CHAPTER XIII.

Mysore Maratha Relations under Rajaram. (1689-1700).

Political situation in Maharashtra: On the capture of Sambhaji by the Moghals, the grand edifice of the Marathas built up and nurtured by Shivaji and his father seemed to fall to pieces. All the top ranking leaders of the Maratha Kingdom instantly convened a council with Yesu Bai as its president. Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadev also took part in the talk along with others. The great grand council unanimously decided to enthrone the boy-prince, Shivaji as the king, with Rajaram, the younger brother of Sambhaji the regent, after releasing him from the nominal confinement at Raygad. Consequent upon his selection, Rajaram rose up and delivered an inspiring and effective speech calling upon all those that gathered there to forget anger and resentment of Sambhaji and to render to the prince whole-heartedly the selfless loyalty that the nation owed to his great name sake. 1

Linganna Kavi writes that Sambhaji's brother Rajaram was proclaimed the king. 2

Rajaram was respected by the people as Bharata. As Bharata remained loyal to his brother Rama famed in Ramayana, so

2. Ke.N.V., P.160; V.77: Nere tatamsambhajiya sodaranenisuva Ramarajanurupattavananthu.
also Rajaram remained faithful to Shahu. In fact Rajaram refused to be crowned.  

Rajaram left Raigad along with his followers and established himself at Pratapagad. While Rajaram was residing at Pratapagad, Santaji with a few selected followers made a daring raid on the camp of Aurangzeb himself at Koregaun. They fell upon his tent, cut down the supporting ropes, killed the inmates including, as was first supposed, emperor himself. Fortunately the Emperor was sleeping, by chance, in his daughter's tent and thus escaped death. Santaji was one of the best generals of the age. In the words of J.N. Sarkar, "Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadhav were the two stars of dazzling brilliancy which filled the Deccan firmament for nearly a decade."  

In the meanwhile Raigad was captured along with Yesu Bai and Shivaji by Zulfiqar Khan on November 3rd 1689 after a siege of 8 months. When this disaster fell on the main Royal house, all the Marathas, big and small rose up in one voice and vowed to avenge the humiliation done to them by the Moghals till the last drop of their blood. Thus the people's war had begun. When misfortune winked at Maharashtra, a band of patriots, trained in the school of Shivaji the Great rose up in arms and resolved to drive

1. Rajaram Charitam, pp. 9-10.
4. Shivaji Souvenir, P.
out Aurangzeb's armies back to Hindusthan and secure their national independence.  

The cruelties shown by Aurangzeb to Sambhaji shocked all the south and the Hindus of the south resolved to unite against devilish cruelties of the Muslims.  

In the meanwhile a Moghal force descended into Pratagrad by the orders of Aurangzeb to exterminate Rajaram and his followers but very soon Rajaram left the place with his men and provisions and took up the residence at Panhala. From there he had determined to govern the entire Maratha kingdom powerfully and efficiently.  

This change of place did not fail to disillusion the Emperor and prove that the Maratha monarchy was not yet dead. In order to nip the revival of the Maratha royal power in Panhala in the bud, the Emperor soon despatched Abdull Khan and a band of Vazirs with orders to invest Panhala and to capture the fort along with the king, Rajaram. Making tremendous preparations the Moghal horsemen started their march and arriving near the fort, at once laid siege to it. The Moghals secured the surrender of the fort after a bitter struggle. At that critical situation Rajaram realising the unwisdom of staying in an insecure place decided to leave the place.  

2. Sardesai's Riyasat, P.32.  
5. Ke.N.V., P.160, V.78: Here Rajaram is called Ramara.  
This decision found a complete support at the hands of his council of officers who admonished him to cling to strategic plan of Shivaji, that is to abandon Maharashtra which was floating on the troubled sea of politics due to savage robbery, and brigandages of the Moghals; and to take up his residence at Gingl from where blow after blow could be delivered against the Moghal communications stretching from Poona to the Karnatak with the help of the Maratha field-army cantoned at Gingl. This was supported by famous Rama Chandra Pant who appealed to the people of the South to take up arms against inhuman and outlandish invaders. So it became a people’s war against invaders. The result was that the Moghal had to fight on a front extending 700 miles from Burhanpur to Trichinopoly. Rama Chandra Amatya was entrusted with the responsibility of resisting the Moghal advance to the extent possible taking up his residence in the western Deccan. Rajaram was escorted by Prajapati Vinay who was not only chief counsellor and by a number of reputed captains including Dhanaji Jadav and Santaji Ghorpade. Rajaram started from Panhala about 30th June 1689 with his followers.

Condition of Karnatak in 1689: The year 1689 was not a propitious year for the Karnatak. The roads were infected with robbers; and travelling was not happy. The whole Karnatak was given to plunder

2. Sarkar: History of Aurangzeb, Vol.V, pp.23-24. As regards the date, Sarkar writes: "Rajaram fled from Raigarh to Pratapgarh on 10 Chaitra Badi ( 25th April 1689), issued from Panhala on 8th Ashwin Badi ( = 25th September) and reached Vellor on 11 Kartik Badi ( = 28th October). The initial and final dates are correct but in the middle one I suggest Asharh for Ashwin (thus getting 30th June for the departure from Panhala), because it is hardly possible for a man to cover the 500 miles from Panhala, via Bednur to Vellore in 32 days (26th Sept - 28th Oct.) that (contd)
and pillage by the armies of Moghal and Marathas alike. The
situation in Karnataka adversely reacted upon by the situation
in the Telingana coast immediately north of it, where a great
famine was raging in the Vizagapatam district and frequent wars
were going on between the new Moghal foujdar and local rajahs.  

Conquests of Chikkadevaraja: In Mysore, Chikkadevaraja who had
the ambitious desire of enlarging his kingdom had plundered the
dominions of the Marathas and other palegars in the south and the
east. Chikkalya of Sankagiri subordinate Vassal of Chikkadevaraja
had performed feat of great valour and dexterity by attacking
Avaniperur, Arasaravanl and Hoskote which were held by Shahu II
the son of Ekoji at Tanjore and securing their surrender in June
1688.

Manu Gonde durga, Vamalur and Dharmapuri which were the
chief acquisitions of Ekoji of Tanjore were conquered one after
another consequent on the confusion that followed the death of
Ekoji towards the end of 1687 and the accession of his son Shahu II.

(continued from previous page)

Z.S. gives to this journey. Moreover we know from the contempo-
rary Imperial history Masir-i-Alamgiri (328) that Rajaram went
through many adventures after leaving Panhala; he was overtaken
by the Moghals on an island in the Tungabhadra on the frontier of
Bednur, escaped from the ring of his enemies, and was concealed
by the Rani of Bednur and subsequently allowed to go away. A week
or two of time must be allowed for these causes of delay, but Z.S's
dates leave no room for them in the last part of Rajaram's journey.
Chitnis's itinerary of Rajaram (11. 26-31) seems
to be imaginary & of no value.
Shivaji Souvenir (P.32) gives the following dates:
Saka 1611, Chaatra, Krishna 10, Friday (5th April 1689) Rajaram
fled to Pratapag. Aswin Krishna '8, Thursday (26th Sept.1689).
Rajaram rode from Panhala and reached Vellore on Kartik Krishna 11,
(28th Oct.1689), thence he went to Gingee.

1. Madras Diary, 25th March 1689.
In 1689, Gurikara Lingarajaiya, the Viceregal of Chikkadevaraja at Coimbatore conquered Kaveripattana, Kunturdurga and incorporated them to the Mysore kingdom, Paramathi being taken before their siege. Ananthagiri was secured from the hands of a Maratha officer namely Ghoraji. Thus these years, 1688 and 1689 were not happy years to the Marathas and their possessions. The death of Ekoji seems to have given a signal to Chikkadevaraja of Mysore for his territorial conquests who gratified his ambition by securing surrender of territory after territory without encountering any serious opposition. Though Chikkadevaraja rejoiced at this success, the country at large suffered heavily. The frequent movements of the Mysore army and skirmishes and alarms had disturbed the pendulum of the tranquillity of the Mysore kingdom.

Rajaram in Bednur: On the other hand, Rajaram and his chief officers split themselves into two parties; disguised themselves as religious pilgrims and started from different routes in order to avoid the vigilance of the Moghal officers who were strictly warned by the Emperor to watch the movements of the Marathas. Passing by the difficult and narrow route of Sabyadri, they arrived at Sonda. Taking rest there for some time they proceeded further South in the direction of Bednur.

Bednur which is also called Ikkeri was an important kingdom rising into greatness and glory under the able and cautious rule

1. Annals, I, pp. 107-108; Wilk's I, P. 227; C.Bin., pp. 53-59; Gi. Co., 38-39; also see and compare Capt. Alexander Head in Baramahal records (1907), I, P. 137 mentioning some of these conquests.

Channammaji wife of Somasekhara Nayaka. Her rule from 1671 to 1696 forms an important period in the history of Ikkeri.

It was to this rising kingdom that Rajaram and his followers came, on their way to Gingi. Arriving near Ponnali from Panhala Rajaram despatched some of his important men to the court of Channammaji seeking her help. Presenting themselves at the court, they revealed Channammaji as to why they had been flying from place to place being chased by the Moghal army and finally implored the help of the Rani for their escape from her kingdom to Gingi unnoticed, unperceived, by the Moghal officers. Channammaji who was chivalrous and sympathetic immediately convened a Council of important Ministers such as Kolivadada Rommaliya and Siddabasavaiah, (Minister for finance) and others and decided that it was impolitic and unjust to deny protection and shelter to a refugee king when he had come voluntarily for it. Her determination was so noble and firm that she did not like to alter it even at the cost of her kingdom in case it was invaded by the Moghal Emperor in vengeance. Accordingly, Rajaram and his followers were disguised and were escorted by the Rani's men up to Vasudhara passing across the Gajanur river and through Borenedehalli, Aguvalli, Valasa and Khandya.

3. Ke.N.V., IX, P.161, V.82: Shivajiya putrānenippa Rāmarajam Pannāliya palāyanambādeldai Ponnāliya pokku tānaitandu pokka vrittāntamellāmen Channammāliya vārgamulisi Mogalarge gōcharâ-ṃagadantu nimma gādirāiyādin tānna Chandiye dāntisi kodalvelken-du bahu prakāradim pelisal. Kincaid and Parasnis (A History of the Maratha People, P.158) say: "they (Rajaram & his followers went to Bednur where the Rani, a feudatory of the Maratha king, welcomed the fugitives”. This is wrong for Bednur is not a part and parcel of the Maratha kingdom. It has kept up an independent existence for a long time.
Rani Channammaji and the Moghals: Aurangzeb had already detached a regiment of his forces in pursuit of the fugitives. They encamped in the neighbourhood of Bednore perpetrating horrible cruelties, ravages and brigandages. Prominent Vaziers were despatched to the Rani demanding the surrender of the Maratha Prince along with his followers whom she had been entertaining at her court.

Channammaji was taken aback when she heard from the Moghals that she had been hiding the refugee monarch and others, in her capital; but meanwhile, losing no courage and thinking deeply as to what reply would suit the occasion, said that it was true the Maratha Raja had passed through her territory but for the present they were not sojourning in her kingdom.¹

Informing them thus, she told them also that she was able to take possession of the ornaments and clothes that fell from the Raja while he was flying across her dominion. So saying she handed over to the Moghal Vaziers all the valuables that she had. Getting delivery of these belongings, the Moghal Vaziers wrote a strong letter to Aurangzeb, complaining that the Rani was repugnant to deliver the fugitives from concealment although she had handed over to them all the belongings of the fugitives; and further they had despatched the acquired valuables and surrendered four Maratha captives namely

Ruppaji Bhosle, Santaji, Jagadaba Manoji, Morasharaja Rao to Aurangzeb with the said letter. The Emperor received them gladly but later on, the despatches roused him to great fury.¹

Determined on the complete extermination of the Marathas by effecting the capture of Bednur Aurangzeb, ordered his son Azamatara to invade Bednur. At the head of a large army Amamatara proceeded with rapid stride and encamped in the narrow valley of Banditimmayi of Madagadakere. A detachment was sent in advance under the command of Jansara Khan who conquered the fortress of Mahadevapura and Anandapura without encountering any opposition. Finally the two armies encamped near Venupura (Bednur) in the year 1689.²

Channammaji was not much dismayed at the news; immediately resorted to prompt action. By collecting a huge army at the fortress of Bhuvanagiri, she despatched it to the fortress of Bidurur where a furious battle was fought inflicting terrible losses on the Moghals. The powerful Moghals were completely destroyed. The paths and valleys where the enemies were hidden were fully blocked; communications were cut off; the enemies were encircled in as in a net and were completely reduced to surrender.³ Thus Channammaji won a glorious victory over the Moghals.

¹. Ibid., pp.161-162.
². Ke.N.V., IX, P.162, V.85.
Channammaji, by pouncing upon the Moghals, had mercilessly slaughtered them by every possible means. Thus the Mughals were forced by her for the conclusion of a treaty with Aurangzeb which speedily brought to an end the atrocious war between Channammaji and the Mughals.  

The Portuguese Viceroy in a letter of 1691 describes that Channammaji was forced to sue for peace with the Moghals.  

According to Persian Sources the war was waged between the Mughals and the Marathas on the Bednur territory which at last came to a speedy termination by the intervention of Rani Channammaji who purchased peace by paying small ransom.  

Masir-i-Alamgiri (P.329) says: "Santa (Santaji) triumphantly opposed them, till at last the matter was settled by the Rani paying a small fine under the name of tribute". Therefore it is clear that Channammaji neutralised the hostility and brought the war to an end only by paying tribute to Aurangzeb.  

Now, according to Kannada sources the Marathas had left Bednur before the arrival of the Moghals, but according to non-kannada sources the Marathas were still in Bednur and battle was fought between the Moghals and the Marathas till the matter was  

---

1. Ke.N.V., IX, P.163, Stan. 89. It is strange that Linganna Kavi describes in stanzas nos. 86, 87, 88 the heavy slaughter perpetrated by Channammaji over the enemy but in stanza 89 he abruptly jumps to describe the conclusion of a treaty. If she had really massacred all Mughals, where was the necessity to conclude peace with Aurangzeb?  
2. See AppendixV.  
4. C.Hayavadana Rao's Mysore History Vol.I conclude peace with Aurangzeb P.308) on this point is wrong and therefore has to be revised.
settled by Channammaji. It is most probable that the Rani purchased peace by paying ransom to the Moghals.¹

Rajaram at Bangalore: After the conclusion of a treaty with the Mughals under Azamatara and Jansara Khan at Badnur, the Marathas started their onward march to the South. On their way, they reached Bangalore which was re-occupied by Khasim Khan, the Mughal foujdar of Karnataka.

The way in which the treatment was accorded to Rajaram by his servants at Bangalore made the Moghal officers suspicious of the party. Fortunately the impending danger was averted by the devoted loyalty of Kondo Ballal Chitnis who advised Rajaram to cling to one route and others to go by another route while himself chose to remain at the spot maintaining successfully his character as one of the pilgrims to Rameswaram in case the party was discovered in their identity by the Moghals. Accordingly Rajaram went one way, and Pralhad Niraji by another route, while some remained pleading their character of pilgrims. When they were subjected to severe torture by the Moghal officers, their loyalty, devotion and faithfulness were such that they never disclosed to them their secrecy. The Moghal officers having been convinced of the truthfulness of their tale and the reality of their plea let them all go. Thus the party, after passing through a perilous adventure at Bangalore, got out of it.²

¹ Sarkar: House of Shivaji, p.236.
Rajaram at Channapatna: Then Rajaram and his companions frequently meeting with Moghals' alarm and danger, continued their march and reached Channapatna safely. By this time much water had flown over and under the bridge on the Moghal side. The Moghal cause suffered a temporary eclipse from the faithlessness of its officers. The old officials of Golconda whom Aurangzeb permitted to continue in their offices, had proved disloyal; and two of them, Yachama Navaka and Ismail Maka had revolted against the autocratic authority of Aurangzeb, and deserted the Moghal cause and made an alliance with Rajaram through the mediation of the peshwa Milo Nareshwar Pingle at Channapatna. Jede Sakavali says: "Yacheppa Nair, Ismail Khan, Makav and others, and 4000 cavalry of the Moghals rebelled and interviewed Rajaram through "ilopant at Chenpatan." Rajaram with this big army subdued Channapatna and by posting Ekoji and Sivaji - two Maratha Chieftains for its government, he descended into further south.  

(continued on the next page)

2. Shivaji Souvenir, pp. 32-33.
After settling the affairs at Channapatna, Rajaram with only a few followers renewed his march and arrived in Srirangapatna towards the end of Sept. 1689, from there he slipped out crossing the Cauveri river into Gingi, the intended place.

Rajaram passed through Mysore: Edward Scott Waring says: "Rama, upon the murder of his brother, fled, closely pursued by the enemy, to Seringapatam. He effected his escape across the Cauveri with only two of his followers and retired into Gingee". Probably the Mysoreans had lost the sight of these fugitives as they were fleeing under the guise of Lingayat Pilgrims to Rameswaram in order to escape the vigilance of the Moors. Therefore no event of any serious nature had taken place when the party descended into the heart of the Mysore kingdom.

October

The arrival of Rajaram in Gingi in 1689 gave a new life to the Maratha activities in the Deccan much to the disillusionment of the Emperor whose schemes at the capture of Rajaram were foredoomed to failure. All the beautiful and gorgeous palace he built in the air about the complete extermination of the Marathas during his life time dashed to the ground when another Maratha kingdom grew in the impregnable fortress of Gingi rising up in arms against him. Ill-luck began to follow him, vigorously working to defeat his endeavours, curb his might, cloud his brain and to throw his schemes to the violent wind.

1. A History of the Mahrattas to which is prefixed an Historical sketch of the Deccan (1810) P.119. Chikkadevaraja of Mysore did not take any step to bar their way as he was not able to recognise disguised Marathas. Therefore Kannada sources are silent upon this point.
The flight of the defeated rebel across the Deccan into Gingi dragged Aurangzeb to southern India where he was destined to spend the last years of his life in tents and in miserable camps. His sojourn in the south sapped his strength, dried up his treasury, delivered rude shock to his ambitious desire.

Nevertheless he faced all the troubles and tribulations boldly and courageously disliking to budge even an inch from his determined will and resolutions.

Rajaram at Gingi: On the other hand, Rajaram, on his arrival in Gingi felt the necessity of raising a formidable army consisting of local levies of the Deccan chiefs in order to stand as a bulwark against the advancing tide of the Mughal invasion. Factory record says: "Rajaram on his arrival, sent a summon to all in any considerable employment in the government to make their appearance before him." His aim was reported to be "to divert the Mughal army from his kingdom of Gingee and join with several Hindu Navaks and raise a considerable army to retake the Golconda and Bijapur kingdom."

On 22nd March 1690 Rajaram from Gingi writes to the Deshmukh of Kari as follows:

"We have enlisted an arrival in the Karnatak forty thousand cavalry and a lac and a quarter of infantry. The local palgars and fighting elements are fast rallying to the Maratha standard."

1. Madras Diary, 6th Dec. and 14th Nov. 1689.
On the other hand Chikkadevaraja of Mysore turned his attention to the conquest of territories. Early in April 1690 Chikkadevaraja attacked Bagadi and took it from its keeper. Haranahalli and Banavara were wrested from Ikkeri in April-May 1690. The new Dalvoy, Timmappaya of Kolala, appointed by Chikkadevaraja in June 1690, eclipsed the glory of his predecessors in the line of conquest. At the head of an army, the Dalvoy went, saw and conquered Kadur, Sakrepatna and Vasthare between June and August, Chikkamagalur and Maharajanadurga in August and Hassan and Grama in September, the last two places from Krishnappa Nayaka of Algur.

On hearing the arrival of Rajaram at Gingee, Aurangzeb changed his camp from Galgali and cantoned at Brahmapuri from where Zulfikar Khan, the son of Asal Khan (one of the ministers of Aurangzeb) was detached at the head of an innumerable forces to lay siege to Gingi at the end of November 1689. Zulfikar Khan marched by way of Raichur, Karnul, Nandiyal, Kadapa and Guaramkonda and

---

2. Ibid.
3. C.Hayavadana Rao: History of Mysore, Vol.1, Chapter XII.
descended into the Karnatak plain (about June 1690) capturing many forts on the way. The army that advanced with a lightning speed arrived at Channapatna.

The two important Maratha chieftains named Ekoji and Shivaji who were placed over the Jagadeva Rayalu's territory of Channapatna by Rajaram, heard the news of the encampment of the Moghals and were prepared to face the enemy in an open battle. War was declared. The two armies met and fought stubbornly. At the end Zalfikar Khan inflicted a crushing defeat on the Marathas and subdued the whole Jagadeva Rayal's country.

The success at Channapatna added as a filip to Zalfikar Khan, who by marching with ostentation, arrived in the neighbourhood of Gingi. Early in the month of September 1690, the Khan laid siege to the fort. In order to help Zalfikar Khan, Aurangzeb detached his son Kambaksa with reinforcements. Zalfikar Khan with this additional reinforcements grew strong and had tightened his grip over the fort.

Madras Diary of 26th April 1691 says that the Moghal army

---

1. Ibid.
3. Ibid. See also P.39 in the same record.
at Gingee had become so large and well-provisioned that the country around expected a speedy fall of the fort.

1691 was a bad year for the Imperialists at Gingi. In reality no progress was done in the siege. It had suffered an eclipse on account of the vigorous activities of the Marathas by cutting off all communication between the imperial camp and Gingi. "Zalfikar reported to the Emperor that the enemy were hemming him round, stopping his supply of provisions and that he needed reinforcements urgently". Thus the year 1691 was not a propitious year for the Moghals and much more so the years of 1692 and 1693. The perilous days of the Moghals were taken advantage of by the Marathas. The arrival of Santaji Ghorpade in the south had lifted up a dark cloud hanging over the heart of Rajaram. Trichinopoly fell into his hands without any difficulty. Rajaram himself arrived there soon afterwards and on 10th April 1693 the Nayak of Trichinopoly concluded a treaty with the Maratha king. But unluckily this success did not last long owing to a bitter quarrel that broke out between Rajaram and Santaji on the question of holding the post of Senapati. The appointment of Dhanaaji as the Senapati in the place of Santaji led the latter to get away from Gingi to Maharashtra. The lack of mutual adjustments and accommodations between the two generals namely Santaji and Dhanaaji had in a long run, shattered to pieces, the

3. Ibid, pp.75-76, 76-77.
4. Ibid, pp.78-96.
strong Maratha kingdom to be built up at Gingl by the Maratha genius.

Was it difficult for Zalfikar Khan to capture Gingl? is the question to be considered now. Surely the reduction of Gingl was not a difficult question to Zalfikar Khan as he had received strong reinforcements and provisions from the Emperor which when directed wholly against it, it ought not have been a problem to him. The secret point to note for prolonging it was: that both Rajaram and Zalfikar Khan entered into secret understanding in view of the expected death of Aurangzeb and the inevitable war of succession among his sons, in order to help each other in establishing independent sovereignty in the southern Peninsula. Bound by this secret understanding Zalfikar Khan prolonged the siege. Wilks says:

"The tedious and ill-conceived siege of this eastern Troy was prolonged for many years, by the treachery, cabals and intrigues of the chiefs and by a secret struggle between a prince of the blood and Zulfecar Khan for the independent sovereignty which each of them had desired to establish in his own person .......
The attack and defence were equally a theatrical exhibition, in which the chief actors performed their concerted parts".  

Santaji returned to the north-western corner of Mysore having achieved nothing for his master. In November 1695 Dhanaji was sent to Madras Karnataka in order to save the cause of the Marathas there by repulsing the Moghal contingent under Zulfikar Khan. This he did astonishingly by putting to flight Zulfikar Khan from Vellore. 1

Khasim Khan defeats Baramappa Nayaka.

After the conquest of Bangalore from the Marathas in 1686, Khasim Khan was appointed the Foujdar of the Karnatak with Sira as his headquarters. 2 He was a resourceful general of the age. He carried fire and swords into the neighbouring principalities and reduced them to submission. 3 For the purposes of convenient administration, the conquered chiefships were converted into and were each placed under an efficient administrator of his own clan. Khasim Khan divided his territories into seven paraganas: Sira, Boodihalla, Basavapatna, Penukonda, Kolar, Hoskote, Doddaballapura. 4 Each was placed under a governor or a military officer. Naturally they introduced Moghal administrative system into these districts. With these conquests in the Karnatak, Khasim Khan grew too powerful.

5. Ibid, P.37.
Having strengthened his position, Khasim Khan projected his policy of conquest in the Karnataka. The Moghal attack was delivered on Baramappa Nayaka (1689-1719) the palakgar of Chitradurga. Khasim Khan at the head of a large Moghal army proceeded and laid siege to Dodderi, which is 22 miles east of Chitradurga. Baramappa Nayaka was shocked to hear the sudden approach of the Moghal army. Being a powerful palakgar, he mobilised all his troops, without feeling discouraged, and advanced to meet the besieging army at Dodderi. In the sanguinary action that was fought about 1689, Baramappa Nayaka was completely defeated and driven out of the battle field. All the wealth of Dodderi was plundered and vast amount of booty was carried away by the Mughals. Dodderi became a part of the Moghal kingdom in the Karnataka.

Baramappa's reconquest of Dodderi: Baramappa Nayaka, a mighty general that he was, bore a severe grudge against Khasim Khan for his cruelties and outlandish acts at Dodderi. Plantation of a Moghal colony at Dodderi was a perpetual source of danger to the palakgar. Recapture of so important a military base as Dodderi from the hands of the Mughals was an urgent necessity; and to achieve this Baramappa laboured not a little. Armies were raised and trained under able military officers; and having made tremendous preparations he set out to reconquer the Moghal base. When Baramappa's army pounced upon the defenceless Dodderi, the unprepared guards were

1. Dodderi, 14° 21' N., 75° 46' E., in the Chitradurga district of Mysore.
terror-stricken. In the uproar and shouts of the army, the whole atmosphere was plunged into confusion. The Chitradurga army cut into pieces the guards and made an entry into Dodderi. Thus it was a brilliant victory to Baramappa Nayaka.

Struggle between the Moghals and the Marathas in the Karnatak 1695-1700.

Aurangzeb who was cantoning at Brahmapuri, ordered Khasim Khan, trustworthy general and an active governor of the Sira country to bar the paths and turn out the Maratha raiders under Santaji who being pursued by the Moghals turned southwards to Mysore. Khanazad Khan, Saf Shikan Khan, Sayyid Asalat Khan and Muhammad Murad were detached from the imperial camp, in addition to a command of 25,000 men on paper but 5 to 6 thousand troopers in actual muster, in order to help Khasim Khan in his endeavour against the Marathas. The well-equipped and disciplined army chiefly drawn from the Imperial troops marching gallantly reached Khasim Khan about 12 miles from the Maratha's expected tract, early in Nov. 1695. Aurangzeb, with this grand arrangements set speedily in motion his plan and felt that his cherished goal would be materialised. But unluckily everything went against his wishes. How Santaji dashed to the ground this grand edifice of the new scheme of Aurangzeb is a marvel in the art of war. Describing the genius of Santaji,

Sarkar says:

"Santaji had an inborn genius for handling large bodies of troops spread over a wide area, changing his tactics so as to take prompt advantage of every change in the enemy's plan and condition, and organizing combined movements."

Khasim Khan, having learnt the arrival of Khanazad Khan for his help, felt that it was his duty to accord a tumultuous welcome befitting his position and the country over which he ruled. In fact Khanazad Khan was a Persian of the highest descent, being the son of the late Paymaster-General, Ruhulla Khan I and great-grandson of the Empress Mumtaz Mahal's sister. Therefore to honour such a distinguished general, Khasim Khan caused to be built a costly tent, decently decorated and neatly furnished with gold, silver and China vessels of all kinds. In this gorgeous theatre, he least expected any danger threatening destruction.

On the other hand, Santaji, having learnt the enemy's position and movements, came up with swift marches and skilfully matured his plan for their destruction.

Baramappa supports Santaji: The success of the plan of Santaji was mainly due to the support given by Baramappa Nayaka of Chitradurga. The latter rendered his help for three reasons: 1) He never forgot the cruelties and brigandages perpetrated by Khasim Khan

in the war of 1689. 2) He aimed at the complete extermination of the Moghals on the soil of the Karnatak 3) To achieve his end, he was prepared to help in all possible ways one who would undertake to destroy the Moghals.

Santaji, the Maratha general appeared in the Karnatak and this was a golden opportunity for Baramappa. Baramappa helped Santaji in men and materials. Kudutani Venkanna, Holalakere Bommanna who distinguished themselves in several wars were detached at the head of a considerable army and horse to reinforce Santaji. Above all Baramappa Nayaka revealed the Maratha general all the secret points of the military arrangements that the Moghals made in Dodderi. Knowing full well the Moghal strategy, Santaji proceeded with all his rapidity along with the Chitradurga army and reached Dodderi.¹ This Kannada account is fully confirmed by the Persian sources which state that "Baramappa Nayaka, the Zamindar (Palugar) of the Chittaldnig district, who bore a grudge against Qasim Khan, for having been humbled by that general (in the war of 1689), now sided with the Marathas".²

Santaji divided his army into three parts each under an able general. The three generals were properly instructed to advance from three directions and fall upon the enemy before the combination of the Moghal armies was effected. In the early morning, just at a

¹. Palayagars of Chitradurga, P.41 (by M.S.Puttanna).
time when Khasim Khan had to arrive at the theatrical exhibition to receive the Moghal general, Khanazad, Santaji fell upon the tent and burnt it to ashes. Hearing the unexpected attack of the Marauder, Khasim Khan hurried to the scene of action; and joining his friend Khanazad Khan shortly after, encountered the Marathas. Unable to bear the brunt of the Marathas, the two Khans shut themselves up in the citadel of Dodderi.

J.N. Sarkar says:

"Qasim and Khanazad took counsel together and decided to go to the small fort of Dodderi close to which the advanced-tents had been sent and where there was a tank. Fighting for 2 miles they reached the tank in the evening and halted; the enemy retired from the attack and encamped close by".

Santaji invested the fort closely for three days exposing the Khans to starvation and deadly effects of the Maratha guns. On the 4th day, the Marathas were multiplied in number by the addition of large body of Kala Pidaka musketeers and began to fight more strenuously than before.

Khasim Khan was an habitual eater of Opium which he could


not get now and breathed his last on 20th November 1695 being unable to tolerate such privation. It was also reported that he took poison and committed suicide in order to avoid disgrace from the Emperor. His friend Khanazad surrendered agreeing to pay 20 lacs of rupees as ransom in addition to all valuables of the camp worth about 30 lacs more.  

Santaji gave back Dodderi to Baramappa Nayaka and made friendship with him.

**Action at Basavapatna:** The theatre of the war was now shifted to Basavapatna from Dodderi. The disastrous defeat of the Mughal generals at Dodderi roused Aurangzeb to the lively consciousness of the danger hanging over his generals; and to the speedy relief of it, detached from his camp, Brahmapuri Hamid-ud-din Khan who was to join Rustam-dil Khan from Hyderabad. They united at Adoni and met the retreating army of Khanazad Khan.

By this time Himmat Khan Bahadur who was detached to reinforce Khasim Khan had taken refuge at Basavapatna and was unwilling to leave that place as he was pregnant with the fear of the smallness of the army which was not a match to the well trained army of Santaji. To the utter bewilderment of the Khan Santaji appeared on

---

1. The assignment of December 1695 to the death of Khasim Khan has no basis in the work of Hayavadana Rao, Mysore Vol.I, P.312.
2. Ibid, pp.346-349; Sardesai New History of the Marathas Vol.I, pp.335-336; Shivaji Souvenir, P.37. It fixes the date as 5th Jan.1696 and the ransom one lakh of rupees; see also Kincaid & Parasnis; A History of the Maratha People. P.
the scene and encountered the enemy in a sanguinary action near Basavapatna in which both the father and the son were attacked and killed on the 20th January 1696. Profiting much by the spoils of the war, Santaji retreated. The news of the tragic death of the general and his son reached Aurangzeb on the 38th Jan. 1696.

Santaji's defeat: Aurangzeb, realising the entanglement of his general by the enemy, soon detached a contingent under Hamiduddin Khan with instructions to hasten to Basavapatna with all rapidity so as to relieve the general early.

The gallant march of the imperial army started on the 22nd Jan. 1696 and they reached Adoni. On the 1st Feb. 1696; leaving heavy baggage at Adoni, they marched with full speed in direction of Basavapatna. While they were at the 20th mile on their way to the destined destination, their progress was arrested by Santaji on the 26th February 1696. But unluckily Santaji was utterly routed by the imperial force and Santaji for the time being fled the field. When Basavapatna was completely occupied by the Moghal general, Santaji, again tried his luck by making a sudden dash into the fortress once more but his efforts proved fruitless.

Bidar Bakht and Chitradurga chieftain: Bidar Bakht had been commissioned by Aurangzeb to proceed from Panhala to Basavapatna.

---

1. Basavapatna is 40 miles west of Dodderi.
at the end of January 1696. After joining the two imperial armies under Khasim Khan and Himmat, the prince reached Bankapur (some 60 miles north of Basavapatna) from where they unitedly resumed their march on 3rd March but by that time the siege of Basavapatna was raised. Cantoning at Basavapatna within a few days, the prince sent out detachments to punish the Zamindars who revolted against the authority of the Moghals being unwilling to pay their contributions. Baramappa Nayaka of Chitradurga was reluctant to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Moghals.

The abrogation of the Moghal authority following the acquisition of its many territories in the Karnatak by Baramappa had roused the anxiety of Bidar Bakht who was not slow to employ any means to crush the might of the pilerie. On 16th May 1696 Bidar Bakht, on behalf of the Emperor had proposed him a written pardon on certain conditions: 1) "If Baramappa behaves badly again, he would be killed with his family and his country desolated; 2) he should cede to the Emperor the small fort of Dodderi with 2 elephants and the guns and demolish the fort of Ramagiri, nor ever rebuild the latter; 3) he should agree to a tribute and fine of 8 lakhs of rupees - (3 lakhs in cash down and five lakhs by instalments under a written bond) - and another lakh to the prince; and 4) his army under his brother should serve under the prince in the Emperor's wars". Stunned at the unexpected combination of the Moghals Baramappa Nayaka agreed to the proposals meekly.

In September 1700 Baramappa received a Carmul and a robe in reward of his military aid. After this treaty, Baramappa

Nayaka formed a grand confederacy consisting of all chieftains of Hamanuru, Gudde Kote, Midagallu, Ratnagiri, Jarimale Sirya and keeping Hattimallappa Nayaka in the forefront, marched and camped near Nannivala to raise the siege of Hatti Kote which was occupied by Hindu Raya and the Nayak of Rayadurga. The combined army defeated the two palegars and took Hatti Kote. Pursuing the defeated army, Baramappa won another brilliant victory at Kottura over the enemies.

Before the arrival of the prince, Santaji had left Chitra-durga district in March 1696. The two notable successes at Dodderi and Basavapatna tempted Santaji to try once more to relieve Gingi but his plans were dashed to the ground when he had to taste defeat near Amni at the hands of Zaflikar Khan in April 1696.

In spite of this reverse, Santaji did not lose his resolve and courage. On the other hand he had concentrated all his force at Seerpe to check the onrush of the Moghal army into the Karnatak. The factory record of April 14, 1696 says:

"There are frequent and various reports of an army coming from the king's (Aurangzeb's) camp under the command of Deedar Bux, the son of Arum Turra which is probably the reason why Santogee Goopara stays with an army of 15,000 about Seerpe to oppose their entrance into the Carnatta country and prevent their joining with Zalphaker Cawne".

1. Palayagars of Chitradurga, P.42.
The Last Mysore Maratha War of 1696.

Santaji, the victor of the two famous battles in Mysore had fully determined to crush and destroy the authority of the Moghals where ever he could find it. Having intelligence of Aurangzeb sending heavy treasures to finance Zalikar Khan in the South, Santaji rode with a large army and intercepted the treasure at Kadapa in November 1696. Zalikar Khan, setting scent of the design of Santaji, immediately proceeded in that direction. Santaji learning the approach of the Khan, suddenly deviated from his designs and went by other route.

Taking a different route altogether, Santaji entered Mysore with his army in the month of December 1696.

The sudden entry of the Marathas into the Mysore took its Raja by surprise; and the Raja whose policy all along was the extermination of the Marathas encountered the enemy - Santaji and severely defeated him. In the meanwhile Zalikar was ordered by the Emperor to follow Santaji into Mysore. Accordingly Zalikar Khan pursued him and joined Bidar Bakht (Deder Bux, Dedder Bux of Fort St.George) at Penukonda (75 miles north of Bangalore).

Factory record of 31st December 1696 says:

"The king hath ordered Dider (Bix) to Chingee and Zulbaker Cawn to follow after Santogee into the Mysore(Mysore)country".

Further in the mutilated paragraph of the Madras record of January 19th 1696-97, Wilks has observed the following:

"Nabob Zulfiqar Cawn is gone into the Mysore country after the Maratha army and hath left a very small part of his army in these parts." ¹

Zalfikar Khan was greatly disappointed in his expectation for Santaji being ignominiously defeated by Chikkadevaraja of Mysore had already left the field.⁸

Wilks says: "Finding on his arrival in or near Mysoor that the Mahratta was already defeated and dispersed, he returned immediately to the lower country". ²

If Santaji had kept up the brilliant record and prosecuted the war against the Moghals maintaining goodwill and understanding with his colleagues and officers, the history of the Marathas in the Karnatak would have been different, but mistorture followed him and rupture began between him and Danaji on the question of holding the post of Senapati which ought to have been given to the former if there was any recognition for the meritorious deeds. But his bad behaviour had altered everything. His biting tongue, vanity imperious temper and spirit of insubordination had more than once disgusted the court at Gingi and all of them reacted severely on the bright and promising prospects of his career. At a meeting with

². Ibid.
³. A Appendix.
Rajaram in Gungi, Santaji went to the extent of charging him with pusillanimity and said openly: "your position is all due to me. I can make and unmake the Chhatrapati." Consequently he was dismissed from the office and Dhanaji was elevated to his position on 27th October 1696. 1

Highly humiliated by such a treatment, Santaji returned to his homeland in March 1697. Here an internecine war broke out between him and Dhanaji. Deserted by all Santaji fled from the field with only a few followers. While he was taking bath near the Shambhu Mahadev hill, according to Khafi Khan, he was surprised and killed (June 1697). 2

Sarkar says: "Thus died Santaji Ghorpare, like Charles XII of Sweden, most ignominiously at the end of a most dazzling military career." 3 Sardesai says "The death of this unmatched hero was a severe blow to the Maratha fortunes." 4

The Position of Chikkadevaraja from 1691-96 in relation to the Moghals.

Chikkadevaraja diligently followed a policy of non-intervention in the Maratha-Moghul struggle for supremacy in the South.

He realised quite early the grave consequences of drawing the Mysore kingdom into the bitter strife of the two; and therefore never took notice of any problem relating to the affairs of his immediate neighbour although they fought like wolves in the immediate vicinity of his kingdom. His latter part of life synchronized with a period when the Moghal Emperor, Aurangzeb was practically the master of the Deccan and was free to direct his march to the far south. He realised the futility of rising up in arms against the Moghal power and therefore befriended Khasim Khan, the foujdar of Karnatak till his death at Dodderi. Above all, since 1687, Chikkadevaraja had been maintaining his friendly relations with the imperial power ostensibly to strike a terror into the hearts of his enemy. Apart from this diplomatic move designed, he realised the strength and resources of the Moghal Empire and therefore adjusted his relations to the exigencies of the state. Further he seemed to have got the scent of the scheme of Aurangzeb in directing his arms into the South. Manucci remarks: "It is his (Aurangzeb's) practice to denude them (the southern kingdoms) slowly of their wealth, then of their territory, finally of their life."\(^1\)

Chikkadevaraja prevented the fruition of this scheme by acting as a friend to the Moghal Empire. This was perhaps the reason why Zafirkar Khan while he was in Mysore in 1696, did not come to a clash, on the other hand left some portion of the army

\(^1\) Storia do Mogor, 11, P.444.
and returned to the lower country.

Zulfikar Khan seems to have admired Chikkadevaraja for his strength and power in inflicting a crushing defeat on Santaji whom the Khan was pursuing under orders of the Emperor.

Chikkadeva & Marathas: The defeat of a Maratha General by Chikkadevaraja increased the reputation of the latter far and wide. This was the last war waged against the Marathas in the Mysore kingdom. The flight of Santaji across the kingdom of Mysore hotly pursued by the Moghals marked the last phase in the Mysore Maratha relations. The triumph of the Raja was echoed in many of the contemporary kannada records. Apratima Vira Charitam says that Chikkadevaraja had lifted up the darkness of infamy from the Karmatak and established his golden rule there. The Marathas had repented largely for having entered the Karmatak and been ignominiously disgraced by the raja. For their stupidity in entering into squabbles with the king, they lost the chance of settling themselves permanently in Karmatak.

Chikkadevaraja and Ikkeri 1694-95.

When the contending parties engaged themselves almost in the death struggle in the vicinity of Mysore kingdom for the mastership of the Deccan, Chikkadevaraja, following the policy of

2. Ibid, V. 139.
3. Ibid, V.139.
non-alignment with big powers much to the security of his kingdom, had let loose the forces of his arms in the direction of Ikkeri which was rising into political prominence under the able, efficient and benevolent rule of Channammaji. She never wished to bow down her head before the storm of the Mysore army. She mobilised her forces comprising of disciplined, straight-forward, selfless band of workers such as Dalavai Channabasava Gatti, Sakhis Bommarasaiya of Kolivada, Yakub Khan, Krishnappa Nayaka of Aigur and others. This gigantic and well-equipped army proceeded in the direction of Mysore and assaulted Arkalgud which was conquered by Chikkadevaraja in 1674 from its chief Krishnappa Nayaka of Aigur. In January 1695 in a sanguinary action that took place at Bebbale near Arkalgud, the Ikkeri army was routed. In the general confusion that followed, many prominent men on Ikkeri side lost their lives, Krishnappa Nayaka was one among them. The Mysore army returned triumphantly to the capital with all the spoils of the war.1

This victory tempted Chikkadeva to try to conquer other territories in the same direction. Arkalgud fell into his hand between January and February 1695, Aigur, Sakleshpur & Kodlipet between March and April. This made the king the paramount lord of the western part of Mysore.

According to Keladi Nripa Vijaya 3 Channammaji renewed the

1. A.V.C., See II, III and IVth Chapters. Ke.N.V. does not throw any light on the event of 1694-95.
3. IX. 167 Stan. 91-93. We have no account of this on the Mysore side.
the war more vigorously than before and inflicted a severe defeat on the Mysore army in the beginning of 1696.

After securely establishing his authority in the western direction he turned his attention in the direction of East and reconquered Salem, Sadamangalam, Paramatti, Namakal and Tammambatti in March-April 1697.

Thus Chikkadevaraja rose to the height of his power and glory by establishing his authority in the East and West; striking terror into the hearts of the rulers of Tanjore, Madura, Gingi and Sirs; and proclaiming himself the sovereign of the Karnataka.

Affairs of Gingi: In the meanwhile the affairs of Gingi went from bad to worse. The deliberate prolongation of the war at Gingi by Zalfikar Khan had received a check when he was ordered to commence the siege in right earnest by Aurangzeb.

Factory record of 1697 says that the Emperor ordered Zalfikar Khan to commence the siege in right earnest.

In December 1697 Rajaram slipped away from the fort, reached Vellore and returned to Maharashtra. The Khan intimated the Emperor of the fall of Gingi on 7th Feb.1698. Zalfikar Khan was rewarded

---

1. Annals, I. P.109; Mys. Dho. Pur., II. 48; Compare Captain Read in Baramahal records. (1792) I. 139.
2. A.V.C. III 69, IV, 18.
with the title of Nusrat Jung. Gingi which had been regarded for long as the Eastern Troy at last fell.

Chikkadevaraja’s diplomacy with the Moghals

The death of Khasim Khan, the Moghal Foujdar of the Karnatak, at Dodderi in 1695 had adversely affected the position and weakened the footholds of the Moghals in the Karnatak. As long as Khasim Khan remained in the Karnatak, making Sira his headquarters, there was no trouble whatsoever to the king from the imperial headquarters. By adjusting and accommodating to the exigencies of politics and time, Chikkadevaraja courted the friendship of Khasim Khan which in the long run not only placed him in favour of Aurangzeb who had already set an eye on the Karnatak territories but also made him strike terror into the hearts of numerous palegars that crowd the columns of South Indian History so as to tender their submission without any opposition. On the other hand the Emperor had no wish to be encumbered by the problems of the Mysore as long as the Raja remained loyal and faithful to him. Further Aurangzeb wanted Mysore to be the convenient stage to facilitate the marching of his armies which he had detached from Islam-puri in pursuit of the Marathas who spread over the extended range of the South.

Mysore Moghal War:

The fall of Gingi in January 1698 had signalised the end of the Moghal Maratha struggle in the south and the scene of hostile

activities was transferred from Karnataka to Maharashtra.

Aurangzeb seems to have followed no systematic policy towards the countries of the South when his hopes at the capture of Rajaram and his family in Gungi were foredoomed to failure. Gesture of friendship of Aurangzeb towards any country was only a pretence to realize his end and therefore impermanent. Following this tactful policy, the Emperor ordered his generals still at Gungi after its fall to march on different countries of the South. Didar Bakht had already been ordered to march on Mysore and to reinforce this hastening army, Aurangzeb issued orders to Zalfikar Khan to proceed to Mysore.

Factory letter of June 16, 1698 says:

"The king ordered most of them to other employments and the Nabob (Zalfikar Khan) to goe against Tanjore or Misore (Mysore)." ¹

Another letter of the same date says:

"The king (Aurangzeb) had ordered Dulpatrow and Daud Cawn to remove to Bollegol and Adonee and the Nabob (Zalfikar Khan) to assist Didar bux coming against Misore and that the Nabob was preparing to go". ²

---

². Ibid, P.75, No.93.
Another letter of June 1698 in Diary and Consultation says:

"Nabob camp is in preparation for removing by the kings order, Daud Cawn for Bolligatt, Dulpat raw for Adoni and the Nabob for Mzore (Mysore) to meet Didder Bux". 1

At the time of making tremendous preparations to remove the camp and reinforce the army of Bidar Bakht who was marching against Mysore, the palegar of Turriore made an appeal to Zalfikar Khan to repulse the army of Mysore which was plundering and conquering the major portion of his principality. 2 The secret correspondence seems to have never known to any body except the palegar and Zalfikar Khan; and on account of this secret negotiations that Zalfikar Khan had directed his several military officers to join Seliem Khan and Ibrahim Khan.

Fort St. George letter of 13th July 1698 says:

"Nabob Zalfauker Cawn has ordered several of the adjacent governors to join Selimon Cawn and not knowing what their intentions are". 3

The letter of 23rd July 1698 says: "We hear from Chellumbrum, Selimon Cawn & Ebrahim Cawn Gurry are gathering their forces, but their councils are kept so private, yet we can not yet understand

---

1. Records of Fort St. George: Diary & Consultation for 1698, P.68.
what their designs are". Another letter of 25th July 1698 explains clearly their private intentions for gathering forces as follows:

"Selimon Cawn and Ebrahim Cawn Curry, and the other forces are marched towards Turriore, a great Polligar who made a complaint to Zelfauker Cawn that the Mysore people had taken great part of his country therefore desired his assistance; upon which the Mahob had ordered the forces mentioned the 13th instant, to go upon this expedition. We hear they are to encamp this night at Pennaram", in Salem District.

On reaching the appointed destination, there ensued a sanguinary action in which the Mysore army won a brilliant victory over the Moghal contingent inflicting severe wounds and heavy losses on the latter.

Apratima Vira Charitam says: "Great were the Moghals for war; greater still were the Marathas; greatest was Chikkadevaraja of all the said powers as he had defeated and ruined all of them in the field of battle".

Another stanza says "Encountering the Mysorean army, the Moghals were routed and fallen".

1. Ibid, P.96.
4. Ibid V.130: Senesi mahisurabhatarol ronardalidar maratar Manidarmogalar.
Another stanza says:

"Those who feared the Moghals and Marathas were not really the great powers but Chikkadevaraja who vanquished the invincible and immutable Moghals and Marathas was only greatest ruler".¹

Having won the war and ruined the pahgal, the Mysore army returned triumphantly to the capital with heavy booty and military stores captured on the battle field. Khasim Khan and Ibrahim Khan also returned with life, their habitations towards the end of August 1698.

Fort St. George letter of August 30th 1698 says:

"This night we have an account that Selimon Cawn & Ibrahim Cawn Curry are returned to their habitations of Chellubrum (Chidambaram) and Trevilde"² (Tiruvadi).

By this battle of Turriore fought in August 1698, the relationship between Delhi and Mysore was not much strained as it was not an action of Chikkadevaraja deliberately directed against the Moghals. On the other hand, following the traditional policy of expansion, Chikkadevaraja had detached an army to plunder and conquer the territories of the pahgal of Turriore, who in his

¹. Ibid, Vs.130, 134.
distressing position invited the Moghal arms to thwart the overhanging danger. Therefore neither Aurangzeb nor Chikkadevaraja could repent at leisure to what had happened at Turriore.

**Chikkadevaraja's embassy to the court of Aurangzeb (1699):**

One of the outstanding events towards the latter part of Chikkadevaraja's reign was the sending of a glorious embassy to the court of Aurangzeb. At present we have no details on the Maratha side and our main sources of information are the manuscripts relied upon Col. Wilks' the palace History. The details narrated in these sources signify the rise of Chikkadevaraja of Mysore in the estimation of the Emperor on account of his great services to the cause of the Moghal Empire particularly in making the path clear to the Emperor by arresting the progress of the Marathas.

Five reasons were at work: 1) to strike terror to the mischievous palegars who out of jealousy to the exalted position of the Raja, were raising up a formidable confederacy; 2) to remove from the heart of the Emperor hatred and jealousy which he had for Mysore from the recent conquests; 3) to display his vain vanity; 4) to procure from the imperial court the recognition of his royal authority over an extended region which he had recently effected by his concentrated action and an inflicting determination; Last but not the least was his innate natural desire to court friendship with his powerful neighbours to safeguard his enlarged kingdom from

---

1. Annals, I, P.142.
2. Wilks, I, P.118.
3. Ibid.
possible attacks of the hostile combinations.

On the whole it was a diplomatic move designed to cement the friendship and goodwill of the Emperor. He deputed Karnik Lingannayya as his ambassador to the court of Aurangzeb at Ahmadnagar with costly jewels, cloths and a letter of friendship. The Annals state that as soon as Lingannayya was announced as the ambassador from the court of Chikkadevaraja of Mysore, the Emperor directed that the ambassador from a king "who is interested in the welfare of the Moghal Empire" may be introduced to him. On the ambassador offering the Raja’s letter and the presents, the Emperor made kindly enquiries of the Raja’s health and said, "your king has conquered many enemies and acquired considerable territory and his administration is noted for justice, impartiality and firmness. I felt extremely happy at his remarkable skill and prowess which he displayed in killing the Marathas leaders Jayaji Ghat and Mimbaji Ghat who had besieged Delhi two or three times but could not be captured. Not only that Srirangapatna is ours but also your king is our friend. We shall be glad to extend our assistance to the king whenever emergency occurs".

Sojourning for some weeks at the imperial court, the embassy returned in the year 1700 with decorations and honours for the Raja.

1. Dr.S.Krishnaswami Iyengar: Nayaks of Madura P.198, F.N.
2. The wording is wrongly instituted here. Probably this is either the wrong translation of राजा or if Aurangzeb has said it actually, he did not mean it.
3. Annals, I, P.144.
When the king heard of the approach of the embassy to the capital, immediately sent out top-ranking officers, reputed Dalvoys to receive him at a distance and also the supposed letter, presents and insignia of honour. Those articles were taken in a procession and paraded round the town in all pomp and splendour. After the procession was over, he dedicated them the God Ranganathaswami prior to his using them for himself. Among the various presents was the sibhet bearing the title "Raja Jagdev" (King of the world), a seal engraved in Persian characters with the words "Raja Chikkadevaraj Muhammad Shahi". There were a number of insignias such as Gandabherunda, Dharani Varaha, and other emblems of sovereignty. In the letter he recognized the right of the Raja to hold the Durbar seated on the throne of the Pandavas.

Though there is no independent authority confirming this account, we can not dismiss it as impossible and improbable. When viewed from the political situation prevailing at that time, the account gains strength as an authentic authority and throws new light on the right step being taken by the Raja in forming diplomatic connections with the imperial power of Delhi.

The death of Khasim Khan, the friend and protector of the Raja, dealt a severe blow to the latter. He anticipated trouble to his kingdom from Khasim Khan's successors, the Moghal Emperor, once friendly, now probably jealous of the exalted position of the Raja and the Moghal arms being powerful in the Deccan between 1698-1701.

As the two evidences relied upon by Col. Wilks and palace manuscripts are implicit and circumstantial, the intentions of the
Raja are made obvious.

He undertook the gigantic task of deputing a splendid embassy only to ward off the probable danger either from Khasim Khan's successor or from the internal paegars who were sharpening their swords to raise in rebellion against the Raja. Therefore sending of an embassy to the imperial court was more in the nature of defensive alliance.

Wilks's supposition that the embassy did not make much impression at the imperial court and the calculation of the political position of Chikkadevaraja (in the eyes of the Emperor) on the basis of the small sum being spent in entertaining the ambassador by the Emperor do not hold good when we look at the high honour and extraordinary titles conferred upon him by the Emperor and purchasing power of the money prevailed some 250 years ago.

Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar's statements that Mysore had made a timely submission, from the point of view of Aurangzeb, by sending an embassy to the great Moghal; that he showed scant respect to the embassy, do not appear fair and true to facts. It was not a submission; on the other hand, conclusion of some sort of defensive alliance. If Aurangzeb really wished to secure the submission of Mysore, he would have got it in 1687 when Khasim Khan hoisted the imperial flag on the ramparts of Bangalore; secondly Dr. S. K. Iyengar

2. Nayaks of Madura, p. 198, F.N.
seems to have followed Col. Wilks in saying that the Emperor showed scant respect for which there is no evidence.

On the whole, it was only a diplomatic move designed to secure the friendship of the imperial power which was brilliantly successful; secondly it was a defensive alliance to ward off the danger that might threaten his kingdom with destruction from within and without; thirdly it raised Chikkadevara-raja to the highest pitch of glory and prestige from the local point of view; fourthly Mysore rose prominently an independent kingdom, became a power friendly with the Moghal empire and free from any internal and external troubles. Fifthly it made Chikkadevaraja introduce in Mysore new administrative institutions based on Moghal practice and procedure; lastly it served to strengthen the claim of Chikkadevaraja as the Emperor of the Karnataka, the claim for the retention of it be endeavoured strenuously right from the beginning.

The assumption of grand titles like 'Karnataka Chakravarti' and 'Apratima Vira' as a possible rival of Shivaji the Great made Chikkadevaraja an important monarch in the Karnataka country. The military tactics and waging of extraordinary warfare in the South against the invincible powers such as the Marathas and other turbulent pala-gars raised Raya I (Lord of the South). He saved the kingdom from the destructive forces

which were looming large around his kingdom consequent on the frequent incursions of the Marathas, Moghals and other aggressive powers. The hostile relationship with the Marathas, the friendly connection with the Moghals and offensive and defensive alliances he had been frequently concluding with the neighbouring powers made Mysore emerge from obscurity and shine in all its unusual brilliance before the eyes of all India. Mysore passed through all vicissitude of its career bowing her head to all the storms of invasions until it could raise up its head firmly and boldly under the able rule of Chikkadevaraja. The relationship which he had with the Marathas had the lasting influence on the evolution of Mysore into a prominent city.

The last four years of Chikkadevaraja's reign (1700-1704) was a period of golden rule. His enlarged kingdom enjoyed unusual peace and prosperity. His kingdom stretched its wing as far as Bangalore and parts of Tumkur districts in the north; Hassan and Kadur in the west and northwest; upto Salem-Baramahal and Coimbatore districts in the east and the south. Under Chikkadevaraja, Mysore grew into a compact independent kingdom south of the river Krishna.

Since 1699 Mysore had not been troubled at all by the Marathas, for Rajaram was involved himself in hopeless wars against the Moghals. The death of Rajaram in Maharashtra on 2nd March 1700

and Chikkadevaraja in Mysore on 16th November 1704 had brought to an end the hostile relations of Mysore and the Marathas in the 17th century.

Affairs of Maharashtra and Delhi 1700-1707.

When South India was enjoying complete peace and order, north India was a picture of veiled anarchy and disorder. Aurangzeb's hopes of complete extermination of the Marathas in the south were dashed to the ground when Rajaram slipped away from the impregnable fort of Gungi. Unwilling to move even an inch back from his determined resolution, Aurangzeb led the army in person and in six years (1699-1704) he was able to capture only four major forts with a few minor ones. They were Satara (21st April 1700), Panhala (28th May 1701), Vishalgad (4th June 1702) and Sinhagad (3th April 1703). 2

After the death of Rajaram, his wife (Tarabai) took up the challenge and ruled the country in the name of her two sons, namely Shivaji and Sambhaji with Ramachandra Pant, as the chief officer (Amatya). 3 Among the two sons of Rajaram, Shivaji proved

3. Linganna Kavi: Ke.N.V., P.164: Ramarajam ratni rani swaputra- pada Shivaji Sambhajigalam muntittukondu Ramachandra Pantanam mukhyadikariyam madikondintu rajyangaiyutiral. Kannada source points out that she had two sons named Shivaji and Sambhaji. But this is wrong. Sambhaji, according to non-kannada sources, was the son of Rajasbal, Tarabai's co-wife.
traitor to his mother and died a few years later by entangling himself in hopeless troubles. Thereupon the wife of Rajaram resumed the responsibility of ruling the kingdom in the name of the only surviving son, Sambhaji.

Aurangzeb showed more chivalry and great concern in the well-being of Shahu who had been in confinement at the emperor's camp since the capture of Raigad (3rd Nov, 1689). While the emperor was proceeding from Vagin Kheda to Ahmadnagar, he was attacked by fell disease. As there were no signs of his disease being cured, he began to entertain grave doubts about the future destiny of his enlarged empire. With a view to prevent his empire being attacked by aggressive powers, Aurangzeb had resolved to place able personages in important position. Accordingly he drew up a will wherein he divided the empire among his several sons: Shah Alam was placed in charge of Delhi, Azamtara was appointed the Subedar of the North; Kam Baksha was given the charge of Bijapur and Golkonda; Shahu was entitled to one fourth of the revenue that the emperor was receiving from the conquered territories. This will was named "Chauthal Farman". On the morning of Friday 20th February 1707, Aurangzeb died. His dead body was

---

1. Ke.N.V., P.164: "rajaramaraja, kumarakarivarola Shivaji yamba kumaram matrudrohamam neneu tanmula dim bandhanadolsilunki maranam pamadyalodane Ramara jana patni swaputanadanda Sambhaji kerasu rajyangalyuttaliral. Sardesai says (N.H.M., Vol.I, P.348) that Shivaji was deficient in mental powers and consequently the responsibility of ruling the Maratha kingdom was devolved upon Tara Bai.


(continued)
carried to Daulatabad and was interred by the side of wife. ¹

Aurangzeb's daughter who lavished so much love and affection on Shahu, released the latter from the prison, handed over the "Choutthai Farman" which Aurangzeb prepared, and sent him to Maharashtra advising him to be loyal to the Moghul throne. Shahu reached Satara, joined Sambhaji and began to administer the Maratha kingdom with commendable equanimity with the closest cooperation of Balaji Viswanath and other influential Vazirs. ²

In conclusion it may be said that when Rajaram was hard pressed by the Moghals, he left Panhala in haste passed through Mysore unnoticed by the guards of the country and reached Gingi safely. Though there was no natural or political hostility as such between the ruler of Mysore and Rajaram, yet the aggressive activities of the latter's generals such as Santaji and others in the kingdom of Mysore had renewed and revived the traditional policy of hostility between the two houses. In 1696 the last Mysore-Maratha war was waged in which the Marathas under Santaji were completely defeated and driven out of Mysore. The flight of Rajaram from Gingi to Maharashtra had practically brought to a close the unhappy relationship between Mysore and Maratha for the Seventeenth Century.

****

(from previous page).

2. Ibid. Kannada source does not make mention of the war by which Shahu took Satara.