CHAPTER IX.

Shivaji's Invasion of Mysore: Chikkadevaraja's Exploits.

Shivaji's visit to Bhaganagar: About the close of 1676, Shivaji commenced his march to the south with an army, it is said, of 40,000 foot and 30,000 horse. Shivaji arrived at Hyderabad (Golkonda) in March 1677. The city of Golkonda was colourfully decorated to welcome the hero. "The streets and lanes on all sides were coloured with a thin layer of kumkum powder and saffron. The citizens in their hundreds and thousands lined in the roads. The splendid army adorned with pearls for their helmets, gold and bracelets," rivalling the grandeur and gorgeousness of the city, passed down the streets of Golkonda with Shivaji at their head.

At the auspicious hour chosen for the interview, Shivaji arrived at the Dad Mahal or Palace of Justice. Attended by only five officers, Shivaji ascended the stairs into the palace hall where Qutb Shah was waiting. The Sultan received him most


honourably and seated him on the royal carpet by his side on terms of equality.

Thereafter the two potentates had many interviews in which they freely talked of the past glories, thrilling events and the future plan. ¹

According to the Hairi Bakhar, Shivaji enlightened the Sultan that if Golkonda and Bijapur would but cooperate with him, he could easily conquer the whole of India for them. ² A month was consumed in long discussions and conferences and in going through many ceremonies with the Sultan and his ministers. The Sultan agreed to pay Shivaji a daily subsidy of 3,000 pagodas or four and half lacks of Rupees a month, while Wilks says that the Mahrattas received "a pecuniary aid for the present support of the army of about 10 lakhs of pagodas in cash and in valuables". ³ Further the Sultan agreed to send 5,000 men (consisting of 1,000 horse and 4,000 foot) in charge of one of his generals to assist in his endeavour. A train of artillery was also promised. The third agreement was that the conquered territories should be equally divided between the two parties. The fourth one was that they should resist the Moghul's advance against either; and the fifth one was that the Sultan should keep a Maratha ambassador at his court. ⁴

² C.S.Srinivasachari, History of Gingee and its rulers, P.213.
This is confirmed by the English records. A letter of Fort St. George to the company dated 19th June 1677 says: "Sevagee grown great and famous by his many conquests and pillagings of the Mughals and Visapur countrys being unfortunately called in by the king of Golkonda or Madanna to help them to take Chengy Vealour and Pamangonda, the remainder of the sea part of the Carnatt country".

Another letter written from Bombay to Surat dated 27th June 1677 says: "Mr. Child writes that Sevagee is in a castle of the king of Golconda where he intends to winter and after the rains its thought intends against the Carnatic; several of the Deccan Umbras are joined with him and it is believed that perhaps Bulul Cawn and him has agreed to share all between them".

Another letter from Bombay to Surat dated 2nd Aug. 1677 says that "Sevagee is at present a great way off in the Carnatic country where he wintered".

This is further confirmed by the kannada source, Chikkadevaraja Minnapam:

"Shivaji ... with the help of 60,000 horse and a lakh of foot .... had humbled the ruler of Golkonda and received the tribute (subsidy) paid by him".

3. Ibid, P. 133.
4. C.Minnapam, P. 4., V. 16: Shivâji aravathu sâsiram varavamgalum lakkadôlîkeyurkâlgâlam berasu nâchedu .... Gölukandeyavanam bandugeydu, avânittâ kâppavanoppugonâdu.
In the same work we find the fear expressed by the chiefs of various places including the Sultan of Hyderabad at the approach of Shivaji's army and the latter was compared to Maya, Sambara, son of the Ravana and Maricha famed in ancient epics for their devilish qualities:

"The chiefs of the Delhi and Bhanganagar areas were afraid that Shivaji was either Maya, Sambara, the son of Ravana or Maricha and paid him offerings of tribute by saying "Hail, Lord."

Shivaji's march to Gingee: Having taken delivery of promised arms, money and material and having secured the safety of easy communication to the north Shivaji descended to the south. Kannada source, Chikkadeva Raja Rinnappan says, "with the pride of accepting the offerings of tribute from various chiefs, Shivaji suddenly descended into the Carnatic countries."

With a plentiful supply of cash, an efficient park of artillery, Shivaji compelled the ruler of Cuddapah-Karnool (Ananda Rao Deshmukh) to pay tribute of five lakhs of pagodas; he then bathed at the holy Nivritti sangam, the confluence of the Krishna with a tributary stream, the Bhavnashi. He ordered the main body

1. Ibid., P. 1., V.4: Mayanō Shambaranō Dashāyasutanō Marīchanō yembina bhayadindāgare Dillī Bhāgānagara prāntagalōl nādugar jaya jiyendīdīrita kappadim .... Shivāji.
3. C. Rinnapam, P.4, V.16.
of his army to move in the southern direction to Cuddapah, while he himself attended by a chosen body of cavalry proceeded eastward in order to perform his devotions at the celebrated shrine of God, Mallikarjuna at Shri Saila which was to him 'a Kailasa on earth' and "stirred into a wild commotion the spiritual impulses of his heart". Being moved by the quiet and secluded beauty of the scenery and spiritual atmosphere of the place, he decided that no other place was so sacred as this to end his days by cutting off his head, before the god. But the timely help of his ministers cleared off his religious frenzy and brought him back to a sense of his tremendous responsibility to the down-trodden at large. Shivaji distributed a great quantity of alms and built a ghat on the river called the Sri Gangesh Ghat besides cells on the mountain sides for hermits to live in.

After spending a week at Sri Sailam, Shivaji joined the main army which descended into the eastern Carnatic by the Damal cheruva pass (Kallur Ghat) at Ananthapur. Thereafter travelling via Nandayal, Cuddapah, Tirupati and Kalahasti, he quickly reached environs of Madras. Then advancing further Shivaji, it is said, had encamped at Chakrapuri on the bank of the Chakravati river very close to Gingi.

Ginjee taken: Andre Freire says that "Shivaji fell upon the place like a thunder-bolt and carried it at the first assault". In July 1677 Shivaji was in possession of Gingi. Shinsen says that Gingi was captured by treachery. Manucci says that it was his valour and determination that contributed to his success.

Letters of Fort St. George do not make any reference to the treachery by which Shivaji conquered Gingee. Martin says "Nasirnemet (Nasir Muhammad of Jindi) who only sought the means of preventing Chircam (Sher Khan of Valikondapuram) from rendering himself the master of Gingee, did not make any alteration to the terms and got ready to receive Shivaji to whom he sent ambassadors as soon as he learnt that he was in Carnatic." 5

1. The Nayaks of Madura, P.282. Regarding the capture of Gingee conflicting sources give different versions. Maratta chronicles say that it was captured by treachery but Sarkar refuses to accept it on the ground that it was not supported by contemporary evidences. The Ra Sri Bahar says "Shivaji informed the governor Amber Khan that he had come down after making treaties with Bijapur & Golconda. The governor of the fort believed this and came out to see Shivaji with his eight sons when they were all arrested and the fort captured". The Shivadigvijaya says that Amber Khan came to Shivaji who told him to surrender Jindi if he wanted peace in his district. Upon this he surrendered the fort believing that his safety lay in maintaining close contact with him. Wilks says that while he was marching towards Gingee he announced that he was going there as a friend & ally of Bijapur. When an envoy came to Shivaji from Gingee he told the envoy that he made his peace with Bijapur and he had been his servant. Under this pretext, he asked the old governor and his eight sons to visit him in his camp, put them under arrest and captured the fort. See also various letters on this point in the "English Records on Shivaji" Vol.II, pp. 116-153.

2. Orme, Historical Fragments, P.64.
4. Ibid, 182.
Two Brothers Meet.

After sending the main body of the army to the siege of Vellore which was one of the strongest fortresses in South India, Shivaji marched towards Tanjore in July and halted at Tiruvadi on the Coleroon to interview his brother Ekoji. An interview was proposed and effected between the two brothers only once in their lives. What happened at the interview has come down to us in two versions, one is complimentary and the other is uncomplimentary to Shivaji. The life of Shivaji based on Maratha bakhars contains an account of how Shivaji invited Ekoji to send three representatives to settle their outstanding differences peacefully. The three representatives who participated in the interview returned to Tanjore and revealed to Ekoji the modest demand of Shivaji. Muslims whose influence was predominant in the court of Ekoji seem to have advised the latter to decline the demand. Furthermore was the promise made by Madura and Mysore to provide him with men and materials in case of necessity but Madura seceded from the alliance by the diplomatic intervention of Raghunath Pant and agreed to pay six lakhs of hun to Shivaji. Ekoji, realising the weakness of his position, visited his brother and his 20 day-sojourn there convinced him of the great

3. The Nayaks of Madura, P.176, P.N.71.
danger to which was exposed and therefore stealthily escaped. His flight was due to fear that Shivaji might secure him by force, leaving behind him the twelve badges of honour bequeathed by Shahji.¹

Andre Freier says that after subduing the kingdom of Gung, Shivaji pretended to respect the provinces possessed by his brother and advanced as if to pay a friendly visit to him. Ekoji, full of confidence, came jovially to meet him and found him beyond the Coleroon, three leagues from Tanjore. But natural sentiments were suppressed by greed and ambition; the traitor seized his brother and put him in chains to extort from him all the treasures. Ekoji, having managed to escape, crossed the river swimming and hid himself in the woods; Shivaji took possession of all the provinces north of Coleroon.² This Jesuit letter is fragmentary and blackens the name of Shivaji by saying that he was treacherous and ambitious-pretender. The true account of the transaction and dealings of Shivaji must have been lost somewhere.

Now we shall see Martin. He says:

"The first conversation gave evidence of amity and tenderness only, then it came to negotiations when Ekoji discovered that his brother would not let him go unless he had satisfied him about his claims."

¹ Sen. Siva Chhatrapati, P.126.
² The Nayaks of Madura, P.282.
He also used his cunning and while he offered friendly words he sought some means of withdrawing himself from such a bad strait, he succeeded therein one night, he had a cattamaron (raft) kept ready for him on the banks of Couleron under pretext of necessity, for he was watched, he approached the banks of the river, threw himself into the cattamaron and crossed to the other side which was his country and where he had some troops.

This news being communicated to Shivaji, he immediately ordered that Ecoji who was in his camp to be arrested, along with Jagannath Pandit. Then Shivaji conquered a part of Gingee kingdom.

The Maratha chronicle speaks of the sympathy and tenderness and affection shown by Shivaji to his brother on learning the news of the latter's flight. According to it Shivaji asks "why has he fled? was I going to imprison him? What should I do with the birudas (badges of honour)? My own birandes have spread over the eight directions. Over the seagirt earth my fame has spread, what then should I do with those birandes? I had asked for them as one should have his patrimony. If he did not like to part with them, he was at liberty not to give them. Why did he flee for nothing? He is young, very young and he has acted like a child."

2. Sen, Shiva Chhatrapati, P.126.
A letter of Fort St. George says that Shivaji "waxed very angry and had him (Ekoji) begone" who presently went away with 5000 horses.  

Another letter says that "The Raja (Shivaji) hath given order to take possession of all his brothers country".

Though the imprisonment of Ekoji by his brother found mention in the letter of Andre Freire, there is no corroborative evidence to confirm it. Yet we can glean from the evidence that some of his followers were put in chains and part of his land lay north of the Coleroon was conquered by Shivaji.

In August 1677 Shivaji returned to Vellore seizing the territories lying north of the Coleroon and reducing to submission the mischievous chieftains. It was here Shivaji met the ambassadors of the Nayaks of Madura and Mysore who, probably went there in accordance with their masters wishes with offerings of peace. But the subsequent attitude of Shivaji shows that their peace offerings were rejected.

Santaji was appointed the Governor of Ging. He was assisted by Raghunatha Narayan Hanumante as diplomatic adviser and auditor and Hambir Rao as Commander of the army of occupation. It was

2. Ibid, P. 133.
5. Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, P. 309.
during his return journey that Shivaji came into collision with the ruler of Mysore.

Shivaji's defeat at Srirangapatna: Mysore was rising into great prominence under its capable ruler, Chikkadevaraja. It was this ruler that checked the onward rush of Shivaji and inflicted a crushing defeat on him.

Some scholars expressed great doubt about Shivaji's coming into Mysore during his return journey from Gingee. But we have got certain authorities which categorically say that Shivaji did pass through Srirangapatna. Edward Scott Waring says: "Sevajee passed within 15 miles of Madras, at that period inconsiderable settlement, seized Gingee and extended his incursions into Mysore". Yakakhav also says that Shivaji did advance through Srirangapatna. Apart from these authorities there are English India Company letters which clearly state the journey of Shivaji through Srirangapatna.

There were certain reasons for Shivaji's taking the route of Mysore. It is well-known that Chikkadevaraja of Mysore promised help in men and materials to Ekoji against Shivaji. This perhaps provoked the wrath of Shivaji.

3. Life of Shivaji Maharaj, P.446.
4. Nayaks of Madura, P.176.
Secondly the kingdom of Mysore was enjoying peace and prosperity in plenty. The land was fertile, rich in agricultural products with a population that led a life of primitive simplicity. Mysore, the land of gold and hidden treasures attracted the attention of Shivaji. Letters of 24th, Aug. 1677 and 31st Oct. 1677 refer to the great riches that were carried away by Shivaji from Srirangapatna.

Thirdly the local chiefs who were subdued by and submitted to Chikkadevaraja, by patching up their differences met Shivaji unitedly and disclosed to him the secrecy (of the kingdom). Therefore it must have been the appeal of the subordinate chieftains of Chikkadevaraja that roused the feeling of Shivaji to undertake the expedition into Mysore.

Fourthly it was the design of Shivaji to annex Bednur and to join Kanara to his new conquests.

Of all the objectives stated above, 'Money' was the only ultimate objective that induced Shivaji to put his hand into this difficult venture. After the conquest of Gingi Shivaji was forced to find out lands of gold and money to finance his huge army, because the Sultan of Golkonda refused to pay money for his further conquest. The Sultan refused contributions to Shivaji because the latter did not keep up his promise made at Golkonda.

Therefore necessity arose for money.

About the middle of August 1677, Shivaji on his way from Gingi to his ancestral possessions in Karnatak, proceeded to Srirangapatna. A letter of 20th November 1677 says: "We hear that Sevagee is gone with 4,000 horse towards Vizapore or his own country leaving the rest of his forces in his new conquests". 1

The letter of 24th August 1677 informs us that "Sevagee is at present in the upper Carnatic where he has taken the strong castles of Chengy (Gingi), Chingavore (Tanjore), Pilmundah and several others and shamefully routed the Moors and it is believed has robbed Seringapatam and carried away great riches from thence". 2

Another letter of 31st October 1677 says:

"Sevagee this year hath had great success in the upper Carnaticke, in taking the two strong castles of Chengy (Gingi) and Chingyvore, the residence and court of the Vissiapour Viceroys in those parts, also of his plundering the famous city of Seringapatam where he got innumerable riches and still continues in those parts, receiving tribute from the petty Rajahs which submit to him and chastising those that refuse to pay him contributions". 3

These English letters clearly indicate how Gingee and Tanjore became an easy prey to the "Mountain rat" - as is commonly said by the English and also how Srirangapatna was plundered and pillaged by him carrying fabulous wealth therefrom. The easy success which attended on him in various places in the Karnataka led the English merchants to believe that Shivaji would extend his dominions from Surat to Cape Comorin without encountering any opposition.

The sudden rush of Shivaji into the Mysore kingdom was a serious alarm to its ruler, Chikkadevaraja who never dreampt the possibility of such an onset. In spite of it, Chikkadevaraja, with a firm determination, doggedness and fortitude was able to surmount all the mountain high difficulties in the defence of his dominion. The hopeless embarrassment in which Chikkadeva was entangled at the time of Shivaji's Mysore invasion was unparalleled. Wilks says:

"While the transactions in Deccan and Drauveda became more complicated, the greater powers namely the Moghal lieutenants, the two Muhammadan kings of Deccan and Sevajee found in each other opponents too powerful to admit of their attending, in the manner that their importance required, to the gradual and skilful encroachments of Chick Deo Raj"."  

A contemporary kanna work says that Chikkadevaraja had to encounter danger from every point of the compass caused by the Turukas (Muhammadans), the Morasas (Telugu people of the Kolar District and northeast), the Areyas (Marathas), Tigulas (Tamil people), the Kodagas (people of Coorg), Malevars (hill tribes in the west), in addition to the Qutb Shah of Golkonda and Adil Shah of Bijapur.

No sooner Shivaji entered Mysore than he saw with much gratification the discontented malcontent's assemblage who were prepared to support the cause of the Marander as having heavily suffered and highly humiliated at the iron hands of Chikkadeva Raja. A contemporary kanna source is eloquent in detailing how Shivaji's task of robbing Srirangapatna was rendered easy by the assemblage of chieftains. It says: "Such of the rulers as had submitted to Chikkadevaraja by fear, had come to an union immediately patching up their differences, visited (who had appeared in the vicinity of Srirangapatna) and disclosed to him all the secrecy of the kingdom, who, profiting by this advanced at their head against Chikkadevaraja".

Chikkadevaraja, who expected the intrusion of Shivaji at the head of a discontented masses into his kingdom, got ready to

2. E.C.III (1), Sr.14; C.Minnapam, P.2, Stan.8-9; A.V.C.I, 21.
encounter him by force. In the battle that ensued in the vicinity of Srirangapatna, Chikkadevaraja won a brilliant victory causing much havoc in the ranks of the enemies.

A kannada contemporary source says:

"when the Maharajadhiraaja Raja Parameswara Sri Chikkadeva Maharaja of great valour, the unequalled hero, was devoting himself to the sacred duty of ruling his empire from his lion throne at Sriran'apatna. ....... Shivaji who had devastated by means of plunder and guerillawarfare the entire dominions of Delhi with the help of 60,000 horses and a lakh of foot and thus earned for himself great notoriety in northern India; who had defeated the ruler of Vijaya-pura (Mjapur) and taken his lands and cities; who had humbled the ruler of Golconda and received the tribute paid by him, suddenly entered owing to that very pride, into the kannada country, Then the king of Mysore (Chikkadevaraja) defeated him in a cavalry fight".

In another place the same work mentions as follows:

"The chiefs of the Delhi and Bhaganagara kingdoms were frightened that Shivaji was either Vaya, Sambara, the son of Ravana or Maricha and they all brought offerings of tribute, praising 'Hail lord'. Having thus lost his head through pride, Shivaji attacked Mysore whose raja broke his pride and took the title

1. C. Pinnanam, pp. 3-4: Swasti sri man maharajadhirajam rajaparameswaram pruda pratapanapratima vira narapati sri chikadeva maharayam Sriran'apatdanadol sihmasa na rahanagi samrajyadhi kseyam teledu .... prajagalam palisuttirpinim; uttara desadolu-vrittha charitra nenisi aruvathusasiram varuvangalam lekkadeni-keyurkalgalum berasu nadedu Delhyanadananitumam kolleyolam kallagalaga dolam jallugeydu, Vijayapuradarasam jayisi, avara (continued)
"Apratila Vira" (unparalleled hero)\(^1\).

Further a letter of Fort St. George dated Jan. 1679, describing the evacuation of the Maratha army from Karnataka says: "The Meassnre (Mysore) Nayak being very strong given Savagee's men one or two great overthrows and destroyed many of them\(^2\).

Epigraphic records fully corroborate the literary sources regarding the defeat of Shivaji by the superior military force of Chikkadevaraja. Srinivasa inscription No. 64 says: "Chikkadeva Raja had conquered the lord of Madura and withstood Shivaji in the height of his power at the time when the rulers of the countries around Agra, Delhi and Phaganagar were falling down before him and presenting tribute. He thus acquired the title of Apratima Vira (unrivalled hero) which is one of the distinctive epithets of the Mysore Rajas\(^3\).

Another epigraphic record narrates a brilliant victory won by Chikkadevaraja over the mighty and powerful Shivaji and other Maratha leaders\(^4\). These three sources, namely, literary, epigraphic and Fort St. George letter, are emphatic in saying that Shivaji who had never sustained any defeat particularly from a petty chieftain of Chikkadeva's order had to suffer utter discomfiture in the neighbourhood of Srirangapatna by Chikkadevaraja.

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\(^2\) Diary & Consultation Book, 1678-1679, p. 153.

(continued)
Marathi source says that Shivaji took tribute from the Raja of Srirangapatna. Most probably at the end of the skirmish, Shivaji seems to have found it expedient to content himself with securing some booty from Srirangapatna. Any way the ignominious defeat of Shivaji seems to have been compensated by the acquisition of some booty from Srirangapatna which also gratified his ambition for money. The success which Chikkadevaraja achieved had not only enhanced his reputation before the eyes of his contemporaries but decided his position as the undisputed Lord of the kingdom of Mysore to the south of the Karnatak-Bijapur-Balaghat as well.

Though the raid of Srirangapatna by Shivaji was only a passing episode in the general history of the Marathas, it was in fact, an event of supreme significance when viewed from the position that Chikkadevaraja occupied. It was Chikkadevaraja alone, among the several powers of the south that delivered a rude shock to the dream and vision of Shivaji in making a permanent conquest of the kingdom of Mysore to the south of the Karnatak-Bijapur-Balaghat. Having vanquished such a mighty, powerful and daring invader, Chikkadevaraja assumed the title of "Apratima Vira" (unparalleled hero).

Chikkadevaraja was a very potent prince who had kept up

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2. E.C., III (1) Sr.64, see also Sr.14 (1686).
1. This title appears in various places: E.C., III (1) Sr.14; Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol., Mysore. 115; Sachchudrachara Nimaya, 122; C.Bn., P.59; Gita Govinda, pp. 39 and 70.
the defence with all his boldness and audacity against Shivaji and made himself so dreadful as to divert him to the territories outside the pale of his dominions. On the whole Chikkadevaraja stood as an opponent to the Marathas in the kingdom of Mysore.

Shivaji's conquest of Maratha territories in Mysore: From Srirangapatna Shivaji extended his arms to his ancestral possessions in Karnataka. Bangalore, Kolar, Hoskote, Doddaballapura, Chikkaballapura and Sira - the Jagir districts of his father, Shahji - were all subdued and taken possession of by Shivaji. These districts were held by Ekoji of Tanjore. Sarkar wrongly says that Shivaji conquered no man's land in this region. Turbulent palegars were destroyed; and new forts were built. In that region the karkun named Rango Narsayan was appointed as Sarsubadar, who was to act under the eyes and orders of Gingi Governor, Raghunatha Pant. General Manoji More was stationed in Kolar with his contingent. That Shivaji had completely established his authority over the Jagirs of Shahji in Mysore can evidently be proved by his grant of a village named Ramasamudra in that region.

Making due arrangements for the convenient administration of the conquered territories Shivaji recommenced his return journey. "With a success as happy as Caesar's in Spain", Shivaji reported so

2. See Appendix IV
vast an amount of treasures that he took in Karnatka. The
whole Karnatka was peeled to the bones by his system of plunder
was the assertion the English factors.

Struggle with Ekoji renewed; Final Settlement: No sooner Ekoji
heard of the departure of his brother from his soil than he set his
plan in motion with almost clock-work regularity to reconquer the
lost territories. For this purpose, he seems to have sought the
military aid of the Nayaks of Madura and the king of Mysore and
several other palegars but, greatly disappointed as no help was forth-
coming from them. Chikkadeva Raya did not extend his help as he
himself was involved in a terrible and complicated situation owing
to the unexpected raids of Shivaji into Mysore.

In November 1677, the Maratha army under the general-ship of
Santaji, by crossing the Coeleroon river offered a stout resistance
to the army of Ekoji that advanced against it. The two armies stood
facing each other in the battle field of Valikondapura for some
days; and at last on the 16th November, Ekoji won a brilliant
victory. Santaji fled. But the general stung with disgrace, hatched
a plan for retrieving the fortune of the day. When a sudden dash
was made, Ekoji, basking in the sun of victory was struck with fear
at the news. Yet Ekoji put up a stout resistance till he was routed
out. Skirmishes came to an end by the conclusion of a treaty.

1. English Records on Shivaji, II, P.150.
2. Madras Records of October 1677;
4. The Maratha accounts say that Hambir Rao commanded Shivaji's
troops in this battle. The Madras Factory Records and the
Jesuit missionary say it was Santaji. It is likely both were
present, Viceroy and C-in-C. Wilks also believes that Santaji
led the army (Vol.I, P.53).
English letter of 29th Nov. 1677 says:

"Sevages Lieut. and brother Santoge, left in Chengy and neighbouring conquest, was few days since engaged by the forces of their brother Ecogee from Tangiour (Tanjore) being 4000 horse and 1000 foot, his being 6000 horse and 6000 foot. The battle held from morning till night in which Santoge was worsted and fled 3 quarters of one of these leagues, being pursued one ¼ of a league.

When being returned to their several camps, Santoge, consulting with his captains what the importance and shame would bee, resolved to dress and saddle their horse again and so immediately rode away by other ways and in the dead of the night surprised them fast at rest after soe hard labour, their horses unsaddled and made a great slaughter of them, taking nigh 1,000 horse in that manner, the 3 chiefs commanders, the tents and all their baggage and 100 horse more taken by woodmen which fell to share the plunder, the rest fled over the river Coolledow (Cawery) for Tangiour".

1. English letters on Shivaji Vol. II, P. 146. The Jesuit Missionary, Andre Freire writes from a town of Gingee district in 1678. "Santogi actuated by fury fell on the enemy's army like lions, broke the ranks, spread carnage everywhere .... Santoji, obliged to flee, keeps enough composure to place a big detachment in ambushade; the victors carried away by the dash of success fall into the snare; overtaken in the rear by this detachment, they suddenly see the fugitives turn against them with irresistible impetuosity. After a bloody combat of several hours, they are broken and they leave the battle-field and the honour of victory to Santogi, whose losses are, nevertheless, much more considerable than those of the conquered" (Nayaks of Madura, pp. 282-283). Sabhasad 91 describes the battle thus: "Vyankoji's army was four times as large as that of Hambir Rao, but the latter defeated the former". (Sarkar, Shivaji, P. 311. F.N.)
Shivaji had learnt the news of an action between Santaji and Ekoji in which both sustained heavy loss in men and materials when he set his foot on the soil of Maharashtra and with a view to bring about a reconciliation between them he despatched a long letter of warning to Ekoji, which 'ranks as a high document of rare value' and which also contains terms of a treaty, making provision for the administration of Tanjore on improved lines. The 15th article is the most important one so far as the Karnatak possessions are concerned. It says:

"that the districts of Bangalore, Hoskote and Sir (Shiralkot) yielding a revenue of 2 lakhs of Hons have already been conquered by us: when will managed will soon be worth 5 lacs; we assign these districts as a voluntary present to our sister-in-law Dipa Mai, wife of Ekoji. Ekoji may supervise their management but not to lay claim to them".

In fact Shivaji had transferred all the Karnatak possessions to Ekoji himself.

The army of occupation under Hambir Rao was recalled to Maharashtra and Raghunath maintained a force of 10,000 horse for the defence of the new province.

The admonishing letter of Shivaji filled Ekoji with remorse.

For hours together he sat moodily buried in thought. At last his wife Dipabai came and consoled him filling him with the spirit of the Maratha blood which opened his eyes to the deception practised by his own Muslim friends around him. Ekoji had ratified the treaty before the eyes Raghunath Pandit whom he was summoned for the purpose. Shivaji was highly gratified at this amicable settlement of a long standing dispute.

Santaji, settling this long-drawn dispute satisfactorily according to the instructions of Shivaji, proceeded to Vellore to effect its siege to a speedy termination. The departure of Shivaji from the south made the task of Santaji in reducing the fort very painful and after a protracted siege of an year, Raghunath Pant was able to capture the fort about the middle of Aug., 1678. After the fall of Vellore, Santoji ruled this southern kingdom entrusted to him ably, and peacefully for some years. Expecting a Moghal attack in the near future, he applied all his energies and resources to strengthen its fortifications.

Chokkanatha missed the opportunity: While the two armies of Ekoji and Santoji were engaging themselves in the death-struggle, it was the golden opportunity for Chokkanatha to reduce an alien who had grown powerful and mighty in his own kingdom declaring

2. The Jesuit letter (Nayaks of Madura, P.283) says that Santoji rejoined his brother Shivaji who was engaged in the siege of Vellore. This is incorrect as Shivaji was already in Maharashtra by this time.
3. Takakhav, Life of Shivaji, pp.439-440, No.2. A Jesuit letter says that the siege of Vellore lasted for more than a year (Nayaks of Madura, P.283).
himself an independent king. This opportunity offered itself when Ekoji ignominiously retreated from the disastrous war with Santoji. But Chokkanatha had no strength of will to strike a blow at the demoralized army of Ekoji and take from him all that he had lost. Instead of that, the pleasure-loving king came to an understanding with Santoji according to which he gave him innumerable riches in return for the promised cession of the kingdom of Tanjore. But unfortunately the whole thing went awry owing to the treaty made between Santoji and Ekoji. Stung with disgrace, Chokkanatha returned to Trichinopoly losing men, money and time.

**Ekoji and Chikkadeva Raya 1678.**

The conclusion of the peace between Ekoji and Santoji according the instructions of Shivaji had brought to the normal position the disturbed atmosphere of South India. During the disastrous war with Santoji, Ekoji humbly made an appeal to Chikkadeva of Mysore for military assistance which was rejected on the ground of too-much-of work consequent on the sudden dash of Shivaji into the Mysore kingdom. This being considered a great insult, was fresh and green in the mind of Ekoji. He was waiting for an opportune moment to avenge the insult which came rightly when Chikkadeva engrossed himself in projecting the northern campaign.

Yasavantha Rao, the Prime Minister of Ekoji was appointed

1. Nayaks of Madura, P.283.
2. C.Min. P.4: Ekojiya mahāpradhānanenisuva Yesavanta rao.
the general of the army to carry on the war with the ruler of Mysore. Yasavantha Rao, proceeding with forced marches, attacked Hosur.

The army of Mysore took notice of it and immediately went there for its defence. In the terrible battle fought at Hosur, the Commander of the Maratha army had lost his nose and his army dispersed. Thus it was a distinct victory to the ruler of Mysore.

**Shivaji's adventure during his return journey from Mysore.**

**Shivaji's defeat at Bellary:** While Shivaji was returning to his homeland after the speedy termination of the Karnataka campaign, he had happened to pass through Bellary which was then under the control of a queen, having all the palgars dead. His troops plundered and pillaged some of the territories there which soon brought about a collision between Shivaji and the queen. The queen's army retaliated and caused great havoc in the main army of the Marathas. For perpetrating horrible cruelties and murder on the hastening army by the queen's troops, Shivaji demanded the surrender of the fort as compensation which was vehemently rejected. The result was the war which was prolonged for 27 days in which the

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1. A.V.C. III, P.32, V.9: Posa ūram muttidudam Masagi mahisurabhaṭa reydidudam Misuguvinam mūgaridudu Nesarantam kōkilāmramendam mandam see also II, 13, III, 55, 101, 114 and 123, 166, 172, IV, 2; C.Bin, P.4; Cv.Gop, P.63; Sach.мир, I 59, 61; E.C.IV(1) Sr. (14).
2. Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, P.308.
queen gallantly defended the fort with undaunted courage and resourcefulness. Shivaji stood before the fort speechless being stricken with marvellous energy, ability and prowess and the lady had had in conducting the defence of the fort.

At the end of the day of the battle, Shivaji had voluntarily restored all the conquered territories and the fort to the queen agreeing to receive tribute as the compensation of the war.¹

Shivaji's defeat at Belgaum.

The remarkable irruption of Shivaji into the Mysore table land had wrought important consequences. Apart from that, Shivaji’s return journey was attended with extraordinary discomfiture which was much more severe viewed from the angle of hard-won reputation than one he had at Mysore. Being duly informed of the aggressive activities of the Mughals and other Muslim powers in the vicinity of Maharashtra, Shivaji accelerated his march so as to be at home in time to parry a possible attack upon his own dominions. Crossing the Tungabhadra by way of Kopal, Gadag, the entire army of Shivaji reached Lakshmishwar.² The chief namely Khangauda had left the

¹. This is a traditional account prevailing and preserved among the Kuruba chieftains of Bellary. See Kurubera Charitre by V.R.Hanumanthiah, Ch.VII, pp.124-125; See also Bellary District Gazetteer, P.44.
². His route is thus given in Sabhasad, 91: Kolhar-Balapur-Kopal-Lakshmishwar - Sampgaun - Belvada - Panhala.
fort in fear and it was taken possession of by the Marathas.

Finally reaching Belvadi, after taking possession of Banakpur and other places, Shivaji had to fight a widowed lady proprietor namely Savitri Bai who delivered an attack on the rapidly hastening army. Her fort was invested by the Maratha army, but she heroically defended it for 27 days, after which it was captured by assault and she herself was captured. When she was brought before Shivaji as prisoner, the latter struck with astonishment at the bravery and steadfastness of the lady, sent her back with due honours and presents.

Any way the serious check that Shivaji encountered at the hands of a poor lady had greatly lowered the prestige of Shivaji.

A letter of 28th February 1678 written from Rajpore to Surat says: "He is at present besieging a fort where by relation of their own people come from him, he has suffered more disgrace than ever he did from all power of the Mogall or Decans & he who hath conquered soe many kingdoms is not able to reduce this woman Peru.

Another disappointment of Shivaji was that he was not able to purchase Mijapur which was kept for sale by Jamshid Khan owing to the treachery practised by by other competitors. The innate desire in making bid for that was to secure the position of a keeper

1. Belvadi, a small village 12 miles s.c. of Sampgaon and 30 miles s.c. of Belgaum.
2. The name of this lady is given as Lalbi by Sabhasad. The Shivadarivijaya gives her name as Savitribai. Sabhasad and Thergawkar bahkars say that she was captured and punished while the Tarikh-i- Shivaji says that she was captured and dishonoured by Sakhuji Gaekwad, whom Shivaji punished with imprisonment.
of Adil Shah state as his father had been of the Nizam Shah. But he was thoroughly duped as the Adil Shahi capital fell into the hands of Siddi Masaud (21st Feb. 1678) and returned to Panhala in the first week of April 1678.

The English letter of April 3rd says: "Jamshid Khan since the death of his master found himself incapable of longer holding out, agrees with Shivaji to deliver up (the fort of Bijapur) to him for 600,000 pagodas. Siddi Masaud, having intelligence of this feigns sickness, at last death and causes a handol publicly to be sent away with part of the army to Adoni, the residue ... to Jamshid pretending since the leader was dead, if he would entertain them they would serve him. He presently accepts their service and in receives them/to the fort, who within two days seized his person, caused the gates to be opened and received the Siddi alive".

Organisation of conquered territories: Many of the local chieftains who refused to pay annual tribute to the Bijapur Government were chastised by the Marathas and reduced to obedience. The chieftains of Kanakagiri, Harpanahalli, Rayadurga, Chitradurga and Vijayanagara were reduced to submission; and the conquered territories were formed into a compact province of Shivaji's kingdom and placed under Janardan Narayan Hanumanthe.²

2. English Records on Shivaji, P.160 (Vol.II.)
Chikkadeva Raja and Madura.

Feeling frequently of the avarice for territory, Chikkadeva projected a campaign. The victory he won over the daring invader, Shivaji contributed not a little to his ambitions. Further the absence of the Golkonda and Bijapur Sultans from the territory of Mysore added as a stimulus to the projected campaign of aggrandisement of Mysore of Chikkadeva. Symptoms of the establishment of mastery over the southern region were already made themselves felt when Mysore and Maharashtra involved in the game of territorial expansion at the cost of their neighbours and Maharashtra withdrew owing to the pressure of Mysore.

The beginning of the year of 1678 found the full maturity of the territorial designs of Chikkadeva. The weak and vacillating foreign policy of Chokkanatha in addition to chaos and confusion that reigned supreme in the Madura kingdom had afforded an excellent opportunity to Chikkadeva raja to materialise the long cherished goal of swallowing little by little the kingdom of Madura. In Jan. 1678 he delivered a surprise attack on the forts of Andiyur and Kunnattur situated on the frontiers guarding the dominions of Madura and took them by assault from the hands of Chatta Madaliar.

Then he directed his marches towards Erode in pursuit of

its chief Akka Reddi who submitted to him after a while.  

Andre Freire says:

"The king of Mysore entered them, without striking a blow and took possession of the only two fortresses which Madura had preserved till then in the north".  

Chokkanatha's inability to encounter Chikkadevaraja led to his ruin. The Jesuit letter states:

"The principal lords of the kingdom, vexed at the conduct of the Nayak, conspired against him, put him in prison, on the pretext of madness and raised to the throne Muttulinga Nayaka, his brother; whose government is neither wiser nor less tyrannical."

Muttulinga Nayaka succeeded to the throne in 1678. The newly enthroned king had to wrestle with many problems facing him. Administration was inefficient; Nature was unfavourable; resentment of the people was great. Andre Freire gives a heart-rending picture in his letter of 1678. In the midst of political confusion and chaos, Rustam Khan, a Muhammadan adventurer of great ability usurped the throne. To cloak his usurpation, he proclaimed Chokkanatha the king, releasing him from the prison and became the dictator of Madura.

2. Nayaks of Madura P. 284.
Short-sightedness, imprudence, disrespect for royal authority of the usurper had quickened his downfall within so short a period of one year.

Conquests in the north: Making suitable arrangements for the defence of the southern countries of Mysore, Chikkadeva Raja directed the forces of conquest in the direction of the North. Chikkatotlagere and Koratagere - strong forts were easily reduced and their chiefs tendered their submission without any opposition. Then he laid siege to Magadi and negotiated with its chief to make the payment of tribute annually. Again he carried fire and sword into the region of Muddagere which seemed to have been a celebrated place then and subdued its chiefs, Timmappagauda and Ramappa Gauda during May - June 1678 and the other dependent territories fell one after the other into the hands of Chikkadeva. Kudur, Virahna durga, the peak of Maddagiri and Hosur - all fell between June - July 1678. Channaraya durga and Manne Kolala, in Aug; the peak of Midagesi, Bhijavara, Gundumaledurga and Bhutipura in Sept.-Oct. 1678 were taken successively. The reduction of this chain of hill-forts one after another like a house of cards had definitely increased the reputation of Chikkadeva as an able and unconquerable general of the time and drew the sphere of influence of Mysore, parallel to Sira.

1. Nayaks of Madura, P.181-182.
the paternal property of Shivaji in the Karnatak-Mijapur-Balaghat. This forms a brilliant record to the credit of Chikkadeva as a conqueror.

While Chikkadeva Raja was performing miraculous feats in wielding the reduction of chain of impregnable forts in the north, the sceptre of an empire, winning victories over all his enemies, having been secure in his claim to suzerainty as "Sultan of Hindu kings" and "Emperor of the South and of the Karnatak country" as reflected in epigraphical and literary sources, the great king Shivaji breathed his last on April 5, 1680.

Estimate of Shivaji: The picture of Shivaji painted by the poets of Chikkadevaraja's court was grim and ghastly. He had been compared, unhappily with the giants, famed in our celebrated epics as the destroyers of mankind and disturbers of peace and tranquillity. It is true that Shivaji's war-like genius was astonishing. In training troops, devising strategy, inventing tactics, scouring the Deckan in every direction, his brilliance of mind was unsurpassed. He had made himself so dreadful to his neighbours as to make the kingdom of Mysore tremble at his approach and in fact made the people of Mysore feel the direful effects of his fury, by plundering all the country around about and carrying away innumerable riches. The terrible havocs caused by

2. C.Vam., P.166; Kamala, Mahat., I, l949, 152-154; C.VI. IV, 51; Ruk. Cha., Col.; Yad. Mah., II, fl.27; Sri Mahat II, 44-45; Mbh. Santi and Salya col; Sachch. *Nir., I. 50;
4. C.Min, P.1, V.4.
him in circumjacent places were unrepairable for long years. If Shivaji had not been a dreadful figure, as has been portrayed, he would not have achieved what he intended and what he did. The high-born high-spirited Deccan chieftains would never have bowed low their heads before the Maratha blast.

But Shivaji was not a full incarnation of bloodthirsty giant, as has been depicted by the court poets of Chikkadevaraja. The deep religious feeling, many instructive virtues, the chivalrous temper and the vast ability of Shivaji should not be over-looked. The insolent, overweening vanity which has proved the ruin of so many commanders both in ancient and modern times, found no place in Shivaji's admirably balanced mind.

It would not be unfair to say a word about the characteristics of the Hindu writers of the 17th century. The survey of their writings would reveal how their minds are tinged with bias and prejudices. In extolling their masters who had been their bread-givers and on whose salt they thrived, they would elevate them to the seventh Heaven. Those that were disposed unfriendly to their masters were criticised and condemned in all their abusive words. Therefore the greatness of Shivaji's can be fully realized not from the pens of these Hindu writers but from a survey of his achievements elsewhere.

Shivaji was surely one of the greatest conquerer's of the world:— Shivaji had been depicted by many as a robber, free booter, a Mountain Rat, a Mountain Monkey, as a false, perfidious and heartless man a mean fellow and a giant who had wrought incalculable havoc the countries he traversed and a wretched fellow who threw to
the floods the laws of man and god. Common sense enlightens that these remarks were made by only the enemies who had suffered from his depredations. The unbiased and impartial judgment of History does not blacken his name, but on the contrary raises him to the foremost position of 'The Great'.

Really Shivaji was one of the greatest generals of the world. Orme befittingly says: "In personal activity he exceeded all generals of whom there is record. For no general ever traversed as much ground as he at the head of armies. He met every emergency of peril, however sudden or extreme, with instant discernment and unshaken fortitude; the ablest of his officers acquiesced to the imminent superiority of his genius and the boast of the soldier was to have seen Shivaji charging sword in hand".

Greatest Conqueror: - The Carnatic campaign of Shivaji elevates him to the foremost rank of the greatest conquerors of the world. Having two powerful and mighty rulers such as Aurangzeb and the Bijapur Sultan on his either side whose ambitions were to crush Shivaji wherever he was found and having a wavering ally of the Golkonda king, Shivaji set out from Raeri on a distant daring expedition of the Carnatic. He successfully traversed India from the Sahyadri Hills to Tanjore and back again from the Coromandel to the Malabar coast. Kincaid and Parasnis rightly say:

"In the course of eighteen months, at a distance of 700 miles from his base, he had conquered a territory

1. Historical Fragments P. 94.
as large as his former kingdom. Victory has succeeded victory; town had fallen after town. As he went he organized his conquests; and when he returned to Raygad, as he now did, his new possessions were securely bound together from sea to sea, by a line of fortified strongholds held by garrisons brave to the death and devoted to his cause. 1

The factory records furnish us with contemporary information regarding the Carnatic campaign of Shivaji. A letter of 31st October 1677 refers to the easy success of Shivaji in the Carnatic and the terror and the horror with which most of the chieftains tendered their submission at the approach of this great general. It further refers to "the Moors leaving their fortress and strongholds upon any rumour of his approach and such is the great success that attends his armies, that it is credibly believed he will shortly extend his dominions from near Surat to Cape Comorine without encountering any considerable opposition to confront him." 2

Another letter of Jan. 16, 1678 is most important one as it compares Shivaji to the famous Roman conqueror Caesar who carried sword and fire into Germany, France and Britain threatening almost their foundations. Further it asserts that Shivaji was no less in

1. A History of the Maratha people, P.103. With a few checks and reverses that Shivaji sustained in Mysore and in Bellary, the other achievements are remarkable. The statements of Kincaid & Parasnis must be understood giving margin to the discomfiture of Shivaji at Mysore.

some of the great qualities than Alexander the Great. It says that Shivaji being carried by an ambitious desire to be famed a mighty conqueror left Raipuri with a big army and swept away great cities like Gingee and Tanjore and "with a success as happy as Caesars in Spaine, he came, saw and overcame and reported so vast a treasure in gold Diamonds, Emeralds ....... being noe lesse dexterous than Alexander the Great .... he tooke in lesse than 8 months time from the Mogall .... 23 inaccessible ones". 1

Another letter of 14th Feb.1678 further goes and compares him to Sertorius and Hannibal and throws light on the master-stroke of policy which the founder of the Maratha Empire followed in the last days of his life. He negotiated with the Bijapurians causing diversion between Bijapur and the Moghal Emperor and raided the territories of the Moghals. The letter says: "It is too well that Sevagee is a second Sertorius and comes not short of Honnibal for stratagems." 2

Jean-Baptiste Tavernier says: "As he (Shivaji) was both courteous and liberal he had as many followers ...... as he cared for!

Dr. Drellen writes that "Sevagi is a very potent prince who has managed his affairs with so much of prudence as to have established himself, in spite of his potent enemies." 3

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All the above sources confirm that Shivaji was one of the greatest soldiers, generals and conquerors of the world. In diplomacy, statesmanship and kingly virtues he has excelled all his contemporaries. Though Kannada sources compare him to Maya, Sambara, son of Ravana and other giants, yet we find in English and other records Shivaji being comparable to Alexander, Sertorius, Hannibal, Caesar and Napoleon in Exploits. Therefore he fully deserves the titles of Shivaji the Great, Shivaji the Indian Alexander, the Indian Nepolean, Indian Hannibal, Indian Sertorius and Indian Caesar.

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