the hands of Ekoji. The change of the capital removed a great obstacle in the way of Mysore expansion in the north. The
semblance of authority which Ekoji retained on Bangalore after shifting of the capital was completely removed in 1687 when Ekoji decided to sell away Bangalore to the highest bidder. Thus the relations between Doddadevaraja and Ekoji went from bad to worse.

Several factors contributed to widen the gulf between the two powers. The ambition of the two powers to overpower each other, the role of the unimaginative Navaks of Ikkeri, Tanjore, Madura and Gingee, the intervention of Bijapur in the affairs of the Karnatak and the growth of Mysore as a powerful kingdom never brought the Rajas of Mysore and the Marathas closer together.

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