CHAPTER VIII.


The performance of formal coronation ceremony enabled Shivaji to claim "the full stature of political growth by the formal assertion of his position as an independent sovereign". Shivaji was not destined to enjoy peace for long. He had to grapple with external dangers. He had gained possession of Ankola, Phonda and Shiveshwar on April 17, 1675. He also carried his arms into the Kanara coast lands.

Political situation in Bednur: The political atmosphere in Bednur and its neighbouring territories was congenial for Shivaji to launch forth his Karnataka expedition. While his activities were vigorous in the Kanara coast land, Channammaji, the ruler of Bednur solicited the aid of Shivaji to suppress the rebellion of Timmanna who was not reconciled to the new rule. Shivaji went to Bednur, put down the rebellion of Timmanna and restored peace and order. Highly elated with the success, the Rani agreed to pay chouth. For the collection of chouth, Shivaji stationed Umaji Pant at Bednur and returned home on June 12, 1675. It was believed in 1677 that

Shivaji intended to take Bednur and add Kanara to his conquests.  

**Political Situation in Bijapur:** The confusing situation at Bijapur admirably suited Shivaji to set his plan in motion. Bijapur was involved in court-intrigues. Bahlol Khan, the leader of the Afghan party unscrupulously seized the power of the boy-king Sikandar (11th November 1675) and assassinated the deposed regent Khawas Khan (18th January 1676). The treacherous attitude of Bahlol Khan who turned the Bijapur Government into an Afghan government had awakened the Deccans from their deep slumber; and as a consequence of which there broke out a civil war between the Afghan party and the Deccan party. Further he disregarded the Moghal Viceroy, Bahadur Khan, who by joining the Deccan party opened a campaign against Bahlol Khan which was to prolong for more than a year. On the eve of this campaign (May 1676) Shivaji, well-versed in diplomacy, sent his Chief Justice Miraji Raoji to Bahdur Khan with costly presents. Miraji Raoji secured Moghal neutrality by an accommodation with Bahdur Khan who "received a large bribe for himself in secret and a certain sum in public as tribute for his master and made a formal peace with the Marathas".  

**Ekoji's conquest of Tanjore:** Adverting to the affairs of the Maratha settlement in Mysore, it is known that Shahji passed away in January 1664 at Hodigere in Shimoga District, by an accidental

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fall from his horse; and his eldest and favourite son, Sambhaji had died before him, while besieging Kanakagiri. After the death of Shahji, Ekoji succeeded to the Mysore Jagir; and this was confirmed by the Sultan of Bijapur. By his marvellous energy and resourcefulness, Ekoji soon incorporated the kingdom of Tanjore into possessions.

In the following year Ekoji took the side of his master faithfully and fought heroically against Jai Singh and Shivaji. Then Ekoji took part in the war with Tanjore which occurred in 1673, which was ostensibly caused by the refusal of Vijayaraghava Nayaka to give his daughter in marriage to Chokkanatha, but in reality was due to the long standing enmity between the two neighbours; the Madura army marched on Tanjore, defeated a detachment of the enemy's forces and captured Vallam. During the siege, the zenana was set on fire; Vijayaraghava and his son perished fighting; and the Madura army took possession of Tanjore and strongly garrisoned it.

Chokkanatha Nayaka of Madura appointed his foster-brother, Alagiri Nayaka to the governorship of Tanjore in 1674. Alagiri restored peace and order and remitted the surplus revenues to the treasury of Madura. As months rolled on, Alagiri grew indifferent to the remittance and assumed a tone of equality in his correspondence.

1. S.N. Sen: Siva Chhatrapati, P.231.
with Chokkanatha.

The treacherous Rayasam (Secretary) Venkanna, who continued in power under Alagiri, taking advantage of the friction between the two brothers, began to intrigue for his own advantage. He learnt that the old Nayak family was not totally extinct and that a boy of Vijayaraghava was saved from the catastrophe of 1673. Venkanna championed the cause of the surviving son named Chengamaladasa. The arch-intriguer, Venkanna hatched a plan to install the child-prince, dethroning Alagiri. Making elaborate preparation for the successful execution of his plan, he hastened to the court of Bijapur along with the child-prince and his nurse and sought the help of the Sultan for the restoration of the main Nayak line of Tanjore. The net result was that Ekoji, half-brother of Shivaji, was commissioned to expel Alagiri and crown Chengamala dasa.

A manuscript source which Wilks utilised confused an expedition which Shahji undertook for the purpose of levying contributions with the conquest of Tanjore. Depending upon a

1. The Jesuit letters made no reference to these incidents; but say that Alagiri was ruling over Tanjore under Chokkanatha. Taylor's Mss. and the Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitam speak of his independence - see Nayaks of Tanjore, p.162. P.N.) See also the Nayaks of Madura, p.166; Tamilaham in the 17th Century, p.90.

2. Tamilaham in the 17th Century, p.91; Nayaks of Madura, p.167; Nayaks of Tanjore, p.162.

3. The Tanja Vuri Andhra Rajula Charitam says that Chengamala dasa was aged four years in 1673 and he was the son of Vijayaraghava. Taylor's Mss. 11, p.200 says that he was aged only two. R. Satyanatha Aiyer (Nayaks of Madura, p.167) makes him the grand son of Vijayaraghava as the latter aged eighty at the time of his death. (for foot-note 4 and 5 please see next page)
manuscript in the Mackenzie collection,¹ Wilks says that Ekoji undertook the expedition against Tanjore, probably with a view to conquest on his own account, but under the ostensible authority of the Government of Bijapur.

Kannada tradition, as recorded by two writers namely Linganna Kavi and Krishna Raja Wodeyar III reveals that Tanjore was conquered by Shahji himself. According to Linganna, Shahji who tried in vain to bring about a permanent reconciliation between the Bijapur Sultan and Shivaji, found that the latter was bent upon anti-Bijapur activities; and unable to face the angry Sultan Shahji went to the south along with his son, Ekoji (Ekoji) and captured the fortress of Canji and Candavuru in the neighbourhood of Madura.² In the Annals said to have written during Krishnaraja Wodeyar III, the conquest of Tanjore by Shahji is described as follows: Finding that it was unsafe to live in Bangalore owing to the prowess of the Mysore prince, Kanthirava, Shivaji (apparently an error for Shahji) marched to Tanjore where Vijayaraghava Nayaka reigned. This ruler had become a devotee of a certain Telugu priest;

( from previous page).

4. Nelson (The Madura Manuial, P.194) says that Chengamala dasa fled to the court of Bijapur even in 1673 without citing any evidence.

5. "From a comparison of authorities I am disposed to suspect that the author 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 as equivalent to the actual conquest, but the final occupation of that country was probably achieved by Ekojje after the death of his father. This event is placed by a manuscript history of Tanjore in the Tamil language, belonging to Mackenzie collection and by several concurring testimonies, in 1675." (Wilks, Vol.I, P.93).

An account of the Maratha Rajas of Tanjore (Section 8, No.835) No.24, C.M. 778) quoted in pp.441-2 of W.Taylog - A Catalogue (continued)
and by renouncing his royal duties he had assumed those of an ascetic. Shahji came to know this state of affairs in Tanjore. Placing a few horsemen in Bangalore, Shahji went to Tanjore, drove out Vijayaraghava Nayaka and laid the foundation of Maratha power in that city. Therefore the conquest of Tanjore was effected in 1662 when Vijayaraghava was ruling.

Nevertheless the weight of the evidence is in favour of the view that the conquest of Tanjore was effected by Ekoji himself, Ekoji met the forces of Madura and defeated them and insisted on them to pay the expenses of the expedition; "the account of which as usual doubled the actual amount and the Tanjorean was unable or unwilling to defray it". "Ekoji complained of an attempt to circumvent him and pretended that he was compelled to guard himself against the treachery of the Nayak and in the end, took possession of the government for the good of the state, to protect the good and punish the wicked".

According to the Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charita and Tanjavuri Varl Charita, Ekoji marched into the kingdom of Tanjore, captured the fort of Aiyampet, defeated Alagiri Nayak and drove him

(from previous page)

Raiponk of Prioral Manuscripts in the Govt. Library. (Vol.III, p.441). This paper makes a retrospect to the times of Maloji and Shivaji and references to the connections between Tanjore and the Sultan of Bijapur and describes how Ekoji made his claims for arrears of tribute the ground of his conquest.
out from the fort which he took. Ekoji marched into the fort
triumpantly, crowned Chengamaladasa as the ruler of Tanjore
according to the instructions of the Sultan of Bijapur; and
Chengamaladasa inaugurated his rule about 1674. Rayasam Venkanna
soon quarrelled with his own protege and went over to Ekoji's
camp at Kumbakonam and induced him to take possession of Tanjore
for himself.  
Ekoji set out against Tanjore. Chengamaladasa was
panic-stricken on hearing the news of Ekoji's coming. Chengamala-
dasa and his followers escaped and took refuge at Ariyalur.
Tanjore fell into the hands of Ekoji without any difficulty;
Ekoji's occupation of Tanjore marks the beginning of the Maratha
rule in Tanjore. Taking the active cooperation of Venkanna,
Ekoji restored peace and order and organised the affairs of the
kingdom. The Maratha occupation of Tanjore took place in the early
beginning of 1675 as is mentioned that Ekoji took possession of
Tanjore in the month of Magha of Saka 1596 corresponding to February
- March, A.D.1675. This was supported by Andre Freire's letter
dated 1676 where in reference is made to the occupation of Tanjore
by Ekoji. Doubtful of the allegiance of Venkanna who had already

1. Jesuit letters say that after the conquest of Tanjore, Ekoji
threatened Trichinopoly also. A careful study of Andre Friere's
letter points out that conquest and usurpation are not identical
and that usurpation was followed by conquest. - Navaks of Madura,
pp.279-280.

2. The Navaks of Tanjore, P.164. F.N.7 R.Satyanath Aiyer (Navaks
of Madura, P.170) says that Ekoji at first refused to invade
Tanjore as he feared his master but the news of the death of the
Sultan encouraged him to conquer Tanjore. But the statement is not
trustworthy as no Sultan died in that year (1674).

3. In the book "The Restoration of the king of Tanjore considered"
the usurpation of Tanjore by Ekoji is given as follows: - "A party
of Maratto plunderers, under the command of one Eckege, invaded
the carnatic and fixed themselves as Gingee. The Zamindars of
Tanjore and Trichinopoly, who were both descended from the slaves
of the Roils ....... having quarrelled among themselves had taken
the field. The Zamindar of Tanjore being hard pressed by him of
(continued)
deserted two of his former masters, Alagiri and Chengamala Dasa, Ekoji decided to throw him into prison. But the sharp minded unscrupulous king-maker somehow got scent of the imminent danger and slipped away unnoticed and unperceived by others, rebuking strongly his stars. This is the version we get in the chronicles.\(^1\)

The Jesuit letter of 1676 makes mention of only Ekoji's usurpation not but the details of circumstances leading to it as that event is stated to have "just happened", it must have happened in the same year.

Having established himself safely, Ekoji had introduced drastic measures in reorganising the kingdom of Tanjore. The Jesuit letter of 1676 details:

"Thus becoming absolute master of the kingdom, he seeks to make himself loved by the inhabitants and has already succeeded in it. The justice and wisdom of his government begin to heal the wounds of preceding reign and develop the natural resources of this country, one of the most remarkable in all India by the fertility of its lands and the richness of its production. By repairing the canals and tanks, he has fertilised extensive fields uncultivated for many years, and the last harvest has surpassed all

that one had ever seen. Unhappily this prosperity will not be
of long duration, for, on the one hand Idal Khan sends an army
to punish the revolt of his general; on the other, the Naukk of
Madura, so sluggish when it would have been easy for him to join
his brother to crush Ekoji, is at last waking himself up from his
apathy". Ekoji should be accorded an honourable place in the
annals of Tanjore History for having laboured hard to bring about
the material prosperity of the country and establishing an
administrative system modelled on the basis of Bangalore and Kolar
of his father. He studied "with assiduity the internal economy of
his state with a success that enriched his subjects and ennobled
his name". Ekoji, being a clever diplomat was able to pulse the
mentality of the conquered subjects and the enemies. In order to
make his position safe and secure against his enemies, he seems to
have sought an alliance with the French for their military aid.

Condition of South India in 1676: Dark clouds of war begin to
loom large on the horizon of South India. The establishment of a
Maratha Kingdom at Tanjore in the neighbourhood of Madura was a
source of alarm to the latter ruler, Chokkanatha. Taking advantage
of the confused state of affairs in Madura and Tanjore, Chikkadeva
Raja of Mysore started his campaign. To understand what brought in
Shivaji's Karnataka expedition requires a slight retrospect of the
history of Mysore under Chikkadeva Raja.

2. Tamilaham in the 17th Century, P.97.
The history of Chikkadevaraja is practically the history of central part of South India for thirty years. His own reign (1673 - 1704) covers the second quarter of the 17th Century and stands forth as a most important epoch in the annals of South India. Under him the Mysore kingdom reached its greatest extent and the largest single state centuries after the Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra; and before the rise of Hyder Tippu Sultan was formed.

The reign of Chikkadeva is also marked by the upspringing of the Maratha nationality out of the ashes of their short-lived kingship and by the appearance of Madura Nayak with a design for self-aggrandisement. The great Maratha general Shivaji and his step-brother Fkoji and his other generals bowed low before the Mysore Yadava blast. To the Mysore Raja, alone among the South Indian peoples, belongs the glory of giving the first successful check to the onward march of the Maratha power and saving their father land from foreign encroachment.

Political Condition: It was a period of great activities for, the future rulers of our country's destiny gained a firm foot-hold on its soils. Madras and Bombay were the chief centres of the English East India Company in 1653 and 1687 respectively; Calcutta was founded in 1690. The places for commercial activities thus secured by the Europeans formed a dominion within a dominion, and were fortified with an object to defy the onslaughts of the "country-powers". The foreign "merchant-adventurers" began to conduct
experiments in Oriental Government and local rule which resulted in course of time in the establishment of an empire larger than that of Romans and a civilized and progressive administration to which the world, ancient or modern, affords no parallel. The Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb in the north inaugurated his glorious rule but an inglorious fall. The grand edifice which Akbar had built up, Shahjahan and Jahangir nurtured and extended, still looked gorgeous as before but it was ready to tumble down to the ground like a house of cards at the first torch of foreign aggression. Chikkadevaraja despatched Karnika Lingaya to the court of Moghals with costly gifts and munificent presents in order to enlist the sympathy of falling emperor. But Ekaji contrary to the wishes of his master, seized the title and authority of the Nayakship of Tanjore and proclaimed himself an independent ruler, not ignoring his father land, Bangalore. Shivaji launched his Karnatak expedition during this period ostensibly to realise his long-cherished goal. Vijayanagara empire was on the brink of dissolution surviving all troubles and tribulations for well nigh a century after the epoch-making battle of Talikota. Its sway over the full blossoming kingdom of Mysore was a thing of the past and nothing more. In Ikkeri, Channammaji succeeded Hiriya Somasekhara-nayaka. Chikkadevaraja had to deal with the neighbouring powers in order to maintain the honour and prestige of Mysore and he was successful in this endeavour.  

"Blessed with health, wealth and happiness, ardent in devotion to God, adorned with all the worthy virtues and graces, Lord of the throne of Srirangapatna, the generous among the generous in the illustrious Yadava line of kings, the beloved of the world - May Chikkadevaraja live and prosper as king of kings, delighting the hearts of mankind like the moon".

This is how Tirumala Ayyangar pays his homage to Chikkadevaraja who had been his bread-giver and on whose salt he thrived.

Chikkadevaraja was the son of Dodda Devaraja and Amritamba and was born on September 22, 1645. Alahisingararya predicted that "the royal child would be king of kings, the emperor of the Southern kingdoms, the commander of an immense army, pure in mind and deed".

The prince was brought up with all indulgence and care that a royal son receives at the hands of his parents and preceptors.

Education: Arrangements were made for his regular education. As he had natural keenness of mind, he quickly learnt what he read. He had thoroughly mastered the Dharmaasstras and Philosophies and wonderstruck his preceptors by a display of erudition.

1. A.P.C. P.8, V.25.
2. There is some difference of opinion about his parentage. Wilks says that he was the son of elder brother of Dodda Devaraja but following sources agree that he was the son of Dodda Devaraja and Amritamba. Annals, P.104; C.Vam by Tirumala Ayyangar, P.170; C.Vam by Venugopala Varaprasada; Paschimarama mahatmya, Introduction by Thimmakavi; Divyasuri Charittra, Introduction; C.Vijayam, IV, 170-180; Sr. Inn. 14.
His retentive memory was unequalled. He was an expert in the theological studies and political principles. He exhibited rare keenness in acquiring proficiency in the principles of rhetoric, drama, poetry and linguistics. He was trained in music, gymnastics, archery and swordsmanship and various arts. He learnt the use of offensive and defensive weapons. Horse-riding and elephant-riding and other manly exercises were his special hobbies. Fortified with all the education of a prince, Chikkadevaraja jumped into a wider field of political activities. He was the author of several kannada and sanskrit works known for their high standard of literary merit. The writing of Sachchudrachara nirmaya by the king himself which defines and determines the rights of the fourth caste is a testimony to the fact that the king was eager to inaugurate in his kingdom an organised system of administration which could secure a consolidation not merely in the political but also in the social spheres. Chikkadevaraja Minnapa, Gita Gopala, Chikkadevaraja sukti vilasa, Se stedharma and Bharatha were some of his literary productions, which introduce us into the literary taste and accomplishments of the king. The summoning of a great literary conference where in experts in political science, learned men, eminent poets participated in order to enlighten the king on the history of Divyasuries as desired by him is a remarkable evidence to the literary urge that the Raja had.

1. Ārayaguvaraṃ dharmaśastradolam rāja nityyolam bilkettī modalāda palavum kēyugeyeyolam āne kuduregaleratadolam sāgita śāstra- dolam nātakālankarangalolam, palavum dēsha bhashgadalolam palavum kalāvidyegalolam pravina nanisimam C. Vam, P. 166.
2. Divyasuri Charite, Stanza 83.
Imprisonment of Chikkadevaraja and mischief of pandit: Chikkadevaraja in his early youth did not seem to have been on good understanding with his father, the result of which was that the former was confined at Hangala and Devaraja Wodeyar, the brother of Doddadevaraja Wodeyar was enthroned. Wilks states that Chikkadevaraja had spent his early years at Valandur where he formed intimate contact with Vishalaks' pandita, a Jaina by persuasion. When Chikkadevaraja was in confinement the pandit continued his attachment and followed him to confinement. The pandit who was well versed in astronomy and "aspect of stars" had discovered that Chikkadevaraja would certainly succeed to the throne. When his prediction became a reality, the pandit became the Chief Minister of Chikkadevaraja according to the latter's promise made before. During the first fourteen years, the pandit held the Raja in his grip and influenced him to such an extent as to the imposition of many vexatious taxes which were highly resented by the people who blamed that the pandit was the mischief maker and was responsible to warp the normal mind of the Raja. A gruesome story is related by Wilks of how the Raja was made to grant an interview to a number of Lingayat leaders under the pretext of listening to their grievances and then how the treacherous pandit arranged to execute each interviewer as he was led out of the royal presence after the interview into an adjoining tent for the purpose of being entertained

3. Raja Kathavali, XII. 476.
A wholesale massacre of Lingayats were ordered in the whole country and Lingayat matts and sacred places were raged to the dust. This savagery and butchery were rightly attributed to the Jaina pandit who was murdered. While he was on the brink of eternity, the Raja visited him on hearing the murderous attack of the Pandit and was suitably requested to appoint Tirimala Ayyangar, a vaishnavaite, and Raja's play-mate and court-vidwan as the Chief Minister. Accordingly Tirimala Ayyangar (Vaishnava) was appointed as the Chief Minister.

Yuvaraja: Chikkadevaraja took active part in military campaign as a crown-prince and exhibited marvellous energy and resourcefulness in encountering a formidable confederacy at Erode. Apart from the external extra military activities, he had special keenness of understanding and digesting various subjects relating to Dharma Sastras, politics and moral principles which were hotly discussed and debated in the court of Devaraja at Srirangapatna. But the refined characters seemed to have receded to the background for some time after 1667 giving place to vain-pride and arrogance. This led to the imprisonment of Chikkadevaraja in a remotest place Hangala along with his family in 1668. Proper arrangements were made for the continuance of his studies and training befitting dignity of the future ruler of Mysore.

Dalavoy Kumarayya brought Chikkadevaraya from Hangala by way of Kalale and Garalapuri to Mysore and then crowned him at

1. C.Vi., V, 157-160;
Srirangapatna on phalguna Bahula 12, paridhavi 1595 corresponding to 15th May 1673. At the age of 28 he ascended the throne with due pomp and pageantry.

The first administrative reform effected was the appointment of an Executive Council consisting of five ministers viz. (1) Vishalaksha Pandita as Chief Minister, (2) Tirumala Ayangar (3) Chikka Upadhyaya, (4) Shadaksharaiya and (5) Linganaiya to assist him to discharge his duties. This council consisted of the most noted pandits and writers of Chikkadevaraja's court whose reputation for scholarship and literary merit have outlived their day and who are even now acknowledged as the standard authors in the kannada language.

Chikkadevaraja, equipped with all the qualities of a great general launched forth his policy of conquest in different parts of south India. By dint of his superior prowess, ability and deep diplomacy, he was able to be victor of many battles extending the geographical frontiers of his kingdom up to Salem and Coimbatore districts as far as far as Mannargudi to the south east, to Coorg on the west and Bednore towards the north west.

Chikkadevaraja seized Maratha Colonies: Reveling in peaceful atmosphere and in a secure position, Ekoji had never felt the

1. Q.J.M.S., Special number 1956, P.198; Mys. Dho.Pur., II. 31; also I. 38 and II 36 fixes Feb. 28, 1673 and this is accepted by the author of Mysore Gazetteer Annals I. P.104, paridhavi pahula 12 corresponding to March 5, 1673; Raj.Kath., XII, P.177 paridhavi karthika su 5 corresponding to Oct.16, 1672; Wilks places the accession in 1672 & is followed by Rice (I.366) and S.K.Ayanger (Ancient India P.298). The former is preferred here.

necessity of renewing and reviving the contact with the Adil Shah of Bijapur who had been a bread giver to his father and many Maratha family and on whose august state they thrived. This attitude on the part of Ekoji had displeased the Sultan who immediately took precautionary measures to rescue the Bijapur-Karnatak Balaghat from falling into the hands of a much adventurous fellow-chieflain by appointing two Muslim generals, Jahangir Khan and Hussain Khan, who claimed descent from Ranadulla Khan, a reputed general of Bijapur. The care and caution that the Sultan took in protecting the Karnataka possessions struck a note of warning to Chikkadevaraja of Mysore, who, awakening to conscience of imminent danger from the Bijapur Sultan, mobilised his forces with a view to seize as much Karnataka possessions of Bijapur as possible. About the middle of 1675, Chikkadevaraja proceeded in that direction and was brilliantly successful in conquering Ketasamudra, Kandikere, Handalagere, Gulur, Tumkur and Honnavalli (all in Tumkur District), Saratavalli and Turuvekere (Turugere) belonging to the Bijapur Sultan. Next he delivered his attack on Jadakanadurga, the chief of which Narasappa Wodeyar, known for his fist (Musti) had encountered the advancing forces with the active military aid of the Morasas and Kiratas but in vain. He was put down; his capital Jadakanadurga was plundered and its name was changed into Chikkadevarayadurga (now Devarayadurga in Tumkur). This aggressive

2. E.C., III (1) Sr. 151.
attitude of Chikkadevaraja did not receive any check as Ekoji, after firmly establishing himself at Tanjore as an independent king, had launched forth his territorial conquest in his neighbourhood thus it turned out to be a golden opportunity to the former.

On the other hand Ekoji egged on by ambition did not keep mum as a disinterested spectator for, it is a great error in politics to remain idle and uninterested spectator. Therefore he concentrated his attention on the siege of Trichinopoly where the voice of Madura seemed to be predominant. Trichinopoly formed the ground on which both of them stood face to face. Now Mysore was entangled in the hopeless embarrassment of checkmating the visible forces, one from the north and other from the south, which were acting and reacting upon each other in order to cause destruction of the kingdom of Mysore. The Bijapur Sultan never forgot the humiliation done to him by Ekoji and therefore he was about to despatch an army to punish latter. Moreover, the Bijapur intervention in the affairs of Mysore kingdom was, for some reason or other, frequent. Secondly, the settlement of Ekoji at Tanjore as an independent king and his military activities for territorial conquests, that too at close proximity on the border land of Mysore was a serious alarm to Chikkadevaraja who, began to strengthen defences against these possible dangers. About 1676 the political horizon was very dark; preparations for war were being made by Madura, Mysore and Bijapur.

The Jesuit letter of 1676¹ says:— "Mysore which can not see,  

¹. Andre Freire in the Nayaks of Madura, P.281.
without uneasiness, a bold set of people establishing themselves on her own frontiers, fortifies the citadels taken from the northern provinces of Madura, gathers fresh troops and makes grand preparation for war. On the pretext of strengthening herself against the Muhammadans, she may have in view an attack on the kingdom of Madura, when the Nayak will be involved in his war with Tanjore".

In the meanwhile, Chikkadevaraja focussed his eyes on the northern conquest of Bijapur-Karnatak-Balaghat. He, with a well disciplined army laid siege to the fort of Doddadevanagiri, took possession of it by cutting off the nose of Chikkappa gauda, by putting to rout the entire army and crushing those who supported the cause of Chikkappa gauda. After taking possession of the fort, Chikkadevaraja received from the palace, Jewels, money, elephants, horses. The ruler became a prisoner in the hands of Chikkadeva¹ in Feb. 1676. In April 1676 was effected the final annexation of Honnavalli from the hands of Jahangir Khan, Bijapur officer. Bommasamudra was conquered from Hussain Khan in Jan. 1677 and in the subsequent month of same year Toda nadu was taken from Muyangaiya, son of the Wodeyar of Ummattur.² He seems to have carried fire and sword as far as Malabar (Malayachala and Kerala).³

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Thus there had already come into operation a reaction against the Muslim autocratic authority, inaugurated by Shahji's acts and nurtured by Ekoji's doings, was in fact a golden opportunity for Shivaji to project his Karnataka expedition.

Kolar and Doddaballapura asserted their independence: The death of Sambhaji in 1663 and his brother-in-law, Shahji in 1664 and the departure of Ekoji from Bangalore to Tanjore induced most of the Maratha possessions in Mysore to relinquish their allegiance to the Maratha overlords and assert their independence.

Relying on Sabhasad, R.N. Salatore says that the forts of Kolar and Doddaballapur revolted against the declining fortunes of the Maratha Kingdom in Karnataka; Kolar declared its independence in 1670 A.D. and Doddaballapur somewhere between 1670-1677.\(^1\) Assertion of independence by these two districts is one of the reasons, if not the sole reason that induced Shivaji to set in motion his plan of Karnataka expedition.

**OBJECT OF SHIVAJI'S KARNATAKA EXPEDITION.**

The first and foremost question to be considered now was: what was the object of Shivaji in launching this daring distant Karnataka expedition? Alas! We are at a loss for, conflicting authorities give conflicting versions.

His Karnatic Objective: Partition.

The Chitnis Bakhar, one of the Maratha sources says that the main object of Shivaji was to lay his claim to the half-share of his father's Jaghirs in Karnataka:

"Thirteen years have passed since the death of the late Maharaja. Raghunath Pant then placed you at the head of the government and completely rendered to you all the belongings of the late Maharaja - his Jewels, horses, elephants and land. But they are my patrimony as well. You have till today enjoyed my half-share of them; I wanted to demand it of you but I had been far away. As you would not relinquish it voluntarily, I waited for these twelve or thirteen years. In my mind I argued that you were also a son of the Maharaja and a rightful owner of the property. So I let you enjoy it as long as you would and I thought I would demand and get my share whenever I need it & was at leisure."

On the other hand, the Sivadigvijaya says:

"During our father's lifetime Shivaji Maharaj rebelled against the Badshah and forcibly took possession of the Imperial territories. Our father on that account suffered in various ways. I remained with my father and behaved obediently and so the Badshah preserved our property. It is not an ancient hereditary gift

that he demands a share. Share can be claimed of ancient Watan's alone. But this property is held on service tenure. I call myself a Badshahi officer and enjoy this property in accordance with the Badshah's order. What claim has he (Shivaji) to this property?"

The argument of Ekoji seems to be logical and reasonable. It is true that he spent most of his time with his father enjoying the peaceful bliss offered by the Sultan of Bijapur. The points of subordination was clear as not only Ekoji but also most of the Maratha generals and administrators were working under the eyes and orders of the Sultan. As such he was not an independent chieftain inheriting all the paternal property for half of which Shivaji should have a claim. Moreover, if Shivaji's claim is argued about, why not Ekoji should have claim to the belongings of Shivaji? In fact Ekoji has double claim; he could not only claim a moiety of the Poona Jaghrs which were being enjoyed by Shivaji but also a part of the conquests of Shivaji himself. Therefore the claim of Shivaji as is alleged by Chitnis Bakhar sounds unwarranted. Further it is illogical, unreasonable and unjustifiable to press the demands of Shivaji on Ekoji. One curious point we notice in Sasahasad is that it does not seem to have any touch on the idea of partition but simply says that Shivaji claimed his

1. Ibid, P.231.
2. Sarkar, House of Shivaji.
father's twelve hrirandes or badges of honour which were in the hands of Ekoji. Therefore this can be dismissed as throwing no light on the real object which actuated Shivaji to launch forth Karnataka expedition.

Plunder.

J.N. Sarkar says:

"It is incredible that a born strategist like Shivaji could have really intended to annex permanently a territory on the Madras coast which was separated from his dominions by two powerful and potentially hostile states like Bijapur and Golkonda and more than 700 miles distant from his capital. His aim, I believe, was merely to squeeze the country of its accumulated wealth and return home with booty. The partition of his father's heritage was only a plea adopted to give a show of legality to this campaign of plunder".

Three points are raised: Shivaji's intention of not having any territory on the Madras coast permanently; Bijapur and Golkonda which were hostile; the question of distance. The point is: why a born-strategist like Shivaji does not like to annex permanently a territory on the Madras coast? secondly Golkonda, at the time

of his expedition was not hostile, let alone Bijapur. In fact, Golkonda promised to aid him in men and materials in his endea-
our. Thirdly distance is no matter for such a ambitious and enterprising general like Shivaji. Furthermore the various
conquests Shivaji made in eastern and central Mysore and a portion of Bijapur in course of his return-journey was a complete testi-
mony to the fact that he was not unconsious of the necessity of maintaing active communication between Maharashtra and Eastern
Karnatak. Sen says that there would be not difficulty in maintain-
taining an empire situated some hundred miles away from the capital provided the communications were safe and good.¹

Prof. Sarkar was silent on this point in his later editions. Yet he says in the 5th edition that "gold and not land was his chief object".² Shivaji's diplomatic arrangements with Golkonda and his grand army of veterans, military and civil,³ show that he contemplated no mulkgiri.

A Second Line of Defence:

Ranade in his well-argued work says:

"as if he had prescience of coming events, Shivaji, by his conquests and alliances, formed a new line of

¹ Studies in Indian History, as referred to by C.S.Srinivasachari in "Ginge & its rulers", P.231.
² Prof. Sarkar: Shivaji and his Times, P. 303.
³ Ibid "" "" P. 233-91.
⁴ Rise of the Maratha Power (1900), P.174.
defence in Southern India in the Kaveri valley to which he could retire in case of necessity". Dr. Sen is half-inclined to endorse the view of Ranade: "He wisely annexed this far off colony as he had probably foreseen that it might one day serve as a secure place of refuge for his successors. A shrewd and wise statesman like Shivaji would not otherwise run the great risks involved in the invasion of the Karnatak, while a strong Mughal army was posted in the Deccan".

No element of truth could be found in the statement of Ranade viewed from the point of view of the repercussions of the expedition and the political atmosphere prevailed in South India at the time of the expedition of Shivaji. No tangible result was achieved by Shivaji from this expedition except causing disturbances to the peaceful life of the subjects, to form a place for refuge. One important factor necessary for the formation of a new line of defence in South India was lacking; his step-brother was not won to his side; some of the South Indian chieftains never agreed to come into a union; Mysore wanted to teach him a lesson at the point of the sword. Such was the political situation. How could Shivaji think of an alternative line of defence to retire in case of necessity? Moreover, if he were to think of the formation of the second line of defence, his first line of defence should have

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been alright. But though Shivaji had the satisfaction of having achieved the consolidation of Maharashtra, practically most of the places were subject to the terrible plunder and onslaught of the Mughals. Therefore we can dismiss the statement of Ranade as it is not the reason for Karnataka expedition of Shivaji.¹

In Sen's statement, although we find some element of truth for, his successor, Rajaram took shelter in the impregnable fort of Gingee during his wandering period making it the second line of defence, it did not survive long. Rajaram had to fly back to Maharashtra along with his followers leaving everything to besiegers.

3 (a) Revival of Vijayanagar.

Shivaji was credited with having been born to revive Vijayanagar's imperial tradition in all its grandeur. The two evidences on which this theory was based are: Shivaji's silver plate² record to the widow and two sons of Sri Ranga Raya III, donating "probably a hundred villages",³ and issuing of a unique gold coin, hon, discovered at Phaltan, in imitation of the pagoda of Vijayanagar. Any body who would get the opportunity of listening to the inglorious end of an empire which was once powerful and mighty, would take pity on the members of such a family, if an

appeal was made to him in their distressing position for the security of life. It is only uncivilized brute that can reject such claims. Fortunately, Shivaji was not unsympathetic, unkindly and iron-hearted man so as to reject the requests of the widow of Sriranga Raya for her maintenance. The Silver plate grant of Shivaji therefore, could not be taken to imply that he meant the revival of Vijayanagara empire. In fact nothing is more dangerous and suicidal in the Historical Methodology than drawing hasty generalisation from a particular. Further it is not true to say that because Shivaji issued a gold coin in imitation of Vijayanagar coins he became an acknowledged successor of Vijayanagara Emperors. What else he could imitate? Mughal Rupee? No, he can not. These epigraphical and numismatic evidences are only the indications of broad mindedness and humanity of Shivaji towards the family of unfortunate Vijayanagara empire and nothing more.

(b) Sathyanathaier's View.

This author also endorsed the view: Shivaji cherished the ambition to stand before his great enemy, the Mughal, as the acknowledged representative of the empire of Vijayanagar. Again he says: "At any rate Shivaji must have felt the empire extinct when he undertook his southern invasion which had in it an idea of reviving the Hindu empire of the South".

1. Nayaks of Madura, pp. 176-177; F.N. 71.
2. Ibid, p. 134; F.N. 60.
He says: "We do not hear any more about Sri Ranga. His death may have had something to do with the coronation of Shivaji; but the latter's march into the South and his attempt at an assertion of his authority over the carnatic for which he tried so hard in 1677, must have had at the back of it the idea that he took the place of the late emperor of Vijayanagar. The issue of a coinage on the model of Vijayanagar by Shivaji is a clear indication of this".  

The former has corrected his notion about Shivaji's revival of Vijayanagar empire in his recent work and says "All these speculations were caused mostly by the then uncertainty of the date of Sri Ranga's death, but we now know definitely that he died in 1672. If Shivaji had really wanted to step into the place of Sri Ranga, he would have postponed his coronation, which actually took place in 1674, or recrowned himself in 1678 after his Coromandel expedition. The Subhasad Bakhar, mentions Gaja Bhatt's conviction that Shivaji deserved to be a Chhatrapati like the Muslim Padshah and gives no support to the theory of the revival of Vijayanagar by Shivaji. It is clear that there was political vacuum in the eastern Karnatak which Shivaji abhorred and that he wanted to carve a principality out of the chaotic political units".  

1. Ibid, Introduction, P. 27.  
2. Tamilaham in the 17th Century, p. 100.  
Again Shivaji seemed to have thought that Bijapur and Golconda were the eternal enemies of Vijayanagara empire against whom they carried fire and sword and fought till its total destruction. Therefore Shivaji wanted to punish them. This does not mean that Shivaji championed the cause of the decadent Vijayanagara empire. R. Satyanath Aiyer says:

"We can not regard it as evidence of his ambition to revive the empire of Vijayanagara but only as an excuse for Shivaji's conquest of Eastern Karnataka, based on a wrong assumption".  

Sardesai's View.

According to this eminent author, Shivaji's main idea in launching this expedition was to prevent Ekoji of Tanjore from paying feudal obligations to Bijapur and bring him under his own control. Further his ideal was still higher; a Pan-Maratha ideal and laboured hard for the establishment of the Hindu-pัด-padshahi. He considers his daring Karnataka expedition as a link "in unifying chain of imperial aims". Sardesai quotes nine arguments in support of this point. But his nine arguments' support of Shivaji's Hindu-padium-padshahi were refuted by R. Satyanath Aiyer on the ground that the attitude of Shivaji was to establish only Pan-Maratha state.

It is not correct to say that Shivaji pursued the ideal of

1. Tamilaham in the 17th century, p. 102.
2. Ibid.
3. Main Currents of Maratha History, (1933), 69-75.
Pan-Maratha. On the other hand he laboured hard for the good of the Hindus; and for the establishment of the Hindu empire in order to present a bulwark against the destructive forces of the Muslim kingdoms. Assumptions of high-sounding titles by Shivaji were clear indications of the fact that Shivaji was a Hindu; and in fact it was the characteristic of a Hindu ruler in ancient India to assume titles. The reference to the motto on the seal of Shivaji is not an indication of his little power as has been assumed by R. Satyanath Aiyer; but it is only an indication of slow but steady growth of his power. (3) Shivaji's world is not merely Maharashtra; but it is India as a whole. According to the Rairi Bakhar, Shivaji told the Sultan of Golkonda that if Golkonda and Bijapur would but cooperate with him, he could easily conquer the whole of India. (4) The introduction of Marathi as the court language can not be taken to mean Shivaji's Pan-Maratha ideal. What else could he introduce? make Kannada? (5) In the revival of the council of eight ministers, Shivaji followed Chanakya, not the Bahamanis. (6) The vehement opposition offered by Shivaji in his letter to Aurangzeb against the reimposition of Jezia could be taken as an evidence to his Pan-Hindu ideal.

(7) Shivaji wrote a letter to Maloji for a united action. (8) Shivaji's uppermost idea in visiting Delhi was to understand the secrecy of the political situation of the Moghal court so that it could be exploited for his advantage in his life-and-death

struggle against the Moghals. By projecting the Karnataka expedition, Shivaji had brought about the unity of South India to great extent.

(9) That Shivaji married ladies belonging to Maharashtra cannot be taken as an evidence to prove his Pan-Maratha ideal for we do not know the circumstances that induced him to marry only those ladies of Maharashtra.

Nanalal Dalpatram Kavi says, "Shivaji stands for the greatest Hindu since Prithviraj. He was the crown and essence of Hinduism, the Great Star of Hinduism. Shivaji dreamed of re-establishing a Hindu empire. "I will conquer Delhi from its ancient throne. I will resuscitate Hinduism". From this it is clear that Shivaji tried hard to establish Hindu-pat-padshahi.

ANNEXATION.

Besides the Maratha chronicles, we have got the Fort St. George records (which consist of consultations and Diaries of the councils and copies of the letters sent and received from various places) and the Jesuit letters which will give ample references to the Karnataka expedition of Shivaji.

Sabhasad says that "the raja entertained in his heart the desire of conquering Karnataka from the Tungabhadra Valley to the Cauvery". Nicolo Manucci, the famous Venetian traveller says:

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1. Shivaji Souvenir, P.120.
2. Sen: Shiva Chhatrapati, 199.
"Shivaji ... asked the king of Golconda to grant him a passage to his campaign in the Carnatic and obtained by his valour and determination the great fortress called Gingee. He, like a dexterous falcon, pounced on many other fortresses belonging to Bijapur. Another unpublished manuscript found in the Archives Marines of Paris says that Shivaji entered Karnatak at the head of a large force and inflicted crushing defeat on those princes who opposed him.

The onward rush of Shivaji was a great alarm to the English merchants at Fort St. George; and this was found expression in their Diary and consultation Book of 1672-1678.

The letter of 9th May, 1677, 3 the letter of 19th June 1677, 4 the letter of 24th August 1677, 5 another letter written by Shivaji himself to Langorne, 6 Governor of Fort St. George, the letter of 29th October 1677, 7 letter of 31st October 1677, 8 and letter of 16th January 1678 contain references to the conquest of Karnatak by shivaji.

2. Ibid.
Apart from these English letters sent and received from place to place, there is also Marathi and Jesuit letters which corroborate the above theory. The Maratha chronicle, Sabhasad Bakhar gives a long list of forts under Shivaji's control. Another Maratha record, the Jedhe Sakavali, a bare summary of events with dates covering the years 1618-1697, refers to Shivaji's conquest: "Shivaji captured Jinji and occupied a whole of Karnataka in Chaitra, pingala 1599 (April 1677)."  

The above mentioned sources clearly say that the main object of Shivaji in this endeavour was the conquest and annexation in order to make his position safe militarily and politically. 

The Jesuit letter of Andre Freire dated July 1678 corroborates the above mentioned statement.

Freire, writing in 1678 says:

"Shivaji made himself master of it (Vellore) and thereby became sovereign of a large part of the kingdom (of Vijayanagara) as he had already been (master of Jinji). He could not hope to maintain peaceful possession of it for long; he had to defend himself against the Moghal power, which has been irresistible till now. With this provision he applied all the energy of his mind and all the resources of his dominions to the

2. Shivaji Souvenir, P.22.
fortification of the principal towns. He constructed new ramparts around Jinji, dug ditches, erected towers, created basins and executed all these works with a perfection which European art would not have denied. He did as much for the other citadels, whose position promised real advantages, destroyed all those which he considered useless, constructed a large number of new ones in the plains and on the hills and put all these fortresses in a state of preparedness for a siege of several years. Such works necessarily exhausted his treasures.

Apart from Maratha chronicles, Jesuit letters and number of English factory letters, we have got Memoirs of Francois Martin, the best foreign account for the expedition of Shivaji. Martin who founded the settlement of Pondichery in 1674, had kept watch on the shifting Karnataka affairs due to the intervention of the Marathas and given an account of which in the words of C.S.Srinivasa-chari "a document of great accuracy and importance and have furnished us with the best contemporary account of Shivaji's expedition into the Carnatic".

Martin Memoirs speak of the organization of Pondichery,

3. "It is needless to say that Martin furnishes us with the best contemporary account of Shivaji's Karnataka expedition. His Memoirs constitute a document of first rate importance and were copied by the late Monsieur P.Margry with a view to publication" (Introduction to S.N. Sen's Foreign Biographies of Shivaji, PP. XXVI - XXX).
of the Havildars and Subhedars being sent to Pondichery by Shivaji with a view to improvement and administration. Martin has also given his appreciation about Brahmin officers of Pondichery district for their labour in utilising waste and uncultivated lands and rendering them profitable. The appointment of Havildars and Subhedars for the government of the conquered country and reclamation and cultivation of the unprofitable lands by these officers meant that the Marathas wished to conquer as many states as possible and administer them.

"Sivagy assured our envoy that we might stay in complete security at Pondichery without taking side of either party .... that he would send an avaldar in a few days to govern Pondichery, and that we might have to live with him in the same manner as we had done with the officers of Chirocam (Sher Khan Lodi) .... Sivagy sent some Brahmins to all the villages in the country for governing them; the number of these scamps who had followed Sivagy for trying to get some employment is something amazing; they counted more than 20,000 .... The Brahmins were more careful in making the lands profitable".

Further Martin makes reference to the deception practised by Shivaji in breaking his promise to deliver up half of the spoils.

2. Ibid, P.297.
3. Ibid, P.341.
and conquests of the war to the Qutb Shah as had recently agreed upon. Concluding, with definiteness we can be sure, after having examined various sources at our disposal that the ulterior object of Shivaji in projecting the daring distant Karnataka expedition was annexation and nothing more than that.

Befittingly says R. Satyanathaler:

"The attempt to discover Shivaji’s ulterior motives is a wild-goose chase; partition was a stalking-horse; plunder was a side issue; his palpable objective was the conquest and administration of the Eastern Karnataka in order to strengthen his own military & political position."

ORIGINATOR OF THE PLAN.

The Qami Bakhar speaks of Raghunatha Narayan Hanumante as the trusted minister of Shahji who, on his death went over to Ekoji who established his authority at Tanjore independently and was the administrator of Ekoji’s heritage. The latter’s frequent intervention in the daily business of the state had roused the feeling of R.N. Hanumante who, resigned the service and contacted Madanna Pandit, the Golkonda minister of Qutb Shah and held a long discussion with him on the point of launching a Karnataka expedition so as to destroy the kingdom of Ekoji. Then he went to Shivaji, took up his service, and influenced him to lay claim to half of the Karnataka Jaghirs of Shahji which was under the

control of Ekoji partly also with an object of avenging his humiliation. It was this persuasion that made Shivaji invade Karnataka. This account making Raghunath the originator of this plan finds a complete refutation in Sabhasad. It is needless to say that Raghunath had extended his cooperation in Shivaji's grand endeavour; and as a consequence of its success, he was honoured with the headship of Gingee as Viceroy after its fall. It is unfair to question the sagacity tact by which he had brought about his plan and set in motion to its successful ending. It is said that Raghunath placed before Shivaji his grand proposals of Karnataka expedition early in 1676 when Shivaji was bed-ridden at Satara. But this theory melts before a French letter from Surat dated 20-12-1675 which says Shivaji's minister Annaji Pant told Mr. Baron near Rajapur that an expedition to the Karnataka had been contemplated by his master. "Baron stopped for some time at Rajapur, where he had friendly interviews with his principal minister, understood therefore his ambition on the Karnataka and arrived at Surat on 26th August, 1675 after a voyage of three months." This letter tends to inform us that this ambitious project of Karnataka Expedition must have been decided upon by Shivaji's council early in 1675, that is one year earlier than Raghunath's visit to Shivaji. In short, the originator of the plan was Shivaji himself although, we can conclude that, Shivaji was much benefitted from the rich

1. Sen, Siva Chhatrapati, P.119.
2. Keappelin, La Compagnie des Indes Orientales et Francois Martin, 1908, 155.
experiences of Raghunath who was well-versed in the affairs of the Karnatak, for the successful execution of his plan.

1. Even Sardesai seems to think that Shivaji himself thought of extending his power into the South as his path was securely blocked in the North by the Mughals. In this risky endeavour he took the ready help of Raghunath of Tanjore and Madanna of Golkonda.

According to Martin, Madanna was the author of the plan and suggested that Shivaji should be invited to undertake the conquest, as he would readily agree, if he were to be helped in men and materials. He sent for Shivaji "to render some services to his religion".

Martin says, "Madanna's views were to place this part of the Carnatic once again under the domination of the Hindus and by facilitating its conquest for Shivaji, to make of him a powerful protector."

The Fort St. George letter of 19th June 1677 says that Shivaji was "called in by the king of Golkonda or Madanna to help them to take Chengy, Vealour ..... as far as Porto Novo, out of the Visiapours hands, with the title of Generalissimo".

2. See Foreign biographies of Shivaji, P.291.
3. Ibid, P.262.
5. English Records on Shivaji II, P.125.
As an answer to this statement Duarte says:

"Madanna's meeting with Shivaji as Golkonda did not represent, as it was intended to appear, the commencement of his negotiations with the Maratha chief, but their final consummation. We have Baron's conclusive evidence that Shivaji had entertained the project of invading the Carnatic as early as in 1675". ¹

Therefore it is clear that Shivaji was the originator of this grand project although he received substantial assistance from Raghunath Narayan Hanumante in the execution of its details and whole-hearted supply in men and materials from Madanna who doubtless favoured the creation in the Deccan of a community of Hindu and pro-Hindu states as a defensive bulwark against the ever-pressing encroachment of Moghal India from the North and the West.

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