CHAPTER XI.

Sambhaji's wars with Chikkadevaraja of Mysore.

Introduction:

There are periods in history which have acquired a distinctive character and tendency through the life and influence of certain outstanding individuals. The advent of Sambhaji in the Karnataca was an event of great significance. The political framework of Mysore was affected greatly by the emergence of this Maratha General who lacked magnanimity and resourcefulness of his father. Sambhaji was puffed with overconfidence and lacked the farsightedness of his father; and the result of which was that his end was hastened within so short a period of nine years.

Among the many campaigns that fill the stormy reign of Sambhaji, his campaign against Mysore may rightly be assigned the pride of place. It was the third trial of strength between Mysore celebrated throughout South India for its prowess and the aggressive Maratha nation famed throughout India for their military skill and talents.

Influence of Kavi Kalasa: In determining the destiny of Sambhaji, the influence of Kavi Kalasa - Prince of Poets, who adorned the Maratha court could not be over-looked. Who this Kalasa was? Grant 1 Duff, J.M. Sarkar 2 and several other scholars on Maratha history have

unhesitatingly accepted that Kalasa was a great scholar who a great influence over the mind of the prince, and was the pivot of the entire Maratha administrative machinery. Further they say that Kalasa was deeply versed in Sanskrit theology, enjoyed the honour of a Pandit and was dignified to the title of Chandogamatya - expounder of the Vedas. Though these scholars give a long description of his qualifications, they do not specifically say who this Kavi Kalasa was. Sardesai, praising Kavi Kalasa as a scholar of deep learning and erudition says that,

"popular tradition in Maharashtra charges Kalusha with having been the Emperor's spy, slyly trying to bring about Sambhaji's ruin. There is absolutely no proof to support such an allegation."

But we have enough of historical proof to say that Kavi Kalasa was a spy employed by Aurangzeb to destroy Sambhaji. Keladi Nripa Vijaya says that "Aurangzeb being indignant at the attitude of Sambhaji had been planning to effect the capture of the prince dead or alive. Having realised that such a mighty and powerful Sambhaji would not submit to him unless he could resort to magic and incantation for his capture. Aurangzeb conceived a plan. Immediately Aurangzeb summoned to his presence a Kannoji Brahmin named Kabji and instructed secretly thus: "you go to Sambhaji and try to win him over by any means - fair or foul. Do not come here if you do not capture him dead or alive".

1. He is often called by the name of Kbal Kulus or Kablis Khan (See Grant Duff: H.M. Vol., F.317, F.N.) See also Hodiwala's Studies in Indo-Muslim History (1939), pp.655-656.
Honouring the Brahmin with costly jewels and presents; and holding out promises of prospect of further booty and position, Aurangzeb despatched him from his Imperial headquarters "to Panhala".

From this we may gather that Kajji alias Kavi Kalas was deliberately employed by Aurangzeb as a spy to bring about the ruin of Sambhaji. This kannada account was fully supported by English writings. Edward Scott Waring says:

"Aurangzeb found that he had little hope of subduing Sambhaji by open and honourable warfare. He resorted to other means; and ....... his favourite Kuh Kulus or Cabil Khan ..... was selected by Aurangzeb as a fit instrument to execute his plan."  

Obedient to the orders of his master, Kavi Kalasa, a Kannoji Brahmin, arrived in Pannali and sent confidential officers to Sambhaji to say that a Shrotriya Brahmin, well versed in all sciences had come to Pannali; and by making this self-introduction, he interviewed Sambhaji and monopolised his trust. By making an honourable entry into Sambhaji's heart at the very first sight;


68: Sambhājī Akhila mukhānālantasvata kālanetave sāge Thāmra- mukhādhisam thavekeralavana piddantika kēydisuvapayam tentiontirdam.

69: Antendalōchī pala sōliyage varthisu thirpa Sambhāji Maya- tantramītāddāllade tanage vaśanāgane dū nischavisi balikkondu pādyantaralam nenedu.

70: Barisuttāgale Kabjinaṇakada Kannōji dvijādhiṇam Var- sambhājī yanaye sārdavane ninėntādōdam vasagaydiradennalīge Barpolagipudentē kāntadolmanadi toredistart- thavanittu bīkodal.

2. History of the Mahrattas, P.117.
Kavi Kalasa gradually enlisted the love, affection and confidence of the Prince. Further he held out before the prince prompt promises of reducing all the powerful enemies around him by means of magic and incantation over the science of which he was a thorough master. By performance of hideous rites, charms, magic and incantation he possessed Sambhaji's mind. The fool-capped prince preferred the company of the bad to that of wise, experienced and important officers. Thus Sambhaji grew extremely distrustful of his father's faithful servants. Not only that; he lost himself in loose talks and low tastes. Getting the submission of the prince to his will, Kavi Kalasa made Sambhaji a thorough master of the whole debaucherous gang. In the midst of pretty virgins in succession, he entirely forgot the world with which he was mostly concerned.

Maratha sources entirely agree with the account given in Kannada source. "He (Kavi Kalasa) plied Sambhaji with wine,

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bhang and opium ..... procured for him an endless succession of pretty and lascivious woman", say Kincaid and Parasnis. In spite of Indian and Foreign traditions assuring that Kalasa was the spy of Aurangzeb, the following doubts naturally arise in the mind of an honest historian. Kalasa & Sambhaji lived together for about 8 years. Did Kalasa require 8 long years to betray his master? Secondly if he had been a traitor, he should have been amply honoured and rewarded by Aurangzeb. History knows too well the reward he got for the alleged betrayal. Whatever might be the secret of Kalasa's domination, it was most disastrous to the Maratha State. What good could be predicted from such a prince?

Sambhaji's defeat at Mysore.

Causes: What should have been the main causes for Sambhaji's arrival with his army at the territories of Mysore near Madura?

1) The merciless slaughter of the three renowned Maratha Generals, namely Jaitaji, Dadaji and Mimbalkar by Chikkadevaraja of Mysore on the battle field of Srirangapatna in April 1682 roused the wrath of Sambhaji and he wanted to avenge the humiliation done to his generals.

2) Harji Mahadik, the Governor of Gingee drove out the Mysoreans from almost all the citadels which they had taken from the Nayak of Madura in the recent war; but the Mysoreans realising the strategical importance of their southern territories soon made

friendship with the Maravas and asserted their authority over them all. The Jesuit letter of 1682 says: "The latter (Mysoreans) still possess some fortresses, among others that of Madura, with the help of the Maravas". Therefore conquest of several Mysore territories in Madura so as to make the Ginge kingdoms compact, was one of the factors in inducing Sambhaji to go to the South.

3) Emoji was at Tanjore. Sambhaji wanted to see him.

4) From a letter of Fort. St. George dated 1681 it is possible to infer that the South had not accepted the suzerainty of Sambhaji though he laid claim for it.

5) Last but not the least was that Sambhaji had an high ideal of uniting all the Hindus against the Muhammadans. In short he wanted to unite South against the North.

Triple Alliance: It was not an easy task to overwhelm the ruler of Mysore who had already distinguished himself a foremost conqueror in the Karnatak by counteracting the incursions of the Marathas and several other chieftains of the South. Sambhaji thought that it was necessary to form an alliance with the mighty powers of the South to make his task easy. Accordingly he formed a triple alliance

1. Nayaks of Madura by R. Satyanatha Aier, P.289.
2. Diary and Consultation Book 1681: Letter of Fort St. George dated December 10, 1681, pp.71-72. It says that "All the company's servants .... were sent for to give their opinions about settling a factory to the Southward in Sevagee's (Shivaji's) country, who very well approved of the motion .... It is likely this country may become subject to Sambojee, he having already claimed it as his due."
consisting of Basappa Nayaka of Ikkeri and Qutb Shah of Golconda against the redoubtable ruler of Mysore. This is confirmed by the Jesuit letter of 1682 which says:

"He (Sambhaji) is helped by Iquerian (Ikkerian) or the King of Canara and by the king of Golconda, both of whom are united against the king of Mysore who is regarded as the common enemy".

Battle of Banavara: Now Sambhaji descended into the South at the head of a well trained army; and joining the armies of Redmur and Golconda on his way, he encamped at Banavara. The unexpected approach of the combined army on the border of Mysore took Chikkadevaraja by surprise; and for a moment upset all the calculation of the latter. Nevertheless he rose to the situation by determining to give battle to the enemies. The entire Mysore army was ordered to move to the encampment of the enemies. In the bloody battle of Banavara fought in June 1682, the allies were completely defeated sustaining heavy loss. It was a glorious victory to Chikkadevaraja of Mysore.

2. Nayaks of Madura, P.290.
3. The Jesuit letter of 1682 (Nayaks of Madura, P.289) speaks of Sambhaji's movement in the South in the middle of 1682. J.N. Sarkar (Murangzeb, Vol.IV, P.281) refers to the predatory incursions of Sambhaji in 1682. Kincaid & Parasnis speak of the inactivity of Sambhaji in Maharashtra after the unfinished siege of Janjira for fairly a long time (A.H.I.P., P.121). This makes me believe that Sambhaji must have been in the Karnatak.
5. F.C. III (1) Sr.14 (1686); P.11.
Epigraphic records and literary sources describe the victory won by Chikkadevaraja over the opponents in a glowing terms; and elevate the king almost to the seventh Heaven.

Epigraphic record says that "Sambhu (Sambhai) lost his valour, Qutb Shah failed in his purpose, Ikkeri Basava was disgraced". The record further says that "as the animal in the forest at the sight of the lion, as the birds at the sight of the hawk, as the hawks at the sight of the tiger, so did Sambhu, Shah and Basava sink down in terror and roll on the ground at the sight of Chikkadevaraja as if he were himself the terrible "arasimha". This is confirmed by another inscription found in Srirangapatna dated 1722:

"Sambhu's valour came to a stop, Kutupu Shah lost all hope, even Ikkeri Basava was disgraced, when mighty Chikkadevaraja set forth for war".

In addition to this we have got literary sources. Apratima Vira Charitam, a work on rhetoric attributed to Chikkadevara says:

"Chikkadeva Raja a mighty ruler that he was, had crushed the pride, haughtiness and high-handedness of Sambhaji, the son of Shivaji".

1. Ibid., text, P.36: Shambhu sthambhitam Vikrama Kutupu Saho 'Sanhatasoc hathad Ikkeri Basavoc pldhikkritam.'

2. Ibid., op.cit. text P.37: Drstya kssarimyam yathavana Krigah shyenam yatha pakhinah shardlam sasa ksa yatha ssa vijah gantharkyam yatha nanragah Vestanthe Sambhu Saha Basava Bhatta yada lokanesoyam Sri Chikadevaraja nripati ssaksanrisihma kritih.

3. Ibid, Sr.64 (1722), P.20, text P.56.

4. A.V.C. III, 23; See also Chikkadevaraja Binnapam P.1. Verse 5: (continued)
Arrival of Ekoji: It was exactly at this time Ekoji, having heard the ignominious defeat of Sambhaji at the hands of after all a petty king of Mysore, arrived in Banavara with an well equipped army. By joining the scattered armies of the Allies Ekoji made a desperate effort to reconquer Banavara. But his efforts came to nothing before the invincible ruler of Mysore who conducted the defence most amazingly. Ekoji was disgraced and repulsed with heavy slaughter.¹

Results: The most important consequences of the famous battle of Banavara were: 1) It marked Banavara as the boundary between Chikkadevaraja of Mysore and Channammaji of Badmuri; 2) For a moment it prevented the onrush of the Allies into the kingdom of Mysore.

The Theatre of the war changes to Trichinopoly 1682.

Frustrated in their ambition to subdue the enemy, the Allies deemed it necessary to change the theatre of the war from Banavara to that of Trichinopoly, so that they could equip themselves with all the necessary facilities and carry on war against Mysore in more vigorous way than before. Accordingly the army of the Allies proceeded to Trichinopoly & attacked Chokkanatha in his

(from previous page)


1. C.Binnapam, P.4. Verse 16: Avange (Sambhaji) neravāgi Banda Ekkōjiya janavam sakumadi. For Ekoji's disgrace see E.C.III(1) Sr.14 (1686) and also Sr.64 (1722).
fortress.

Political situation in Madura: The political condition in Madura was hopeless, to the southern powers and this was exactly what the Allies required. About 16th June 1682 Chokkanatha breathed his last in a fit of melancholy. The Jesuit letter of 1682 says: "The Nayak (Chokkanatha), frustrated in all his hopes, dispossessed of his dominions and all his treasures, abandoned by his troops, deprived of all resources and attacked by Sambajj in his fortress of Trichinopoly ....., fell into a fit of melancholy which caused his death". Muthu Virapra Nayaka III (1682-1689), the son of Chokkanatha succeeded his father in July 1682. He was aged only 15 years then.

Harji Mahadik was still chasing the Mysoreans from their important strongholds in Madura: Kojí, after making his position secure in Tanjore, had inaugurated his despotic rule; Harji Mahadik and Sambhaji were united to undo the work of Mysore in Madura; under these eminent generals, Gingee rose to prominence as the military base; Madura became very weak under a new weak ruler. This was the political picture of the South in about June, July of 1682.

Sambhaji's plunder: Now, Sambhaji tried to fish in the troubled sea of politics of Madura. The arrival of the Allies in Madura

1. R.Sathyanatha Aiyar: Nayaks of Madura, P.190.
2. Nayaks of Madura, P.289.
3. Ibid., p.191.
gave them new vigour and strength, for Gingee and Tanjore were the strong Maratha holds. Taking advantage of the situation, Sambhaji resorted to exactions, brigandages and murders which desolated the country.

Difficulties of Chikkadevaraja: Sambhaji's destructive policy in the southern territories of Mysore roused Chikkadevaraja to the lively consciousness of the danger that threatened him with destruction.

What could Chikkadevaraja do with an inadequate force against the stupendous army consisting of contingents of Ikkeri, Golkonda, Gingee, Tanjore and Maharashtra which was carrying on devastating wars under the eyes and orders of Sambhaji? Madura was the only ally Chikkadevaraja could think of; but unfortunately it was torn into pieces by the aggressive activities of the Marathas. Above all Muthu Virappa Nayaka III, the ruler of Madura was too weak and inexperienced as to be of any use to Chikkadevaraja.

Chikkadevaraja's appeal to Aurangzeb: In this perilous hour, for Chikkadevaraja there was no othergo except appealing to the Mughals for military aid. Aurangzeb then, encamped at Aurangabad with full determination to crush the Marathas.

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1. Nayaks of Madura, P.290.
The Jesuit letter of 1682 says:

"It is said that the Moghal, at the request of Mysore, is sending a formidable army against Sambogī." ¹

Aurangzēb did not seem to have responded to the request of Chikkadevas, as he himself was involved in a serious struggle against Bijapur. ² Chikkadevaraja's attempt to rise in the estimation of Aurangzēb proved a thorough failure. He neither received reply nor help. The show of friendship which Chikkadevaraja had kept up with Aurangzēb, was now dispelled. So Chikkadevaraja turned his attention towards Madura where the cruelties and butcheries of the Marathas were great.

Chikkadevaraja went to war: He hurriedly collected an army and despatched it to Madura with instructions to toss the enemies on the point of sword where ever they found. The Mysore army with forced marches came down and encamped on its southern territories very close to the enemy's camp. In the meanwhile Sambhaji ravaged the whole province perpetrating incalculable havoc and capturing many fortresses belonging to Mysore.

The Jesuit letter of 1682 says:

"In the northern provinces (of Madura), he (Sambhaji) has taken several of its fortresses, all the province of Dharmapuri and other neighbouring territories." ³

1. R. Satyanatha Aiyar: Nayaks of Madura, P.290.
3. Nayaks of Madura, P.290.
What the Mysorean army did in the South, we have no means of knowing. Most probably, the Mysoreans being stunned at the sight of the stupendous army of the Allies, ceased to fight till they were properly reinforced. Any way this was the position of the two armies at the closing year of 1682.

Madura in 1683.

Madura was divided into water-tight compartments among several warring, mutually jealous powers. Being caught in the jaws of these powers, Madura found itself in a hopeless position. This was exactly the position that Sambhaji required to fulfill his insatiable desire. Further Sambhaji boldly and courageously placed his finger over all Karnataka possessions on the pretext of them being subjugated by his father, Shivaji during his famous Karnataka expedition. Mysore did not like to lose even an inch of land in Madura because of its strategical importance. Mysore put up a stout resistance against the aggressive activities of several powers that gathered in Madura; but its position was becoming weak. The Jesuit letter of 1683 gives the clear-cut picture of the political condition of Madura in the following way:

"The ancient kingdom of Madura is in shreds: the Nayak keeps a small portion of it, another is occupied by the king of Mysore, a third by the petty king of Marava, a fourth by Sambogi(Sambhaji), lastly, a fifth by Ekoji. ........ The powers of the king of Mysore in Madura begins to grow weak, because
violently attacked in his own dominions by the

troops of Sambogi, he can not sustain & reinforce
the armies he had sent to these countries." 1

Several provinces which were brought under subjection
by Mysore in her southern direction, were now throwing off her
yoke and asserting their independence. To realise their ultimate
goal, they went to the extent of making an alliance with several
political powers that gathered there to swallow up as much terrri-
tories as possible. 2 This state of affairs presented number of
difficulties to Mysore.

What could he do in that discouraging situation?
Everything was getting out of control. The half-subjugated
vassals, the accumulated wealth & the hard-won reputation of
Chikkadevaraja were slipping out of his hands. Kingship now,
at Mysore was not a bed of roses; but of thorns.

Chikkadevaraja sued for peace: To thwart the impending danger,
there was no other alternative for Chikkadevaraja except entering
into negotiations with Sambhaji. Chikkadevaraja, more careful
and tactful that he was, realised that the ultimate consequences
of the war would be fatal if things were allowed to continue in
the same manner.

1. Nayaks of Madura, P.291.
2. Ibid.
Two factors seem to have been mainly responsible for Chikkadevaraja's resolution to effect a treaty with Sambhaji: the devastating ravages of Sambhaji in the Mysore kingdom in close cooperation with Pratap, Qutb Shah and the Bednur ruler; secondly his inability to reinforce the Mysore army which was sent to wage war in the environs of Madura against Sambhaji.

Under those circumstances, Chikkadevaraja was compelled to make treaty with Sambhaji. Chikkadevaraja paid tribute to Sambhaji. Then the latter withdrew from the scene of Madura with all his army. Concluding this treaty about May 1683, Sambhaji retreated to Raygad.

Results: Indeed it was a serious set back to the progress of Mysore in the south; secondly it had not only told heavily on the treasury of Mysore but lowered the prestige of its ruler as well. On the otherhand the Marathas grew powerful; and had the satisfaction of bringing round the redoubtable enemy, Chikkadevaraja.

C.Hayavadana Rao: History of Mysore, Vol.I, P.304. P.N.119 attempts to give a different meaning to the word "Kappa" which exactly means tribute. It is often said that historical facts are true but inferences are wrong. Likewise the above mentioned author draws a wrong inference from a plain true historical facts. History shall, by no means be a record of biased views.
Aurangzeb's idea to destroy Bijapur: The desertion of the rebel son, Akbar to Sambhaij, the inveterate enemy of the Moghals, caused great pain to Aurangzeb. Realising the imminent danger from the rebel prince, Aurangzeb hurriedly patched up a peace with the Rajaputs (14th June 1681), left Rajaputana for the south and arrived in Barhanpur in the month of November 1681. At this stage, Sambhaij was his only enemy, and no invasion of either Bijapur or Golkonda was as yet contemplated. Indeed Aurangzeb wrote a letter to Sharza Khan, an important general of Bijapur (13th July 1681) asking him to cooperate with the Moghals in putting an end to Sambhaij. But unfortunately no reply was given to him by the Bijapur generals. This made Aurangzeb understand that in Sambhaij both Adil Shah and his officers saw the only reliable friend.

So, Aurangzeb resolved to increase the pressure on Sambhaij by making a diversion against the Bijapuris. With this end in view the Emperor arrived at Ahmadnagar on 13th November 1683.

When Sikandar Shah, the Sultan of Bijapur wrote a spirited letter in 1684 to Aurangzeb demanding him to repay all the tribute

taken from Bijapur in the past, restore all the conquered territories in Bijapur and to march against Sambhai through his (Aurangzeb's) territory only, Aurangzeb jumped to the conclusion that Sikandar had determined to support Sambhai.\(^1\)

According to Linganna Kavi,

"Aurangzeb came to an unalterable conclusion that owing to the marriage effected between Sultan Muhammad Shah, the son of Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur and Badi Sahaba, the daughter of Qutb Shah of Golconda, the two kingdoms, namely Bijapur and Golconda have come closer by relationship and have been acting intimately with each other. Under the shade of the two kingdoms, Sambhai has been growing most powerful without showing any consideration for the Imperial Majesty. Unless these two fearful kingdoms are destroyed, Sambhai would not submit to the Moghal authority. Thinking in this manner, Aurangzeb left Delhi for the South and reached Aurangabad with his stupendous army."\(^2\)

Aurangzeb's encampment: The Emperor soon, felt that it was most essential to be nearer to the scene of action and therefore on 26th April 1685 he left Ahmadnagar and reached Sholapur on May 24th 1685 which became his headquarters for one year.  

From there Aurangzeb sent his sons to capture the fort of Bijapur; but all their efforts to batter down the walls of the fort proved failure. Then the Emperor realised that unless he took the command in person, the fort would not fall. As he told a holy Shaikh of Sarhind, "I had hoped that one of my sons would take the fort; but it is not to be. So, I want to go there myself and see what kind of barrier is this Bijapur that it has not been forced so long".  

Linganna Kavi says,

"Having arrived at Bijapur with his stupendous army, Aurangzeb laid siege to fort and caused the paths and valleys of the fort completely blocked, the holes under the fort walls so as to scale down them. But their determined efforts to pull down the walls came to an inglorious end."  

This is confirmed by other sources which say,

"The Mughal troops, inspired by the Emperor's

2. Ibid, P.319.
4. Ishwardas, 102a; Basatin i Salatin, P.452; Masiri-i-Alamgiri cited in Sarkar's Aurangzeb Vol.IV, P.323."
presence and words, attempted an assault on the wall opposite. But it failed."

Now "Aurangzeb realised that the reduction of the fort was an impossible task owing to financial help being rendered to Bijapur constantly by the two foremost Hindu brothers, named Akkanna and Madanna who held the entire administration of the Golkonda kingdom in their hands. "Aurangzeb persisted in his endeavour; and with all his troubles and tribulations laid close siege to the fort."

In the eyes of Aurangzeb, the Golkonda Sultan's offence was his fraternising with infidels. The Sultan had made the Brahmins, Akkanna and Madanna, his Chief Ministers and thus allowed Hindu influence to predominate in the administration. This is clear from the Emperor's writing to his envoy at Golkonda: "The luckless wretch (Abul Hassan Qutb Shah) has given the supreme power in his state to a Kafar and made Sayids, Shaiks and Scholars subject to that man."

People regarded Madanna as the cause of all their sufferings at the hands of the Moghals, - "the cause of the ruin of the state and of the slaughter of Muslims and soldiers."


2. Khafi Khan, ii. 328.
Murder of Madanna (March 1686). Linganna Kavi writes that
"Aurangzeb heard in the midst of the siege of Bijapur that
Madanna and Akkanna were treacherously killed in a plot formed
against them by the persons of Siddhi's Clan."¹

The other sources² agree with Linganna on this point.
"On hearing the news Aurangzeb was very much delighted and said
to himself that "the work of reducing the two fearful kingdoms
almost accomplished".³

Chikkadevaraja's help to Aurangzeb: As proximity to the waters
gives delicacy to the shade of a tree, the nearness of Aurangzeb
to Bijapur gave terror to the delicate personality of Sikandarshah.
In his hour of peril, Allies began to flock together. Golconda
sent her help: Though Sambhaji sent Hambir Rao Mohite at the head
of a body of Maratha horse to harass the Moghal communication and
gave his ally from his overhanging danger, yet Sambhaji could not
step on the soil of Bijapur in person. This was because of the
expedition that Sambhaji undertook to subjugate the king of Mysore.

While Sikandar Shah was helped by his Allies in men and
artillery, Aurangzeb was also supported and backed up by the
opponents of the Marathas. One such power that helped Aurangzeb
was Mysore. Chikkadevaraja, the powerful king of rising Mysore

¹ Ke.N.V., IX, P.156: Ittam Bhāgānagaradōl sarvādhikaramam Nade-
suttirdakkanna Madannaremba nīvōgimal kuhikīgal bhinnatantramam
rachisid ūnadesīda lēkhanā mulādīm Siddhi jātiyāvarīm ūnāmukha-
dindalidaremba varathamānavam Āwārangēgamam kēldu.
² Khāf Khan, ii, 308; Ishwardas, 91b; Dilkasha, 191 cited by
³ Ke.N.V., IX, P.156: "Varathamānavanavārangēgamam kēldinu
Vijāpura Bhāgānagaragalemba Bhayamsamsthānangalenage śādhyāmadam
vendu pramudithā mānasānāgī".
actively befriended the Imperial Majesty agreeing to cooperate in "his darling project" of reducing Bijapur and Golkonda. The timely pact of Chikkadevaraja was designed to avenge the utter humiliation sustained at Madura at the hands of Sambhaji.¹

Of course the military services rendered by Chikkadevaraja to the paramount Lord of the North might look small when viewed from the position he had occupied in the tiny kingdom of Mysore. Yet it should not be passed over. In war even insignificant things play their decisive role.

Chikkadevaraja Binnapam says:

"The mighty Chikkadevaraja well versed in diplomacy secured the surrender of the two powerful kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda to the ruler of Delhi namely Aurangzeb whom he had invited to effect their conquests."²

The Moghal Emperor conducted the siege more vigorously than before with the cooperation of the Mysore army.

The fall of Bijapur: Monday 13, September 1686³ saw the downfall of the Bijapur monarchy. Amidst tears and laments of his

¹ Nayaks of Madura, pp.289-291.
² C.Binnapam, P.4: Golkonde Vijayapurdavadaram kēnasamgondu, Avaranandaaveluvadhe Dhilliyalva Vaha Padusāhanenīsava Avaranga Sāhanam Parisi, Avanindavārdvara Desakōsangalam kavardu kaiseregondu; See also p.2, Verse 8: Kadu Shāhanam karam mulungisi and also Verse 9.
³ Jēhe Sakavali - Shivaji Souvenir, P.30.
subjects who lined the streets, Sikandar Shah, the last of the Adil Shahi Sultans, gave up his ancestral throne and with the fall of the monarchy, the hostile relationship between Bijapur and Mysore came to an end.

Sikandar before Aurangzeb: Meanwhile, the large tent which became the Hall of Public Audience in Aurangzeb’s camp, had been richly decorated for this historic scene. The fallen monarch arrived and made his bow at the foot of the conqueror’s throne.

Linganna Kavi says,

“Aurangzeb was very much pleased to see the young Sultan, Sikandar Shah who conducted the defence of the fort ably and efficiently to such a length of time, in spite of the lack of war armaments, throwing the besiegers to utter miseries”. 1 Aurangzeb honoured him profusely. 2

Fall of Golkonda 21st September 1687: Highly elated at the success, Aurangzeb left Bijapur on 30th October 1686 and reached Gulbarga and Bidar to deal with the luckless Sultan, Abu Hassan, the ruler of Golkonda. On hearing the news of Aurangzeb’s coming,


the Sultan was in utter terror. On 21st September 1687, Aurangzeb captured Golkonda. Linganna Kavi says,

"On reaching Bhazanagar, Aurangzeb laid siege to its impenetrable fort and after a prolonged siege, he took possession of it".

When the Moghals made their entry into the palace, the Sultan greeted them kindly descending from the royal throne, and behaved as if he had been inviting his friends. The Sultan was captured and presented before Aurangzeb who pardoned his offences and lodged him in his tent.

Linganna Kavi says, "Aurangzeb rebuked and dishonoured the Sultan, for his inability to defend the fort in spite of the enormous war equipments he had at his disposal".

Dr. Careri and Manucci agree with Linganna on the point of how the Qutb Shah of Golkonda was treated by Aurangzeb.

Linganna's statement requires a slight revision. Aurangzeb punished the Qutb Shah, not because of his inability to defend the fort but because of his innumerable offences.

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4. Churchill’s Voyages, IV, 249.
The spoils taken at Golconda amounted nearly seven crores of rupees in cash besides gold and silver plate, jewels and jewelled wares.

Gazing at the immense booty placed before him, Aurangzeb must have thanked whole-heartedly Chikkadevaraya for his valuable help.

What reward Chikkadevaraja received from Aurangzeb in return for his service, we have no means of knowing. Nevertheless it can be gathered that Chikkadevaraja rose high in the estimation of his enemies particularly the Marathas by helping Aurangzeb in his seizure of Bijapur.

Sambhaji in Mysore - 1686.

When Aurangzeb ordered his stupendous army to march against Bijapur with full determination to raze it to the ground, Sambhaji was engaged himself in a severe struggle with the ruler of Mysore. There need not be any doubt about the presence of Sambhaji in 1686 in Mysore kingdom for Edward Scott Waring and the Jesuit letter of 1686 throw plenty of light on Sambhaji's presence in Mysore.

Edward Scott Waring says:

"Sambhaji in 1686 was engaged against the forts and districts belonging to Bijapur government in the Carnatic."

Unfortunately Edward Scott Waring, like many other contemporary and later writers, has mistakenly believed that the entire Karnataka was subjugated by Bijapur. But as we have seen, Mysore had maintained its independent status in spite of the frequent incursions of the Bijapur intruders. Therefore Waring’s statements must be taken into account with this due margin.¹

The Jesuit letter of 1686 speaks of the atrocious war of Sambhaji in the heart of the Mysore kingdom. This letter forms the second source of information to prove that Sambhaji was in Mysore in 1686.

**Causes:** What should have been the causes of Sambhaji's invasion to Mysore?

1) First and the foremost reason was that Chikkadevaraja seemed to have failed to pay the tribute according to the terms of the treaty of 1683.

2) Secondly Chikkadevaraja extended his helping hand to Aurangzeb with men and materials, when he was camping at Bijapur with full determination to raze the fort to the ground. This military aid to the Imperial Majesty, the inveterate opponent of

¹. History of the Mahrattas, P.117.
². Nayaks of Madura, P.292.
the Marathas, roused Sambhaji.

The circumstances were favourable for Sambhaji to project his campaign against the king of Mysore. Several Vassals in Madura who remained under the control of Mysore for so many years, were now throwing off its yoke and asserting their independence.

The Jesuit letter of 1686 says:

"The political condition of these kingdoms (in the South) presents the same intestine broils and confusion, as in the previous years; it is the labour of dissolution which continues its work till the great powers of the North come to terminate it by a general invasion. In the South, the petty rajas, once Vassals of Madura, continue to shake off the yoke of Mysore, too weak to preserve her conquests."

Alliance of Sambhaji: Sambhaji descended into Mysore with a band of well-trained horse-men and encamped in the neighbourhood of Srirangapatna, probably in the first week of October 1686.

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1. See the Chapter: The Fall of Bijapur.
3. The Jesuit letter of 1686 says that Sambhaji is attacking the king of Mysore in the very heart of his kingdom. From this statement I have inferred that the heart of the Mysore kingdom is no other than Srirangapatna, the capital city.
4. I have drawn up a conclusion that Chikkadevaraja's military aid to Aurangzeb was one of the most important causes for Sambhaji to launch forth the invasion of Mysore. The date of his encampment approximately falls on the first week of October as Bijapur was captured by Aurangzeb on 12th Sept. 1686. It is only after this date that Sambhaji came to Mysore. Therefore I have put the first week of October 1686.
The Jesuit letter says:

"Samborgi mercilessly conducts war against the king of Mysore, whose dominions he is invading, and is strongly helped by the revolts of the inhabitants against their own sovereign."

Secondly Chikkadevaraja Binnamam, supposed to have been written by Chikkadevaraja himself says:

"Relying on the hostfulness of the Marathas, the chieftains of Morasa, Tigula, Kodaga and Malayala countries, unitedly advanced against the king of Mysore; but were defeated."

From making a comparative study of the above sources, it is possible to infer that Sambhaji was backed up and supported by the discontented chieftains of Morasa, Tigula, Kodaga and Malayala kingdoms.

Sambhaji's alliance with these chieftains gave him new strength; and with their cooperation, Sambhaji determined to crush Chikkadevaraja.

1. Nayaks of Madura, P.292.
2. C.Binnamam, P.4; A Marathara atopamam nambi mumbaridu yadabaladolinisinisum porerda Morasa Tigula Kodaga, Malayala nadamannavaram Rannambhadi.
Chikkadevaraja's financial difficulties: It was an alarming news to Chikkadevaraja. However he had resolved to give battle to the advancing enemy. He looked into his treasury; but the whole treasury was dried up. So he was forced to resort to "exactions and cruelties in the eastern provinces of his dominions". This brought about a widespread rebellion in the country. Added to the discontentment of the subjects, Chikkadevaraja could not feel confident of his success in any venture, for he had despatched his army to Bijapur in support of Aurangzeb. Thus the king was forced to face disorderliness and lawlessness in his kingdom. Like a man in the mine with a murky light of a lamp in his hand scratching labouriously at the hard rock, Chikkadevaraja kept quiet; became speechless as to what he should do to put a check to the devastating expedition of Sambhaji.

Discontented subjects helped Sambhaji: Describing the organisation of the discontented subjects, the Jesuit letter says:

"Stimulated by the losses which weakened him (Chikkadevaraja) on all sides, driven by the impulse of the present sufferings ...... they chose as their generals two Brahmans and formed two large armies. The one composed of 70,000 men marched straight against the fortress of Mysore and besieged the king who shut himself there; the second

1. Nayaks of Madura, P.292, referring to the widespread rebellion in the Mysore kingdom owing to the brutal method adopted by the Raja to exact money from the subjects.
composed of 30,000 men burst out on the province of Satyamangalam and the adjoining districts".

Sambhaji was greatly helped by these revolted inhabitants. The Jesuit account says: "Sambhaji .... is strongly helped by the revolts of the inhabitants".

The allies of Sambhaji were now: the discontented chieftains of Morasa, Tigula, Coorg and Malayala regions as well as the rebellious inhabitants of the Mysore kingdom. Sambhaji, with their closer cooperation and coordination, burst out on Srirangapatna, the capital city of Mysore.

Chikkadevaraja defeats his enemies: As regards Chikkadevaraja's fight with those enemies, the following sources state thus:

"The Jesuit letter of 1686 says: "The king of Mysore, incensed at their (his subjects') insolence, sent an army against them to carry fire and sword everywhere, and toss the rebels on the point of the sword, without distinction of age or sex. These cruel orders were executed. The pagodas of Vishnu and Siva were destroyed, and their large revenues confiscated to the royal treasury. Those idolaters who escaped the carnage fled to the mountains and forests, where they led a miserable life".  

1. Nayaks of Madura, P.292.  
2. Ibid, P.292.  
Chikkadevaraja Binnapam says:

"The chieftains of Morasa, Tigula, Coorg and Malayala countries who advanced against Chikkadevaraja depending upon the promises of the Marathas were disgraced" and put to flight.

The same authority says that

"Sambhaji sank in the sea of fear" at the approach of Chikkadevaraja with his huge army. In another page of the same book it is stated that the prominent Maratha, Sambhaji became lifeless and that he was caught in the net of Chikkadevaraja.

From these sources one can arrive at this conclusion:
the rebellion of the inhabitants was most inhumanly suppressed at the point of sword; the Allies of Sambhaji were disgraced and driven out; Sambhaji, having seen the severe punishment meted out to his allies by Chikkadevaraja found his way in honourable retreat, setting aside all the hope of giving battle to Chikkadevaraja of Mysore.

Thus Sambhaji's invasion of Mysore came to nothing except in the increase of honour and prestige of Chikkadevaraja of Mysore.

Sambhaji retreated to his homeland towards the end of October 1686 with his army.

1. C.Binnapam: P.4. A maratatarapatam nambi mumbaridu...ponarda Morasa Tigula Kodaga Malayala nada manneyaram Bannambadisi; E.C.III(1), Sr.64.
2. C.Binnapam, P.4: Sambhöjiyam Bhayäranaavadöl mulungisi.
On 30th October 1686, Aurangzeb departed from Bijapur, after taking delivery of the fort and also of its wealth and then travelled to Gulbarga.

On hearing of the destruction of Bijapur, Sambhaji thought that it would be wise to be present in his own environs as there was every likelihood of Aurangzeb carrying fire and sword into Panhala. It seems to have been this fear that induced Sambhaji to leave Mysore as early as possible. Whether it was his inability to prosecute the war against Mysore or the necessity that compelled him to retreat, we have no means of knowing. Any way Kannada source was emphatic in saying that Sambhaji was expelled from Mysore.

The important consequences of this event were: 1) the prestige of Sambhaji was lowered; 2) the chance of founding a permanent settlement of the Marathas in Mysore was missed; 3) the political relationship between Mysore and Maharashtra was further strained; 4) Mysore was able to emerge as a strong political power in the South from all political confusion and disorder following from the plundering expeditions of the Marathas; 5) Chikkadevaraja's fame as a prominent ruler of Mysore spread far and wide; 6) the most disastrous of all was that it paved the way for Thoiji of Tanjore to dispose off Bangalore to any one who was prepared to pay him a huge money.

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