CHAPTER XII

Moghal conquest of Bangalore; Last days of Ekoji and Sambhai.

The result of Ekoji's tyrannical rule: Ekoji never seems to have realized the necessity of winning the love and confidence of the people whom he was to rule. On the contrary he inaugurated his tyrannical rule which brought about so revolting a situation in Tanjore that he was forced to resort to cruelties and violence in his own territories; and this created jealousy and hatred in his subjects, which rendered impossible for him a good and stable government enduring for long. Apart from the penalisation of his subjects, he began to appropriate all rice fields whose produce was reserved for worship of gods and also jewels and jewelled wares of the temple just to fulfill his insatiable avarice for gold and money disregarding priests and temple-authorities.

The domestic condition is vividly painted by the Jesuit letter of 1682:

"After plundering the men, he has fallen on the pagodas of his own idols. One had never seen so much temerity in a pagan, but he is a pagan who has no other God than his cupidity. To satisfy it he has appropriated the treasures of the pagodas and their large possessions". ¹ When the priestly class came in

¹. Nayaks of Madura, p.289.
lamentation to represent their grievances before the king, he said: "Gods did not eat rice and that offerings of fragrant flowers would suffice". This is how the arrogant Ekoji treated the unhappy subjects.

The Jesuit letter continues further:

"To his tyranny are added other disasters. An inundation .... has wrought horrible ravages on the sea-coast, because it has been accompanied by a terrible gust of wind .... In the villages of the sea-coast alone, more than 6,000 persons have been the victims of this disaster".  

Administration of Ekoji: The administration of Ekoji in the Tanjore kingdom was inefficient and erratic; for the peasants were burdened with too many exactions from the king. Apart from the fifth of the produce of the land he was taking, also demanding payment of money in cash. The cultivators, having subjected to these barbarous tortures were not happy during his reign.  

Apart from these troubles and tribulations within, there were also disturbances with out. His political boundaries were 

1. Nayaks of Madura, p.289.  
not safe having been subjected to frequent incursions of the thieves (Kallans), Maravas, Mysoreans and the Madura Nayak.

When Sambhaji was entangled in an hopeless embarrassment at the hands of Chikkadevaraja during 1682, Ekoji marched with a formidable army to aid Sambhaji and relieve him of his troubles but unfortunately he was disgraced and almost isolated from joining either the Marathas or Qutb Shah by the tricks and tactics adopted by the ruler of Mysore. This humiliation was still fresh and green in the mind of Ekoji who realised the futility of coming into collision with the king of Mysore.

Chikkadeva took Maratha possessions in April 1687: Taking advantage of this internal discontentment of his subjects and the bombardment of his border lands by the Kallans and the Maravas, Chikkadevaraja tried his luck on the distant possessions of Ekoji. During the confusing period following the invasion of the Maratha hordes (1682-1683), principal Maratha possessions such as Chikkkanayakanahalli, Kandikere and Tyamagondlu which were the possessions of Chikkadevaraja were lost to the same ruler namely Ekoji. Now Chikkadevaraja, freed from the fear of the Marathas was able to concentrate his attention on the seizure of the principal territories necessary for connecting his former frontier with these territories. During April-May, Chikkadevaraja seized the

1. Nayaks of Madura, P.292 (letter of 1686).
2. E.C. III (1) Sr.14 (1686).
above said places and incorporated them into his kingdom. Attacked so violently from within and without, Ekoji saw no hope of the survival of his possessions round about Mysore. The fall of Chikkanayakanahalli, Kandikere and the impending siege of Tyamagondlu, to a full sense of the danger which now began to threaten his richest possession, the golden land of Maratha possession in Mysore, from the extension of Mysore kingdom in that direction. Further realising the dangerous position in which his distant kingdom of Bangalore was placed constantly threatened by the contending armies Ekoji thought it best to sell it to the highest bidder.

Mysore and the Moghals 1687.

The fall of Bijapur into Mughal hands in September 1686 and imminent siege of Golconda awakened Sambhaji from his deep slumber and roused him to a lively sense of the danger to his possessions in Karnataka by an extension of Mughal dominion in that direction. In October 1686, he sent Kesava Pingle and Santaji Ghorpade with 12,000 horse southwards to strengthen his garrisons in Karnataka with secret instructions to seize and depose the refractory Harji Raja and take over the Government of Gingee. There was even a suspicious belief that Harji Raja made an attempt

2. Wilks, I, P.226; see and compare Annals, P.110.
to secure his position safe and sound by abrogating the suzerainty of Sambhaji and declaring himself a tributary Vassal of the Mughal. Kavi Kalasa, the dominant figure in the court of Sambhaji induced him to believe that Harji really aimed at independence. The latter had no such intention towards his brother-in-law; but his agents in the Maratha capital persuaded the king to be on his guard in dealing with Kesava Pingle and Santaji. When the news of the new measure of Sambhaji was communicated to Aurangzeb, he was a little bit perturbed but not knowing where they had gone, he simply consoled himself that the main target of attack might be Mysore. Soon Aurangzeb detached a large army from the siege of Golconda to invest Bangalore which was then in the hands of Ekoji, before the latter could make any attempt to strengthen its defence.

Keshav Trimbak reached Gingee on 11th February 1687. Having come, Keshav Trimbak, proclaimed the object with which he had arrived there. The factory record of 26th March 1687 says:

"Harji Raja was out of employment and a new person has come down in his place."

Another letter of April 1687 says:

"all the Subadars had been to Gingee to give...

Kesava Pant, the new man, a visit".

This leakage of secrecy had doomed to disappointment all his high hopes and aspiration in respect of a new post. Harji, having learnt the mission that Kesava Pant was to perform in Gingee, strengthened his position over the Gingee fortress and ordered all his army men to be faithful, loyal obedient to their master. Kesava Pant finding his game lost, treated Harji with some outward respect and acknowledged his suzerainty to all appearances.

In the meanwhile, the Mughal detachment sent under Khasim Khan proceeded southwards in all its rapidity pursuing the Maratha army that had already gone under Kesav Pant and Santaji. Passing by way of Panamkonda, the Mughal army arrived at Tumkur. Leaving Tumkur undisturbed to Chikkadeva, they proceeded further. The Mughals entered the kingdom of Mysore for the first time in 1687 under the able generalship of Khasim Khan.

The internal crisis and the external danger drove Ekoji to realise the futility of holding a distant dominion of Bangalore and therefore he offered to sell it away to the highest bidder. The holding of such a dominion was a costly affair too, as has been admitted by Wilks. But according to Annals, when Chikkadeva raja made successful expeditions to Madura and Trichinopoly and

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2. Ibid, P. 55.
3. See and compare Annals I, P. 106.
4. For details see Sarkar: Aurangzeb V, pp. 52-56.
and reduced powerful chieftains into submission, Ekoji heard of his prowess and thinking that he would be more than a match for him he decided to be in friendly terms with him. The survey of the situation brings to light that it was not for the courting of friendship with the Raja whose fame as the best conqueror had only spread far and wide but it was the condition of the time in which he lived that made him determine to sell it away to the highest bidder. Chikkadevaraja became a purchaser agreeing to pay three lakhs of rupees as was fixed up by Ekoji. When the negotiations were going on for a peaceful settlement through an intermediary — a Vakil sent by Ekoji from Tanjore to the court of Chikkadevaraja, the whole thing was upset by the sudden appearance of Khasim Khan, the Moghal General, at Bangalore. Having occupied the place, the General hoisted the imperial flag on the ramparts of Bangalore on 10th July 1687.

It was certainly a hard task to find out as to who secured victory at Bangalore, because conflicting sources display conflicting versions. Kannada Sources reserve victory to their master while Persian and other sources attribute the success to Aurangzeb's general.

1) The Annals state that the Raja fought and drove him (Khasim Khan) out of Bangalore and occupied the place on the

3. Mys.Dho.Pur.II. 38, Prabhava, Mija Ashada su 1; see also Annals I, P.110; Orme (Historical Fragments, pp.155-156) places the surrender of Bangalore to Khasim Khan early in Aug.1687; Wilks (I, P.110) about July 1687; Sarkari(Aurangzeb, Vol.V, P.54-55 P.W.) places it on 10th June or July 10,1687. The former is preferred here as the most specific date.
14th July 1687.

(2) The Maratha Chronicle - Jedhe Sakhavali fully corroborates the statement: "Ashada Shukla 10 (10th July 1687), Chief of Mysore brought aid to Bangalore and seized Kassim Khan with forces".  

(3) Sambhaji Patra-Sara Sangrah, P.118 says that Chikkadevaraja with the help of Harji defeated Kassim Khan in 1687, July 4. Here the date is wrong and the part played by Harji in cooperation with Chikkadevaraja is doubtful.

(4) Wilks gives entirely a different view that the Raja was far too shrewd to attempt any such rash act. He saw that the courting of Khasim Khan's friendship would by far be the better thing to do under the circumstances as it would enable him to put himself in favour with the Emperor Aurangzeb who had already set an eye on the territories of the Raja. The Raja foresaw the unwisdom of turning hostile to the Emperor while he was quietly and without any interference on the part of Emperor's deputies subjugating minor chiefs and consolidating and extending his territories. The Emperor's friendship would also be a source of strength to him as it would enable him to overawe the many turbulent chieftains and patesars whom he had subjugated. On the other hand the Emperor too was not in a mood to quarrel with the

Raja because he found out the necessity of securing the alliance of a powerful local chieftain in order to facilitate the marching of his armies for which the territories of Mysore offered a convenient stage on the widely extended range of operations carried on by the Emperor against the Marathas all over the Deccan. Chikka-devaraja therefore, made common cause, with Khasim Khan, says Wilks, and opened negotiations to buy Bangalore from him.  

(5) Sarkar on the basis of Persian Sources states that Khasim Khan marching with all his rapidity came and conquered Bangalore and also believes that in his capture he was fully supported by Chikkadevaraja, the enemy of Shivaji's house.  

(6) Kincaid and Parasnis say that Aurangzeb despatched an army to attack Bangalore, still in the hands of the Marathas. "The straits to which Bangalore was soon reduced led Harji Mahadik and Keshav Pingle to forget their jealousies and march to its relief. But in Aug. 1687 it fell before the relieving army reached it".  

(7) Colonel Read says that Khasim Khan was despatched from the Imperial Camp of Aurangzeb after the reduction of Bijapur in 1686 with instructions to reduce the Marathas. Accordingly Khasim Khan carried fire and sword into the South, dispossessed Bangalore from the Maratha control and took several Hindu chiefships converting them into Subhas.  

3. Ibid. P. 54, F.N.  
5. The Baramahal Records, Section I, Management P. 7.
The truth of this event is hidden somewhere in these sources stated above. The first three sources agree in stating that the Raja won a brilliant victory over the Moghal General, Khasim Khan at Bangalore. The common knowledge of the situation in which Chikkadevaraja found himself would reveal the improbability and deliberate falsification of history done by the Kannada and Maratha writers.

The reduction of two Muslim impregnable forts namely Bijapur and Golkonda, apart from increasing the reputation and resources had yielded enormous hoards of money, bodies of trained troops and stocks of arms and provisions that had long been accumulated in these capitals. With these equipments, the Emperor of the north, was conducting vigorous operations in the South against the Marathas. It was this mighty Emperor that had despatched Khasim Khan at the head of formidable force to effect the conquest of Bangalore. Would it be ever possible for a tiny chieftain, dwindled in his kingdom and in power to repulse such a mighty General and conquer Bangalore? Was it difficult for a great Emperor who razed to the ground the two Muslim Kingdoms of the Deccan to deal with a petty ruler in case he had risen up in arms against him? Moreover, according to C.Pinnapam, he had actively supported Aurangzeb in his attempt to reduce the two Muslim Kingdoms of the Deccan. That means he was the active ally of the Emperor. How could an ally bound by mutual understanding and goodwill suddenly fall upon his general and harbour disloyal feelings and court hostility? Furthermore is that a few years later, Chikkadevaraja undertook to send a goodwill mission under Karanika
Lingaiya to the court of Aurangzeb, which was kindly received and sent back with titles and presents graciously. This pedantic exhibition of the royal authority was most humiliating in the eyes of the Hindus. Let alone his exhibition, the point is if he had been the destroyer of the Moghal element at Bangalore, what was the necessity to send an embassy to the Moghal Court? That apart, if Chikkadevaraja had really put to flight Khasim Khan and conquered Bangalore, would Aurangzeb noted for intolerance, kindly receive the Mysore goodwill mission when it had approached him? No. No. The truth is this: Khasim Khan who set out from Golkonda in pursuit of the Marathas who had already descended into the southern region under Kesav Pant and Santaji, came and occupied Bangalore, still in the hands of the Marathas finally hoisting the imperial banner on the ramparts of the fort on the 10th July 1687 and encountering no opposition. On the other hand, Chikkadevaraja, a clever diplomat, realising the seriousness of the situation liked to be neutral by following the policy of non-interference. Of course, there were more advantages in making common cause with the Moghal General to Chikkadevaraja as Wilk's believed: he could enlist the love and confidence of the Emperor which would enable him to threaten the numerous paegears in the South and secure their submission.

1. History of Mysore, P.111.
No sooner the news of the arrival of Khasim Khan at Bangalore reached than Harji Mahadik and Keshav Pant had started from Gingee to relieve the fort by patching up all their differences of opinion, hatred and jealousies. But the Mughals had already captured Bangalore before the relieving army reached it. Disappointed in their hopes, they returned to Gingee. Khasim Khan became the undisputed master of the Maratha possession, Bangalore. What Venkoji did at this critical position we know not.

Khasim Khan on his part saw that the Raja who had been growing powerful and great would be of immense use to him as an ally; and finding that he himself would be unable to hold Bangalore for any length of time on account of the expeditions he had to make, was prepared to dispose it off to the Raja for a consideration of 3 lakhs of rupees "which the Raja was still willing to pay". Chikkadevaraya now, opened negotiations and purchased Bangalore for the stipulated amount from the hands of Khasim Khan. This is confirmed by the Imperial Gazetteer which says: "Venkoji had agreed to sell Bangalore to the Mysore Raja for 3 lakhs of rupees. But Khasim Khan first seized it and then carried out the bargain, pocketing the money himself. Transporting this amount in addition to other belongings he had secured during his expedition to Aurangzeb Khasim Khan brought about an amicable arrangement in Bangalore

2. Ibid.
after its conquest from Ekoji and its handing it over to the Raja of Mysore. After the reduction of Golkonda in 21st Sept. 1687, Khasim Khan was appointed the Foujdar of Karnataka with Sira as his capital by Aurangzeb.

**Ekoji's death, 1687.**

**Territorial losses:** Hoisting of the Imperial Flag over the ramparts of Bangalore by Khasim Khan, the Moghal General and his ultimate sale of the fortress to the Raja of Mysore for a consideration of three lakhs of rupees with a view to encourage him as a counterpoise against the Marathas did not wake up Ekoji from his apathy to counteract the move. One Maratha territory after the other in Karnataka had slipped away from the hands of Ekoji. On the one side Aurangzeb, the great Moghal Emperor, on the other Chikkadevaraja, the rising sun of Mysore were gobbling up the Maratha possessions in Karnataka. Chikkanayakanahalli, Kandikere and Tyamagondlu fell like an house of cards when Chikkadevaraja marched gallantly against them in 1687. The territorial losses in addition to internal troubles and tribulations seem to have been at work in hastening the death of Ekoji. Towards the end of 1687, Ekoji died at Tanjore.  

2. Shivaji Souvenir (P.29) refers to Ekoji's death in 1684; Sarkar (Aurangzeb, Vol.V, P.53, F.N.) refers to it in Jan.1685 and the succession in that year of his son. But Orme (Historical Fragments, P.154) mentions Ekoji's rule at Tanjore in Aug.1687 and Wilks (Vol.I, pp.110-111) states that he was still alive in July 1687. Again an inscription of 1686 (Nayaks of Madura, P.361, No.193) refers to Shahji's conquest of Pudukota country possibly during his father's rule. In the absence of any decisive evidence, Ekoji's death may be placed to the end of 1687 subsequent to the acquisition of Bangalore by Khasim Khan in July 1687.
Sarkar says: "A striking illustration of the deliberate falsification of history by later Maratha writers is furnished by the attempt of Chitnis and others to paint Vyankoji as a dull incompetent sluggard, without any noble ambition or martial spirit or even the power to appreciate an able and useful minister like Raghunath Ramunanthe".

This vindication is based on the Persian Source which refers to the gallant fight of Ekoji against the Mughals during Jai Singh's invasion of Bijapur (1665) and the letter of Andre Freire of 1676. The Jesuit letter says:

"Becoming absolute master of the kingdom of Tanjore 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 the 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 wealth of its production. By repairing the canals and tanks he has fertilised extensive fields uncultivated for years and the last harvest has surpassed all that one had ever seen".

1. Shivaji and his Times, P. 314.
2. Nayaks of Madura, P. 280.
Ekoji seemed to have attained to the summit of human happiness and glory. But Sarkar's vindication of Ekoji does not take into account the tyranny of his government and his utter unpopularity towards the end of his rule. Andre Freire's letter of 1678 makes reference to the accumulation of money by Ekoji. It says: "He had gathered treasures from the exploitation of the kingdom of Tanjore". This accumulated wealth was handed over to Shivaji in order to buy back the kingdoms which dried up his treasury.

Ekoji was now filled with remorse. He could not think of food and sleep. For hours together he sat moodily buried in thought.

Learning the hopeless position of Ekoji, Shivaji wrote an illuminating letter in 1680:

"Do not become a Bairagi: Throw away dispondency; attend to fasts, feasts and customary usages. Turn your attention to affairs of moment. Raghunath is near you. Consult him on what is most advisable to be done. This is time for performing great actions. Old age is the season to turn Bairagi".

1. Nayaks of Madura, P.282.
2. Ibid, P.284.
In spite of this warning, Ekoji was not able to wake up from his apathy. Disregarding the invaluable advice, Ekoji inaugurated a reign of terror, the reason for this could be traced to the prevailing political atmosphere which was surcharged with violence and hatred in and outside the kingdom of Tanjore.

Andre Freire's letter supplies us:

"with the best information of his tyrannical rule. Ekoji plundered all the belongings of the temples and penalised his subjects. "To this tyranny added other disasters. An inundation, less strong in the interior of the country than that of 1677, has wrought horrible ravages on the sea-coast, because it has been accompanied by a terrible gust of wind, carrying the sea beyond its links .... In the villages of the sea-coast alone, more than 6000 persons have been the victims of this disaster".

Britto's letter of 1683 describes the hopeless land revenue administration of Ekoji: Ekoji was taking four-fifths of all the produce. He ordered payment in money, instead of accepting this four-fifths in kind; and as he was careful to fix the price himself, much above that which the owner could realise, it happened that the sale of the whole harvest was never sufficient

1. Nayaks of Madura, P.290.
to pay the contributions. Accordingly the cultivators were burdened with a crushing debt.

Towards the end of his rule, he became almost a mad cap, loosing all sympathy and kindness towards his subjects upon whose goodwill and understanding, his rule was to be based.

The twenty-three-year eventful reign of Ekoji came to an inglorious end. It was a long tragedy - a story of man battling in vain against an invisible but inexorable fate, a tale of how the strongest human endeavour was baffled by the forces of the age. A strenuous reign of 23 years ends in a colossal failure.

The rule of Ekoji may be conveniently divided into two parts: 1) glorious rule from 1664 to 1680 2) inglorious rule from 1680 to 1687.

Proverbially Man is the compound of both dust and deity. The rule of Ekoji is completely in agreement with this proverb. The 16 years were well spent. They were the years of peaceful and prosperous reign and settled residence at Bangalore and Tanjore. It could be proved evidently from the Persian Sources and Jesuit letter of 1676 stated above.

The second part of his rule (1680-87) ended in a great failure. Slowly but pitilessly his fate works itself out, finally defeating all his efforts. He grew violent and reckless in respect

1. Nayaks of Madura, P.291.
of his administration. This was mainly due to the costly peace he purchased from the hands of Shivaji to win back his kingdoms. Secondly it was due to his incapacity to face the critical situation in and outside Tanjore. Thirdly the nature was unkind and unsympathetic to him. Fourthly the costly wars he waged brought nothing except infamy and unpopularity. Lastly the loss of wealthy possessions namely Bangalore and other surrounding countries—all these combined to create a frustration in his mind which seemed to have been largely responsible to hasten his end in 1687.

Ekoji must be understood against the background which prevailed then. It is very easy to lodge criticisms and condemnations against Ekoji as Maratha Bakhars do; but in doing so, we should not neglect the sober and brighter part of the nobler life he led in the beginning. There is no sense and meaning the Maratha Bakhars praising and glorifying the deeds of Raghunath Pant. He was no saint in money matters and his inability was long revealed when his efforts proved null and void in guiding the prince of Shivaji’s house Ekoji. Comparison between two brothers, Ekoji and Shivaji is found to be incongruous and unnecessary for one was working under the Muslims and the other against the Muslims.

Harji Mahadik’s plan to conquer Mysore.

When the hopes of the Maratha Generals were foredoomed to disappointments at Bangalore as it was occupied by Khasim Khan, in they returned to Ginge, their headquarters, utter disgrace. Harji Mahadik sent out Keshav Pant and Santaji at the head of 18,000 horse
to devastate Mysore. ¹

Harji Mahadik was not reconciled to Chikkadevaraja's purchase of Bangalore for 3 lakhs of rupees from the hands of a Moghal General, Khasim Khan, the sum which the Raja had agreed to pay to Ekoji. He was unable to take either the stipulated amount from the Raja or Bangalore from the Moghal General.

Ever since 1639, the light of independent Mysore, burning undimmed at the close proximity of Maratha colonies planted and supplanted by Shahji and his successors. Therefore Harji Mahadik attempted to reduce Mysore into a Maratha Vassalage before the impregnable fort of Golconda fell into the hands of Aurangzeb ² who had already set an eye on the conquest of the entire south India. It was with this end in view, Harji Mahadik despatched Keshav Pant and Santaji at the head of 18,000 horse. In September 1687, the detachment of Harji entered the Mysore territory.

Chikkadevaraja, by purchasing Bangalore from the hands of the Moghal General had cemented the friendship with the Moghals whose support remained a perennial source of encouragement for his policy of territorial conquest. Getting the scent of the Maratha's approach, he made tremendous preparations to encounter the army.

¹. Kincaid and Parasnis: A.H.M.P., P.142. Grant Duff: History of the Maharattas (Vol.I, P.350) says that these Generals descended into Mysore directly from Bangalore, their ambition being frustrated to take Bangalore.
Apratima Vira Charitha, a work on rhetoric says that in the decisive engagement that took place between the two armies, the Marathas had completely lost their way. Highly elated at the success, the Mysoreans sarcastically cried out pointing to the Marathas:

Oh! Marathas, leave the Mysore territory. This is not either Bhaganagar or Bijapur for your game of fight."

Grant Duff says that "they entered the country of Mysore, where they levied contributions and remained several months but made no permanent conquests". Maratha version is that Keshav pant plundered Mysore.

Contrary to the expectations of Harji Mahadik, Golconda fell into the hands of Aurangzeb on 21st Sept. 1687 who was now able to employ bodies of trained troops, stocks of arms and provisions that had long been accumulated in the capital against the declining fortunes of Maratha possessions in the South. Khasim Khan who had been appointed as the Foujdar of Karnatic with Sira his capital was now ready in the field according to the orders of Aurangzeb, along with Asad Khan. The latter with the help of 6000 Moghal horse had plundered the country from Masulipatam to the Palar river.

2. Ibid., V.183: Yelele Maratarira nim tololagim Bhaganagara Vijayapurada nelanaltidinimmatake polanalta pratima Viranidhareyolgum.
The Golkonda Governor of Cuddapah had accepted service under the Mughals; and the Hindu rulers of Conjeevaram and Poonamalle (to the west of Madras) were ready to follow the foot prints of the Governor. The latter held that "the world was constantly turning on its axis and altering the side which it presented to the sun and it was not strange that an inhabitant of the world should follow so excellent an example". There was no unity among the Marathas to bar the paths of the Moghal advance. At this critical position Harji Mahadik saw no alternative except recalling of Kesav Pant from Mysore and ordering him to attack the coast districts between the North P ennar and the Palar rivers occupied by the Moghal generals.

This invasion of Mysore by the Maratha generals was without any tangible consequence fatal either to Mysore or to the Maratha powers in the South. It was only a passing incident in the great grand game of territorial aggrandisements between Mysoreans and the Marathas.

**Defeat of Piddi Nayak of Vaginigiri**.

After the reduction of Bijapur (12th Sept. 1686), Aurangzeb appointed his own governor and other officers and made the Adil Shahi Kingdom a regular Subah of the Moghal Empire. His generals were sent to different parts of the conquered kingdoms to maintain peace and order. Several chieftains of the Bijapur kingdom never reconciled to the imposition of Moghal authority over them. Though it was necessary to put down such

rebels on the point of sword to maintain peace and order, Aurangzeb could not take it up unless Golkonda was surrendered. Therefore it was only after the surrender of Golkonda, the imperialists could extend their arms into these provinces.  

Linganna Kavi says:

"While Aurangzeb had been deliberating on the complete extermination of the Marathas, Piddi Nayaka, the Bijapur Vassal of Vaginagiri had become powerful".  

Vaginagiri was a walled village near Sagar, situated in the fork between the Krishna and Bhima. Piddi Nayaka, the Berad chieftain was a powerful general, commanding 12,000 cavalry and 1,000 infantry. With this well-equipped army, he felt too much of himself.  

Linganna Kavi says that after the fall of Bijapur "Piddi Nayaka sent detachments under his able general Kam Bakh (the text reads Kamiya Bakha), annexed to his principality several territories belonging to Bijapur and still had been carrying war in those regions". "Having heard this news of the disturbances of this refractory chieftain, Aurangzeb became furious".  

It is clear that Aurangzeb's anger was not so much against piddi Nayak's military aid rendered to Bijapur and Golkonda during their siege by the imperialists as has been believed by J.F. Sarkar, but against his own aggressive attitudes in seizing as much of Bijapur territories as possible.

Aurangzeb set out in person, reached Vaginigiri and demanded Navabat from Piddi Nayaka.

On refusal, Aurangzeb declared war and conquered the whole Vaginigiri without difficulty. Piddi Nayaka, submitted and gave up his fort on 28th November 1687.

Moghal conquest of Bangalore May 1688.

After the defeat of Piddi Nayaka, a powerful ruler of Vaginigiri, Aurangzeb sent many of his generals with instructions to effect the conquest of several countries in the Karnatak, which were once parts and parcels of Bijapur kingdom.

Among them, prince Azam was ordered to go to south-western corner of Bijapur kingdom. Obedient to the orders of the Emperor, Prince Azam set out with 40,000 veteran cavalry to the South. At the head of this disciplined cavalry, Prince Azam made a sudden

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5. For various generals being sent out by Aurangzeb see Sarkar's Aurangzeb, Vol.IV, P.389.
dash into the kingdom of Bednur. Ishwaradas Nagar whom Sarkar uses as the main source of information in his work, says "that Prince Azam conducted a vigorous siege of the Bednur fort for nearly six months till it was submitted. According to Ishwardas Nagar, Channamma Rani submitted to the Moghals at the end. From there Prince Azam marched to Bangalore. Ishwardas Nagar says:

"Prince Azam conquers Bangalur (Bangalore) from Sayyid Muhammad, after 3½ months of campaigning (May 1688)."

Who was ruling Bangalore at that time was an important question to tackle with. It has already been pointed out that in 1687 Chikkadevaraja purchased Bangalore from Khasim Khan for a consideration of three lakhs of rupees and as such Chikkadevaraja ought to have been the ruler of Bangalore. But Ishwardas says that it was under the control of Sayyid Muhammad, from whom Azam conquered.

It is very interesting to note that though Chikkadevaraja had been the purchaser of Bangalore, he had not become the ruler of it. On the contrary his authority over Bangalore was recognized for name's sake; and for all practical purposes Khasim Khan was the de facto ruler. Khasim Khan converted Bangalore into a Moghal

1. Sarkar (Aurangzeb, Vol. IV, P. 390) calls Bangalore as Belgam which is wrong.
2. Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol. IV, P. 410, Appendix on Ishwardas Nagar's Narrative of Events, 1685-90. Unfortunately we have no reference in kannada source to this point of event.
base from where the Moghals could pounce upon any Karnataka chieftain in case he would rise up in arms against the Imperial authority. Therefore it is probable that to signify the Moghal authority over Bangalore, Khasim Khan might have posted Sayyid Muhammad as its Governor.

It was the policy of Khasim Khan to conquer the Hindu principalities of Mysore and convert them into Moghal centres. To this effect we have got an inscription from Doddaballapur which says that "in the 32nd year of the reign of Aurangzeb Alangir Badshah the fort of Balapura Kariyatu was in the hands of Sambha family (referring no doubt to Sambhaji). Through the exertions of Khasim Khan, Foujdar of Karnataka province of the Bijapur Subah, it then passed from the hands of Sambadud son of Sivadud Maratha and came into the possession of the Supreme Government".

This statement leads us to say that as Doddaballapura, a Maratha possession was transformed itself into a Moghal dependency through the exertion of Khasim Khan, so also Bangalore, a dependency of the Mysore kingdom was made a point of Moghal communication in the South by the same Governor. This Bangalore was conquered by Prince Azam in May 1688. Bangalore which was the centre of Maratha activities was now captured by the Moghals. Thus the Moghals had started a fearful campaign to capture the Maratha

strongholds and convert them into basegrounds for their future convenience.

Capture and Execution of Sambhaji, 1689.

Sambhaji had gathered a large number of troops after the fall of Bijapur and reduced to submission all the country south of Panhala. The aggressive attitude of Sambhaji roused the Emperor to a lively consciousness that his gigantic efforts to reduce the impregnable forts of Bijapur and Golconda had indirectly helped Sambhaji merely to enlarge his own possessions. Losing control over his senses "Aurangzeb swore that he would never return to Delhi until he had seen the head of Sambhaji waltering at his feet".

On the other hand Aurangzeb's spy, Kavi Kalasa was speedily working to bring about the ruin of Sambhaji by communicating all the schemes and movements of Sambhaji to his Imperial Majesty through spies. Born and bred in the Gangetic valley, Kalasa found it unpleasant and uncomfortable to live in Rayagad which was exposed to violent monsoons. He requested the Raja most humbly to change the place from Rayagad to Sangameswar, 22 miles north east of Ratnagiri city where he laid out fine gardens and built nicely decorated mansions for his master. If Sambhaji lingered on

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2. Orme: Historical Fragments, P.201.
in Raygad turning deaf ear to the suggestions of his favourite Kalasa, the Maratha independence would have endured long. But the ill-fated prince was not able to get away from the grip of powerful Kalasa.

He meekly followed Kavi Kalasa to Sangameswara where he passed the monsoon of 1688. In the midst of beauties, he forgot the duty. Above all by the grace of Kavi Kalasa, Sambhaji went to the extent of abducting, comely bride of a Maratha noble on the way to join her husband. It was at a time when he had lost himself in low tastes that Kavi Kalasa had sent instructions to Aurangzeb through his special spies to march on Sangameswara.

Having learnt the inactivity of Sambhaji in Kavi's chosen hiding-place, Aurangzeb had summoned a reputed general, Shaiku Nizam and secretly instructed him to capture Sambhaji. Kincaid and Parasnis say (that his son, Iklas Khan and other nephews also followed him.

"Starting from Kolhapur with his Iklas Khan, his nephews and two or three thousand horsemen he rode at full speed for Sangameswar". Keladi Nripavijaya says: Shaiku Nizam started with a
considerable force of army and reached Pannali without alighting at any place”.

Proceeding with rapid marches Shaik Nizam arrived in Pannali and bribed heavily all the guards of the gates. He entered in at the guidance of Kavi Kalasa and captured Sambhaji while he was playing with the virgins on the bank of the river of Sangameshwar. Shaiku Nizam with Sambhaji as captive, and Kavi Kalasa started his victorious procession towards Aurangzeb’s camp. On 1st Feb. 1689 Kavi Kalasa was mainly responsible for the capture of Sambhaji who, would have remained safe at Raigad which when strongly fortified with arms and ammunitions would prove impregnable. Sambhaji’s absorption in debanch was mainly due to the influence that Kavi Kalasa exerted on him. Introduction of succession of lascivious women to him made him extremely negligent towards the affairs of the state and with the result more and more powers of the Maratha dominions began to concentrate in the hands of Kavi Kalasa who made use of it to achieve his end. The compulsion on the part of Kavi Kalasa to exchange the shelter of Raigad for the comforts of Sangameswar was pregnant with design

1. Ke. N. V., P. 159, V. 75.
3. Ibid, P. 159, V. 76.
dangerous to the life of Sambhaji who was unable to scent it as he was too much preoccupied with magic and incantation of the former. Thus Kavi Kalasa dug the grave of Sambhaji.

Tragic death:— As soon as this brilliant feat of arms of Shaiku Nizam was communicated to Aurangzeb at Akuj, his joy knew no bounds. The curtain of terror lifted from his heart. With the utmost satisfaction of completing the intended task, he determined to return to Delhi. He at once left Akuj and proceeded to Bahadurgad where the captives were brought under the guard of Hamiduddin Khan. By the orders of the Emperor, the king was made the object of public laughter. He was dressed as buffoon and paraded to a distance of four miles to his encampment, the two lines of the road were crowded with multitude of both sexes gazing at the ill-fated Emperor of the Marathas.

Aurangzeb influenced by the advice of his nobles was prepared to spare Sambhaji's life on three conditions that he should surrender all his forts; reveal all his hidden treasures; disclosing names of the Moghals who supported him loyaly. These suggestions were vehemently rejected by Sambhaji. Then he moved his camp to

1. Aklij is on the north of the river Nira.
2. Grant Duff writes that the Emperor had by this time moved to Tulapur. Scott's Deccan gives Bahadurgad. Kincaid and Parasnis (P. 147 F.M. I) say on the basis of Khafi Khan Akuj was the place where the captives were brought. Sardesai (Vol.I, P.314) says that they were seen by Aurangzeb at Bahadurgad which seems to right.
Tulapur. Linganna Kavi writes:

"Aurangzeb sent word through one of his trusted officers to Sambhaji asking him to salute the emperor which was vehemently refused".  
This is confirmed by Ishwardas's narrative which says that Sambhu refused to bow to the emperor, though urged to do so.

Secondly the emperor sent Sambhaji a message that even yet he would spare his life if he accepted Islam. Sambhaji, meeting the message at its own level scornfully replied that if the emperor was prepared to hand over his daughter, Begum to him, he would turn Musalman. This reply enraged Aurangzeb who immediately ordered the execution of Sambhaji.

Like Charles I of England, the last moments of life brought to light the hidden nobility and greatness of Sambhaji. He faced his torture with a fortitude rare even in the annals famous for its savagery.

2. Ishwardas Nagar's Narrative of Events as cited in Sarkar's Aurangzeb, Vol.IV, p.402, P.H.  
In conclusion it may be said that the relationship between Ekoji of Tanjore and Chikkadevaraja of Mysore had never been friendly. Ekoji's determined efforts to safeguard the interests of the Marathas not only in the regions lying to the north east of Mysore but also in the environs lying to the south of Mysore, proved failure. He came in support of Sambhaji when the latter sacked Mysore but was completely defeated and disgraced by Chikkadevaraja. Seeing a dangerous neighbour in Chikkadevaraja, Ekoji resolved to sell away Bangalore, to the highest bidder. When the transactions of business in respect of Bangalore were going on, Khasim Khan, the Moghal Commander captured Bangalore without shedding even a drop of blood. On hearing the news of his arrival at Bangalore, the Marathas proceeded by forced marches to drive out the Moghals, but they had to retrace their steps from Bangalore achieving nothing tangible. Foiled in his attempts, Ekoji died in Tanjore towards the end of 1687.

The two devastating expeditions of Sambhaji into the kingdom of Mysore were pregnant with consequences fatal to the unity of south India in general and Mysore in particular. When the first collision under the leadership of Sambhaji met its disastrous defeat at the hands of Chikkadeva in the celebrated battle of Banavara, Sambhaji shifted the theatre of the war to the southern provinces of Mysore where the interest of the Marathas was predominant. The ultimate result of the campaign was that Chikkadevaraja was compelled to sue for peace.
In the next campaign (1686) Sambhaji devastated the kingdom of Mysore and struck terror into the hearts of Chikka-devaraja whose position of ascendency in Madura - as its protector was in great jeopardy. Further the discontented subjects of the king of Mysore had helped enormously in the destructive policy of Sambhaji in Mysore. With the assistance of the Chieftains of Morasa, Tigula, Coorg, Malayala as well as the discontented malcontents of Mysore proper, Sambhaji burst on Srirangapatna, the capital city of Mysore. But misfortune surprised him to sustain utter discomfiture at the hands of Chikkadevaraja. The Allies were disgraced and driven out; Sambhaji retreated achieving nothing tangible in the kingdom of Mysore. Therefore the Mysore Maratha relations under Sambhaji were quite unsatisfactory. The traditional policy of hostility continued unabated between the two houses of Mysore and Maharashtra viewed in the larger interest of the need for friendly inter-state relations, the policy of hostility was neither honourable nor beneficial to either of the two Hindu States, Mysore and Maratha.

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