CHAPTER XIV.

CONCLUSION.

Now in finale, a student of History may be permitted to offer a few remarks, arising out of the study of the men and events of the period under survey. Though the task of the Historian is mainly one of objective narration of the events, reflections on the conduct of the chief actors and the ultimate consequences of their actions are quite inevitable, for judgment is the spice of History.

As already pointed out, it has been the task of this thesis to survey the relationship that existed between Mysore and the Marathas during the period under review. During the 17th century, Mysore had the credit of producing the eminent personages in the line of Wodeyar dynasty, who had moulded not only the character of the time in which they lived, but had converted a tiny principality into a great well-knit kingdom as well. Raja Wodeyar, Chamaraja Wodeyar, Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar, Doddadevaraja Wodeyar and Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar were some of the outstanding personalities that adorned the throne of Mysore during the period under survey. Maharashtra too had come into great political prominence during this century under enterprising leaders such as Shahji, Shivaji, Sambhaji and Rajaram.
The 17th century witnessed feverish attempts of both the States to expand their political influence. Mysore which had got only a few villages under its control at the commencement of the 17th century came to be developed into a great kingdom extending 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 south.

Maharashtra too had its share of the same ambitious career. Shahji was a chieftain under Bijapur Sultan with a few jagirs in Poona and Mysore. At the close of the 17th century, the Marathas extended their influence for over 1000 miles from Poona to Tanjore.

Consequent upon the expedition of 1638 that was organised and fitted out by the Sultan of Bijapur under Rana-dulla Khan, a renowned Bijapur general, with definite instructions to effect the conquest of Karnatak territories, particularly Srirangapatna, Shahji, as the second commandant of the Bijapur army, came down to Mysore, fought against several chieftains and hoisted the flag of Bijapur over the parts of those territories that fell into his hands. As a result of his loyal service rendered in this campaign Shahji was posted at Bangalore by the Sultan and a jagir consisting of Hoskote, Sira and Doddaballapura was conferred upon him.
Bangalore grew into a great city of Maratha culture under Shahji and his successors.

Shahji laid firm, the foundation of the Maratha kingdom at Bangalore. He spent the latter part of his life (1639 - 1664) in Mysore taking active part in the politics of Mysore. Though he had been a subordinate officer of Bijapur, yet for all practical purpose he was an independent king. For in those days of difficult communication, it is not strange for governors of distant provinces to assume a tone of independence.

As the rulers of Mysore and Shahji were living not far away from one another, it was but natural that they would come into armed conflict with one another.

Throughout the 17th century, the relationship between the two powers under survey was not cordial. Mutual distrust, discord, jealousy and hatred characterised their relations. They never lived as peace-loving neighbours.

The two powers differ in their ideal, method of warfare and political programmes.

After all fighting is not an elevating occupation, nor are men commonly the better for indulging in the slaughter of their fellows. War is an evil; it breeds war. It brings
horror and misery. War is in truth and in fact a relic of barbarism. It results in the slaughter and enslavement of the people. When the raid is over, the raided state weakened and impoverished, moves a little further away and begins again its precarious existence, making plans for a counter-raid to recover its lost grounds. True, religion and philosophy may sometimes flourish in spite of bloodshed and disorder. But the cases where they do so are rare. Therefore war is the greatest enemy of the civilized State.

Frequent wars between the two powers had sapped their strength, destroyed their material prosperity and left their people in darkness and poverty. Their unending rivalries and relentless wars brought misery, disaster and devastation over a large part of Karnataka. War to end war was the disease of the age.

What were the ideals and thoughts that lay behind these two States? Was there a spark of any nobler sentiment animating the activities of either of the parties to the conflict? When we probe into the secret motives and ideals inspiring Mysore and the Marathas, the latter comes out as the better of the two.

Throughout the period under survey, Mysore had confined its attention only on Karnataka. Territories lying outside the geographical frontiers of Karnataka were foreign
to Mysore, and therefore was not worried about them. This implies that the outlook of Mysore was narrow.

But the Marathas were made of a different mould. They had larger interests and broader outlook. They had never confined their imagination either only on a few territorial possessions in Maharashtra or only a few jagirs in the south of Krishna. The chequered career of Shahji itself would serve as a strong evidence to the view that the outlook of the Marathas was broader and nobler. Secondly, while Shivaji was in Bhaganagar on his expedition to south India in 1677, he is said to have expressed his deep desire to the Sultan of Golkonda that he would conquer the whole of India if Bijapur and Golkonda would but cooperate. Even though they were not successful in their mission of conquering all India, yet one could see a current of broader vision and nobler sentiment underlying their political philosophy. Warren Hastings wrote in 1784:

"The Maratha possess, alone of all the people of Hindusthan and Deccan, a principle of national attachment, which is strongly impressed on the minds of all individuals of the nation and would probably unite their chiefs, as in one common cause, if any great danger were to threaten the general state."
Throughout the 17th century, the chief aim of Mysore was merely one of aggression and expansion at any cost, irrespective of the means employed to achieve the aim. In its expansion-programme Mysore did not scruple regarding the means. It would not hesitate to enter into negotiation with any power, Hindu or Muslim to achieve its own ends. Doddadevaraja Wodeyar, in his distressing position consequent upon the onrush of the Bednur army into Srirangapatna, had appealed to the Sultan of Bijapur, who had been the inveterate foe of Mysore all along, for military aid; and with his contingent under Bahlol Khan, he was able to repulse the invasion of Bednur.

It pains to write here that Chikkadevaraja of Mysore had extended his military aid in men and materials to Aurangzeb, the sworn enemy of the Hindus in Hindusthan and made the task of the Imperial Majesty in reducing Bijapur and Golconda comparatively easy. What did he gain in return? Nothing, Nothing. While Chikkadevaraja himself was entangled in hopeless embarrassment of the war against the Marathas, Aurangzeb, the clever Moghal did not send any help to the ruler of Mysore in spite of the request made to him by the latter.

Another instance where in Chikkadevaraja had showed his inferiority complex and departed from his political ideal was in sending of an embassy to the court of Aurangzeb with
costly jewels and presents. Although it was a diplomatic move designed to court the friendship of Aurangzeb who was known for his intolerance and notoriety, in order to strike terror and horror into the hearts of local palegars and thereby reduce them into submission, yet it was the most humiliating in the eyes of the Hindus. Even the Muslims rulers of Bijapur and Golkonda did not stoop so low as this. If they bowed before the Moghals, it was only under duress. There was no such compulsion for the ruler of Mysore to flaunt as the friend of the inveterate enemy of the Hindus. Self-interest, self-existence and self-aggrandisement were the main motives of the rulers of Mysore. They were self-centred and the dominating impulse of their life was not the pursuit of an ideal but the quest of personal power.

But the Marathas were men of different orders altogether. From the very beginning they showed themselves as the champions of the Hindus, though not hating the Muslims. The aim of the Marathas was to infuse in the heart of every Hindu, self-confidence and self-respect, in the face of the proud and brutal soldiers of the crescent, who never missed a chance of insulting the Hindu religion. The main object of Shivaji was to win religious freedom and not territory. He proclaimed that he came to the earth to protect Hindu dharma against the insults of Islam. "Hindavi-Swarajya" was the title he has used for his national scheme in one of his letters.
(to Dadaji Naraso Prabhu in 1645), meaning thereby that he wanted to strive for a Hindu religious autonomy for the whole country. Even in the darkest period of their History, in the days of Rajaram in Gingi, the Maharashtrian never thought of surrender to the mighty giant of the Moghal dynasty. Every Maratha became a warrior by himself, vowed to take life for life, in the cause of his country.

The Marathas wanted to unite all the Hindus, throughout the south and the north, under one rule and re-establish Hindu supremacy once again in all the holy places of the Hindus, from Kashi to Rameswaram. When Baji Rao I announced that he would seize all India from Attock to Kanyakumari, it was no empty boast. It was the darling ambition of the Maratha heroes to realise and translate into reality the unity and integrity of Hindustan. What Shivaji dreamed of, the Peshwas achieved, leaving behind an inspiring ideal of united India for all time to come. Not in deeds but in ideals lie the seeds of immortality.

There may be found great dissimilarity in the method of warfare between the two powers. A peculiar feature of Mysore warfare was the mutilation of noses of the enemies. Its origin is traced to the time of Raja Wodeyar who early in his reign is said to have taught a lesson to the chief of Karugahalli. The custom was freely made use of by the Mysore army throughout the wars of the 17th century. It was apparently
based on a notion that in offensive and defensive warfare the opponents were taught a bitter experience with a view to prevent them from opposing again the Mysore army. A good many battles were fought not for territories to conquer but for noses to cut. Therefore Hunt-for-Noses was the common feature of Mysore warfare.

Another important feature of warfare was the use of torches tied to the horns of oxen (of the transport service) at night times to scare away the enemy, i.e. by surprise warfare. On the other hand, the Marathas are born equestrians. They developed a peculiar form of warfare, usually called guerrilla warfare. They used to harass the enemies by coming round and executing unexpected raids, making only a show of a fight and plunder and then fly away. They used to fall upon foraging parties, attack weakly held enemy posts, capture strategic points. By this peculiar form of warfare, the Marathas devastated Moghal territory from the river Godavari to Bhaganagar, carrying away pack animals, horses and elephants; created confusion among the enemy and remained concealed in unfrequented forests widely apart and made a sudden dash upon the Moghal armies. They occasionally engaged in an open encounter and prevented the enemies from reaching their destination. They were ubiquitous and illusive like the wind. Thus the Marathas and the Mysoreans
differed even in their method of fighting.

What is more interesting to observe in the wars of the two powers is that the Maratha towns and settlements planted in South withered away very soon. They disappeared as quickly as they appeared. The Maratha possession at Bangalore which Shahji built with so much effort in Mysore was sold away by Ekoji. Khasim Khan, the Moghal general conquered one Maratha territory after another and converted them into a Moghal base from where the Moghal influence could be directed to far off regions. Thus the Maratha possessions in Mysore rested upon a foundation of quicksand. They lasted barely half a century.

The year 1639 was marked by a basic change in the relationship between Mysore and the Marathas. The change was catastrophic. It meant great losses for each of the two houses and for south India at large.

1) The change had terminated the utopia of friendly relationship between the two great powers that existed before the commencement of 17th century.

2) It had deprived both countries of immeasurable vital, social and cultural progress and had imposed on both kingdoms ruinous losses.

3) It had similarly affected the innumerable
palegars of the tiny principalities of South India, bringing to them severe suffering and limitless disadvantages.

From all these standpoints the change was regressive and suicidal.

From 1639 up to the closing years of the 17th century the relations between Mysore and the Marathas had been unfriendly and non-cooperative. From various political points of view, the hostile relations rapidly multiplied. A number of agreements were concluded during the 17th century concerning the freedom of certain territories and other important matters between the two powers but they did not remain connecting links for a long time. On the contrary, various disruptive forces blew them to wind and widened the gulf between the two countries. Even at the end of the 17th century the hostile relationship between the two houses remained clouded without having a ray of hope that could dispel the darkness of misunderstanding. The story of this remarkable relationship is highly significant and merits our attention for a number of reasons. In the first place, the enmity that grew in 1639 between the two powers continued unabated for nearly seventy years under the four prominent Maratha
leaders. By successive stages, the seed of discord and conflict that was sown under Shahji when he had firmly established his authority at Bangalore as the governor of the Sultan of Bijapur, came to be developed into a big tree of bitter hostility between the two houses towards the end of the 17th century. From both sides, the actors entered the state of the theatre, played their role exceedingly well and departed from the place contributing their quotas to the poisoned relationship between Mysore and the Marathas.

The 70 year history of the two great powers is nothing of but a history of savage wars, internal conflict, mutual jealousies and squabbles.

The principal and necessary cause of war has always been an irreconcilable conflict between the vital interests. Whenever such a clash occurs war ensues. The thesis under investigation has proved that the vital interests of Mysore and the Marathas did seriously conflict on the environs of Mysore. Each power was interested in territorial encroachment at the expense of the other. What is most paradoxical was that neither possessed sufficient territory, at the commencement of the 17th century and each, in the process of expansion, naturally came into armed conflict with the other. There were series of invasions organised and fitted out by the Sultan of Bijapur for the purpose of conquering the Karnataka territories piecemeal and these frequent invasions from 1638 to 1641 A.D. had prepared the solid ground for permanent settlement of the Marathas in Karnataka.
Towards the beginning of the year 1641, Shahji was found ruling over the important territories of Mysore such as Bangalore, Doddaballapura, Kolar, Sira, Belur, Tumkur and Kunigal while Afzal Khan, another Bijapur general was reigning over Turuvekere. The expansion programme of Shahji would clearly indicate his innate desire to carve out an independent kingdom in Mysore. Bangalore being situated in the heart of the dilapidated Vijayanagar was a centre of attraction for Shahji. The sight of the city, security of its fortress and the salubrity of its climate added as a great impetus to Shahji's ambition for an independent kingdom. In course of time Bangalore emerged as a miniature Maharashatra court, the effects of which could be seen even today in spite of centuries of change.

Though Shahji was successful in his endeavour to found a new kingdom in Mysore, he never forgot to take care of the Poona jagir. Dadaji, a faithful dependent of Shahji was given over the charge of the Poona district. Sambhaji and Rukoji were growing in the court of Bangalore. Somewhere in 1640 and 1641 Shahji invited his wife Jija bai, son Shivaji and trusted agent Dadaji to his court at Bangalore and after their arrival in the capital city, he got his son Shivaji married to a girl named Sai bai from NimbalKar family. Dadaji Kondedeva visited Bangalore for the second time just a year before his death. Kanthirava Narasaraja realised quite early the danger coming from the
plantation of Maratha colonies on the norther direction of Mysore. Indeed it is a great error in politics to remain idle and unconcerned spectator when the enemies were engaged in the process of territorial expansion. Having this basic principle at the back of his mind Kanthirava threw himself on a career of conquest and in May 1642 he dislodged the Bijapur authority over Turuvakere and established his own rule there.

The overthrow of Afzal Khan's rule at Turuvakere by Kanthirava had sounded a severe warning to Shahji who realising the gravity of the political situation was ever ready to join any local power that would rise up in arms against Mysore. That opportunity offered itself when war broke out between Nanjundaraja of Piriyapatna and Kanthirava of Mysore. In this war Shahji took up the cause of Nanjundaraja and fought against Mysore. The war was a protracted one. In this war Shahji was defeated and driven out by the Mysore army. Naturally the animosities between the two great powers became deepened.

This war of Shahji explains that he never led an idle life during the years 1644 - 1646 as has been held by J.N.Sarkar.

Again in Mustafa Khan's Karnatak expedition of 1647 A.D.
Shaji played a decisive role in championing the cause of the sultan of Bijapur when Mustafa Khan arrived at Honnali, Shahji went ahead, met the general and induced him to lay siege to Turuvekere which was brought under the subjection of Mysore. Accordingly Mustafa Khan went and laid siege to Turuvekere. A terrible battle was fought under the walls of Turuvekere in which the Bijapuris including Shahji were defeated.

While the remnant of the force was retreating under the command of Mustafa Khan and Shahji, from Vellore it had happened to pass through the capital city of Mysore. The defeat (Turuvekere) of the Bijapur army at Turuvekere had never disillusioned and disheartened them, on the contrary they persisted in their determined resolution to inflict a crushing defeat on the king of Mysore and take possession of the fort by any means—fair or foul. But when Mustafa Khan delivered his attack on Mysore, he was compelled to withdraw to the country wherefrom he had come, as the brunt of the blows of the Mysore army on the enemies was severe and intolerable.

Thus, the survey of the political situation in Mysore in which the chief actor was Shahji brings to light that Shahji had persistently put forth his efforts to strike at the very foundation of the Mysore Kingdom and seize the power into his hands; but Kanthirava of Mysore
has challenged the authority of the Marathas on the same line as the latter and repulsed successively but successfully all the series of expeditions under Shahji.

The most striking feature in the attitude of Shahji towards the rulers of Mysore was that on many occasions he was forced to fight against Mysore more at the instance of the Sultan of Bijapur than at his own accord. On such occasions he fought with the enemy as a true loyalist. The year 1648 A.D. was not a propitious year for Shahji because dark clouds began to loom large over his future destiny. The Sultan of Bijapur ordered Shahji to cooperate with Mustafa Khan who set out on his last but greatest expedition to Gingi, the storm centre of Hindu revolt. Shahji was arrested for his disloyal feelings and subsequently released on condition that he should hand over Bangalore and Kondana, the most important strongholds of the Marathas, to the Sultan of Bijapur. Soon after his release, Shahji came and settled at Kanakagiri for some time.

The absence of Shahji from Bangalore induced Kanthirava Narasaraja to project the campaign of conquest in the direction of Yalahankanad within which lay Bangalore. The territorial aggrandisement of the king of Mysore brought once again the expedition of Bijapur under the generalship of
Khan Muhammad into Mysore. Khan Muhammad invaded Mysore and caused incalculable havoc by plundering and pillaging the town and burning the fort to "a heap of ashes". In fact Mysore had never experienced such an horror before.

In 1658 Mummadi Kempegowda of Bangalore attacked Shahji in the heart of his capital and inflicted a crushing defeat on him capturing all the war spoils. Shahji recovered from the staggering blow very soon.

The hostile relations between the Marathas and Mysore under Shahji reached its climax when Nandinathaiya, the Dalvoy of Mysore delivered his attack on Shahji at Bangalore and plundered all the belongings of the city in the year 1663. In 1664 Shahji died at Todigere after a rule of 25 years in Mysore.

Thus it can be seen that the relationship between the Marathas & Mysore under Shahji was one of enmity, hatred and jealousy. For 25 years both the powers went on flourishing side by side, although between them a spirit of rivalry and mutual aggression continued all the time. In fact, if both the powers were united in mind and deed, it would have been possible for them to reinstate Sriranga Raya, the last relic of the decadent Vijayanagara empire to his original position and to achieve south Indian unity under a common sovereign. Or if we take it for granted that the Empire which set its foot on the brink of dissolution could not
regain its strength so as to withstand a formidable power against the encroachments of the foreign powers, shahji whose visions and objectives were tempered by larger interests and broader outlook would have achieved what the Empire could not have accomplished, if only Mysore had extended its cooperative hand to him. But throughout Mysore remained a formidable foe towards the Marathas.

On the whole mutual distrust and discord, jealousy and squabble characterised the relations of the two great powers under Shahji and the hostile relations acted as detrimental to the lasting peace, progressive government and material prosperity of South India. It is for the first time brought to light that the actual successor of Kanthirava Narasaraja of Mysore was Doddadevaraja Wodeyar and not Devaraja Wodeyar.

Though the tension which was created by the mutual rivalries of Bijapur and Mysore was, to a good deal relaxed under Doddadevaraja towards the Sultan of Bijapur, yet the hostility of Mysore towards the Marathas continued all the time.

While Doddadevaraja was ruling over Mysore, several Maratha leaders such as Ekoji, Sambhaji, Vedoji, and Anantoji were found reigning over several parts of Karnataka territory. Ekoji who succeeded his father, Shahji at Bangalore inaugurated
a glorious rule assuming forms and demonstrations of royalty much more direct and pompous than those adopted by his father. The rich experience he gained in the administration as well as in the warfare as the governor of Kolar district during the life-time of his father enabled him not only to restore peace and order in his province but to pursue a philanthrophic ideal as well. His rule over Kolar and Bangalore; his frequent territorial encroachments in the kingdom of Mysore; his alliances with the opponents of Mysore and his adventurous spirit in founding new towns and settlements bear ample testimony to the fact that he pursued a policy of traditional hostility, towards Mysore and proved true the dictum, "as is the father so is the son".

Sambhaji, the first son of Shahji by Jija Bai, had been, according to epigraphic records found in Mysore State, helping his father militarily as well as administratively by remaining a governor of Doddaballapur in Mysore, when Appa Khan, the chieftain of Kanakagiri cast his covetous eye on the conquest of Doddaballapura, Sambhaji went with a large detachment; and in the bloody battle that ensued in 1654 he lost his life mainly on account of the deliberate negligence on the part of Afzal Khan to reinforce the prince at a critical juncture.

Another Sambhaji, brother-in-law of Shahji had also the privilege of governing the Mysore territory.
He was held in high esteem by the subjects of Kolar district.

On the whole it may be said that soon after the establishment of Maratha rule at Bangalore by Shahji, many of his sons and relatives had had the occasion to subject to their control certain lands of Mysore and to govern them most efficiently actively helping Shahji at Bangalore in men and materials.

One of the most outstanding events during the reign of Doddadevaraja was the battle of Perode (1667) in which the confederates consisting of Chokkanatha Nayaka of Madura, Srirangaraya, the last unfortunate relic of the decadent Vijayanagara empire, Vedoji Pandita, the Maratha governor of Gingi, Anantaji Pandita of Tanjore and others were utterly routed by the Mysore army under Kumaraiya, the Dalavoy and the fort was taken possession of by the latter. This famous battle had dealt a staggering blow to the expansion-programme of the Marathas; it crushed the might of Chokkanatha; it served as a source of encouragement to the victors for further territorial conquests; and lastly it drove away Sriranga Raya from Madura to Trichinopoly. Viewed from the ultimate consequence of the war, it can be stated that on no account the tension created by mutual rivalries and jealousies between the Marathas and Mysore was relaxed.

Under Shivaji, the relationship between the two houses
remained the same. Tit-for-tat policy was the key point of their relations. No power had expressed deep-feeling or keen-interest in adjusting their relations by patching up all their differences of opinion for the greater end of self-preservation.

By the time Shivaji thought of subduing the several local powers of South India, Chikkadevaraja was already a reckoned force in Mysore to deal with. Both were great - great in war and in deep diplomacy.

The origin of so great a general as Shivaji has remained a controversial point: Kannada account maintains that he was a carpenter as he was born of a mother belonging to carpenter's community, although a margin may be allowed to interpret that he was a Kshatriya from the father side. At the time of coronation ceremony, Gagabhata, a Sanskrit scholar and learned man from Benaras had pronounced judgment on the origin of Shivaji as a Kshatriya and therefore was eligible for coronation and thread ceremonies. Therefore on the basis of Kannada and non-kannada sources a logical conclusion is arrived at that Shivaji was a Kshatriya.

In respect of Shivaji's education, the dogmatic opinions of several scholars on Maratha history that Shivaji was unlettered are to be rejected on the basis of several English East India Company letters and Marathi sources and a fairly scientific conclusion is arrived at that Shivaji knew
If at all Shivaji had been hailed as a great builder of Maratha kingdom, it was on account of the great influence that Bangalore wielded during his visit in the year 1640. It was in the heart of Hindu empire Shivaji’s ideals were shaped; his visions were broadened; soul was enlarged. He resided in the city for two years during his most impressive years of precocious boyhood. Again it was here that his first marriage was celebrated with due pomp and eclat. What a great joy it was for Shahji to see his promising son!

In 1646 Dadaji Konde, an eminent teacher of Shivaji, visited Bangalore and suggested instructions from Shahji as to his future policy to be followed at coronation. Some where in 1649 or 1652 Sambaji, the brother-in-law of Shahji arrived in Bangalore whom latter had appointed as the governor of Kolar district. Thus, it may be seen that Bangalore grew into a famous city of Maratha activities in Karnataha.

Out of the four Karnataka expeditions of Shivaji: first in 1657, second in 1658, third in 1664 and fourth in 1677 respectively, the last expedition is the most important, for it was then Shivaji actually came into armed conflict with Chikkadavaraja of Mysore.

As already pointed out, it was the territorial
aggrandisement of Chikkadevaraja of Mysore in addition to the independent movement started by several Karnataka powers for political emancipation that induced Shivaji to project his last Karnataka campaign of conquest. The ultimate objective in undertaking this risky venture was only to conquer and administer such countries as would be reduced to Maratha subjection. Martin's account of Shivaji's Karnataka expedition throws plenty of light on the object with which Shivaji set out on Karnataka campaign.

The idea of Karnataka expedition had flashed in Shivaji's mind as early as 1675 and it was decided upon in Shivaji's Council. Therefore the originator of the plan was Shivaji himself but not Raghunatha Narayan Hanumanthe as has been maintained by several scholars.

Shivaji's south Indian expedition was a landmark in the history of Mysore-Maratha relations. Of course in the general history of the Marathas it may look as a passing episode but viewed from the angle of Mysore history, it was a great epoch and an unforgettable event. During the return-journey from the bank of the river Coleroon, Shivaji had to pass through Srirangapatna for various political reasons and suffer an utter discomfiture at the hands of Chikkadevaraja whose fame as a great conqueror had spread far and wide.
Kannada literary and epigraphic sources are unanimous in stating the brilliant victory that the ruler of Mysore won over the Marathas at Srirangapatna. It was Chikka-devaraja alone among the several powers of south India that delivered a rude shock to the dream and vision of Shivaji in making a permanent conquest in the kingdom of Mysore to the south of the Karnatak- Bijapur-Balaghat. Having vanquished such a powerful invader, chikka-devaraja assumed the title of "Apratima vira" (Unparalleled hero).

Then the retreating Maratha army burst on the jagirs of Shahji at Bangalore and took easy possession of them all. Due arrangements were made for convenient administration of the conquered districts. The jagirs consisting of Kolar, Hoskote, Doddaballapura, Chikkaballapura and Sirra were formed into a compact province and placed in charge of Rango Narayan, the sarabhadar and Manoji More, the general.

The chieftains of Kanakagiri, Harpanahalli, Rayadurga, Chitradurga and Vijayanagara were reduced to submission; and the conquered districts were left in charge of Janardan Narayan Rammanthi. In the light of the above conquests, it is improper to say that Shivaji conquered 'No man's land' in Karnataka.

This glorious success was a short-lived one, for while he had recommenced his return journey, he was forced
to come into armed conflict with the queen of Bellary whose army caused great injuries to the marching Maratha army. Shivaji stood before the walls of Bellary for 27 days but in vain. In the end he restored voluntarily all that he had taken possession of.

Now we have come to the point of enquiring as what manner of man was Shivaji? Was he one of the great ones of the earth, the man of Destiny, as he was called, a mighty hero and one who helped in freeing humanity from its burdens? Or was he, as Kannada accounts depict, a mere demon who did great injury to India in general and Karnataka in particular? It is true that all men are curious mixtures of the good and the bad, the great and the little and deity and dust. He was such a mixture, but, unlike most of human beings, extraordinary qualities went to make up this mixture, courage he had and self-confidence, imagination, amazing energy and vast ambition. He was not pretty, selfish and self-centred and the dominating impulse of his life was the pursuit of an ideal but not the quest of personal power. He was not a full incarnation of blood-thirsty giant as has been depicted in Kannada sources. The insolent, overweening vanity which has proved the ruin of so many commanders both in ancient and modern times, found no place in Shivaji's admirably balanced mind.

Chikkadevaraja of Mysore too, was a potent prince who had kept up the defence of the fort with all his boldness, and audacity against Shivaji and made himself so dreadful as to divert
him to territories outside the pale of his kingdom. Never in the history of south India of the period that a ruler of comparatively a tiny principality had ever inflicted a crushing defeat on Shivaji as Chikkadevaraja of Mysore. The defeat of Shivaji at the hands of Chikkadevaraja lowered his prestige, but not his power. In so far as Mysore-Maratha relations were concerned, it did not ease tension. Traditional hostility continued unabated.

The same current of hostility and contradiction continued between the houses even under Sambhaji, the son of Shivaji. The activities of Sambhaji in Mysore prior to 1680 had been shrouded in obscurity. Several epigraphic records found in Mysore State throw a flood of light on the rule of Sambhaji as the governor of several districts in Mysore. When he was required to accompany his father to Delhi, he left the charge of the administration of Kolar district into the hands of his wife, Jayita Bai and departed to Poona. After his return from Delhi, Sambhaji returned to his post and began to rule peacefully Chikkaballapura. He made Nandi Hill his summer resort as his father's custom. While Sambhaji was staying in Nandi, Dilir Khan, a Moghal general who went out on his southern expedition came to Sagar in Shimoga District and heard of Sambhaji's sojourn at Nandi. Intent upon dislodging the Maratha, the Moghal general made a sudden dash on the hill forth with all his forces, on February 21, 1680 but as epigraphic record points out "was beaten off greatly distressed". The defeat of a Moghal general was an outstanding event in the life of Sambhaji.
After the death of his father, Sambhaji went from Chikkaballapura to Poona having armed with all the necessary qualifications of a king.

Mysore which was emerging as a powerful kingdom under the able rule of Chikkadevaraja had always been keeping an eye on the Maratha colonies of the south. Mysore came closer to these Maratha settlements during the unhappy days of Sambhaji than that of his father, Shivaji. By 1680 Chikkadevaraja had conquered a number of impregnable hill-forts and brought the sphere of influence of Mysore practically coterminous with Maratha colonies in the Karnatak-Bijapur-Balaghat.

Ekoji's repudiation of the suzerainty of the Maratha king in preference to that of a Sultan and his acquisition of Shivaji's territories in Karnataka one after another, had induced Chikkadevaraja of Mysore to try similar conquests in the south. This dominant impulse led to the battle of Trichinopoly.

**Trichinopoly-War-of-1682.**

The battle of Trichinopoly is one of the most decisive battles in the north of Madura, South India. It sounded the death-knell of Mysore territories. The bloody war waged at Trichinopoly had left a tremendous influence on the Mysore-Maratha relations. Mysore which had conquered large number
of northern territories of Madura with its sweat and blood
had to relinquish its authority consequent on the increasing
power of the Marathas. Harji Mahadik, the talented, resource-
ful Maratha general occupied all the Mysore territories lying
to the north of Madura and established the Maratha authority
over all of them. The Marathas followed a peace-meal acquisi-
tions. The establishment of Karnatak Bijapur Balaghat with its
capital at Bangalore had restricted the geographical sphere of
the Mysore kingdom. It could not stretch its hand towards its
northern territories. Though Ekoji was ruling from a distant
kingdom of Tanjore, his hold on Bangalore was not weak. Thus
Mysore suffered a set back in extending her dominion to the
north of Channapatna.

On the other hand Mysore was not immune from the pressure
of the Marathas on its southern directions. Harji Mahadik drove
out the Mysoreans from all the districts and from nearly all
the citadels which they had taken from the Nayaks of Madura.
Thus Mysore was hemmed in by the two streams of the Marathas,
one from the north and another from the south under able
leadership of Harji Mahadik. The political relationship between
the Mysore king and the Marathas was strained. Chikkadevaraja
was frustrated in his hopes: dispossessed of his dominions. The
battle of Trichinopoly had dealt a rude shock to the hard-won
reputation of the king of Mysore. Militarily it was utter dis-
graceful for the Mysore army to turn its back to the battle
field. Harji's signal success reacted on the military situation
in Mysore. The Mysoreans were driven out and as a result of which they lost their dominant position there. The Northern provinces of Madura served the Marathas as an excellent base for organising their operations, in all sides. The territory with their countless forts and intricate pathways, was the most suitable place for launching expeditions both against Madura and Mysore.

While the siege of Trichinopoly was in progress, Harali Mahadik, perceiving the distressing position of the Mysore Dalvoy, Kumaraiva, despatched Dadaji Kakade, Jaitaj Katkar, Mimbalkar and other Maratha generals with instructions to take Srirangapatna by surprise. Accordingly the Maratha generals arrived and encamped at Kasalagere and Kothathi. In a night attack delivered by the Mysoreans, the Marathas fled in terror. The three Maratha generals were captured and cut to pieces. Thus it was a distinct victory to Chikkadevaraaja. Having learnt the disaster at Srirangapatna Harali adopted retaliatory measures, surrounded the Mysore army and inflicted a crushing defeat on them at Trichinopoly capturing Kumaraiva a prisoner.

The natural results of this Tit-for-tat policy were that the victory won by Chikkadevaraja at Srirangapatna was counter balanced by the reverses of Kumaraiva at Trichinopoly; treasuries of both the parties were emptied; the relationship between the two houses went from bad to worse; it
compelled Sambhaji to intervene in the affairs of Mysore in person.

In 1682 Sambhaji descended into Mysore at the head of a well-trained army with the main object of teaching a lesson to Chikkadevaraja at the point of sword but his expectations tumbled down to the ground when he received a staggering blow at the famous battle of Banavara at the hands of Chikkadevaraja in June 1682. Sambhaji was not disheartened at this reverse. On the contrary he projected another scheme of shifting the theatre of the war from Banavara to that of Trichinopoly. Accordingly the entire Maratha army moved to Trichinopoly. Foreseeing the imminent danger, Chikkadevaraja entered into negotiations with Sambhaji and thus ended the war by agreeing to pay tribute to the latter. With this conclusion of treaty, the tension between the two powers came to be relaxed to a good deal.

The treaty was the most ignominious to the king of Mysore. He found it expedient to ally himself with some power or the other in order to avenge the humiliation tasted by him at Trichinopoly. That opportunity came when Aurangzeb projected the darling scheme of reducing Bijapur and Golkonda. Chikkadevaraja actively supported His Imperial Majesty, Aurangzeb in men and materials and to some extent possibly contributed his quota to the complete reduction of the two Muslim States. Of course, the military services rendered by
the Raja to the paramount Lord of the North might look comparatively small but it should not be forgotten that in war even an insignificant thing plays its decisive role either for its conclusion or for its prolongation. When the two Muslim states were reduced and their belongings plundered and brought before the Emperor, he must have whole-heartedly thanked Chikkadevaraja for his valuable help!. From this alliance, Chikkadevaraja rose high in the estimation of his enemies, particularly Marathas.

The timely extension of military aid of Chikkadevaraja to Aurangzeb provoked Sambhaji, who, taking advantage of a favourable opportunity, invaded Mysore in 1686 with the assitance of several discontented local powers. But Sambhaji, having seen with his own eyes the severe punishment meted out to his allies who entered the field of battle, by Chikkadevaraja, found his way in honourable retreat, setting aside all the hopes of encountering the Raja in an open battle.

With the disgraceful retreat of Sambhaji from the plain of Mysore, Chikkadevaraja's fame as a foremost conqueror increased far and wide. The prestige of Sambhaji was lowered. The gulf was further widened between the two powers. The most important repercussions of this was that it paved the way for Ekoji of Tanjore to dispose off Bangalore to the highest bidder.

Ekoji's conquest of Tanjore was a marvel in the history of south India. He permanently established at Tanjore and
inaugurated his rule in a happy moment. The subjects of
the capital welcomed his rule as divine dispensation and to
a great extent they grew rich and powerful also. This state
of calm and congenial atmosphere did not last long. As the
dictum, "as wealth accumulates men decay", with the accumu-
lation of wealth and power, Ekoji became haughty and cruel. He
inaugurated a tyrannical rule which brought about revolting a
situation that he was forced to resort to violence and cruelties
in his territories; and this created jealousy and hatred in
his subjects. Apart from these disturbances within, there
were troubles and tribulations without. Taking
advantage of the hopeless rule arising out of Ekoji's tyrannical
rule at Tanjore, Chikkadevaraja, the vanquisher of the same
Maratha king in 1682, started on his career of conquest and
reduced to subjection territories like Chikkanayakanahalli,
Kandikere, and Thyamagondlu which were tributaries of Bangalore,
a centre of Maratha activities over which the authority of Ekoji
could distinctly be seen. Having seen a dangerous neighbour in
Chikkadevaraja, Ekoji had decided to sell away Bangalore to the
highest bidder. Accordingly a Vakil was sent to the court of
Mysore to negotiate. While negotiation was in progress, a Moghal
detachment under the able generalship of Khasim Khan arrived in
and surrounded Bangalore finally hoisting the Imperial flag on
its ramparts on July 10th 1687. At this critical juncture
Chikkadevaraja remained neutral. The Maratha army under Harji
Mahadik and Keshav Pingle pounced on the Moghals at Bangalore
but in vain. By that time Khasim Khan was the undisputed master
of Bangalore. Frustrated in their ambitions, the Marathas
retreated the way by which they entered the city. Khasim Khan who was authorised to move further on his political programme found it wise to sell away the city to Chikkadevaraja. Chikkadevaraja opened negotiations and purchased Bangalore from the Moghal general by paying a stipulated amount of 3 lakhs of rupees. Therefore it is clear that Chikkadevaraja purchased Bangalore definitely from the hands of the Moghals but not from the Marathas has been maintained so far.

The loss of Bangalore, the emergence of Mysore as a foremost political power, the acquisitions of Maratha possessions round about Bangalore by Chikkadevaraja, the revolt of his subjects at Tanjore - all these hastened the death of Ekoji (1687). Viewed from the angle of his relations with the Rajas of Mysore, it may undoubtedly be said that he remained throughout his life a terrible foe to the latter; and his several attempts at the reduction of Mysore came to an inglorious end. So the traditional hostility continued.

The hostile attitude of Chikkadevaraja towards the Marathas had never escaped the attention of Harji Mahadik of Gingi. The transaction of business that Chikkadevaraja conducted in respect of Bangalore was highly inflammatory and in fact roused the indignation of Harji Mahadik, who, losing no time, despatched Keshav Pant and Santaji with instructions to devastate the kingdom, Mysore. Accordingly the Maratha leaders entered Mysore causing all sorts of damage on their way but were completely
defeated by the Mysoreans and lost their way. It is indeed a great mistake to believe that Bangalore was brought under the direct control of the Rajas of Mysore merely because that it was purchased by them. On the contrary, though there was semblance of authority of the Rajas of Mysore, yet for all practical purposes it was ruled by a Moghal governor appointed by Khasim Khan who was posted by Aurangzeb as the Foujdar of Karnataka with Sira as his capital.

In those days of difficult communication, it is not strange if the governors of distant provinces to assume certain amount of freedom in their administration, and often declaring independence. The disloyal conduct of the Moghal governor at Bangalore led to his overthrow by Prince Azam who was despatched by Aurangzeb with instructions to effect the conquest of south-western corner of Bijapur kingdom. Thus with the increasing pressure of the Moghals, the Maratha possessions in Mysore were transforming into Moghal base. Bangalore became a point of Moghal communication; so also Doddaballapura. Thus the Maratha control over these territories began to decline. Sambhaji could not turn his attention towards these losses because he was engaged in a death-struggle with Aurangzeb.

On the other hand Aurangzeb swore that he would never return to Delhi until he had seen the head of Sambhaji weltering at his feet. To that end he had already appointed a spy named Kavi Kalasa who by enlisting the love and confidence of Sambhaji had been slowly but steadily working to bring about the ruin of the prince. While Sambhaji was in Sangameswara, Shaik
Nizam the Moghal general went and captured him. A little later he was tortured to death (March 11, 1639).

On the whole 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, Maratha and Mysore.

Under Rajaram, the unfortunate prince of the declining Maratha kingdom, the under-current of discord, distrust, jealousy and conflict continued between the two powers. When he was hard pressed by the Moghals, he left Panhala in haste and passed through Badmurl, Bangalore, Channapatna and Mysore. Channammaji, ruler of Badmurl offered shelter to the refugee king and sent him as far as the geographical limit of Mysore. Rajaram with his followers subdued Channapatna and by posting two Maratha officers named Ekoji and Shivaji for its governance, descended to the south. He passed through Mysore unnoticed by its guards and reached Gingi.

Although Rajaram did not come into armed conflict with Chikkadevaraja of Mysore, yet his generals such as Santaji and others had revived and renewed the traditional policy of hostility between the two houses by bursting on the kingdom of Mysore and causing incalculable havoc. In 1696 the last Mysore-Maratha battle was fought in which the Marathas under Santaji were completely defeated and driven out. The flight of Rajaram from Gingi to Maharashtra had practically brought to
close the unhappy relationship between the two great powers, Mysore and Marathas for the 17th century.

Now if we are to listen to the teachings of the History of Mysore-Maratha relations under survey, it is absolutely essential for the warring states to refrain from coercion. Present is always deep rooted in the past and the latter is giving directive to the present as to how a particular country should act towards neighbour and if the directive is followed both in its spirit and letter, the future would be bright and promising.

The History of the 17th century under survey was a tragedy and a warning - a warning to put a stop to the outbreak of untold miseries and limitless disadvantages that may arise from conflicting interests of two states. No good can be predicted from such a state which involves always in constant wars with its neighbour on some point or the other. Each state must work in terms of India. India’s stability is much depending upon the States that go to make India. Therefore the relationship between states should be guided through love and mutual trust and not through suspicion. It should always be clear-minded and clean-hearted. It is not possible to believe we can achieve permanent peace so long as the states stand on one side or the other of their borders armed to the teeth for aggressive designs on a few border villages. Unless states of India adopt the policy of live and let live by showing mutual respect to each other’s territories, peace of India cannot be
ensured.

It is possible to establish golden rule in India if all the states follow sincerely the Five Principles or pancha Sheela advocated by Pandit Nehru. Pancha Sheela aims at promoting peace not only at inter-state level but at international level as well. It calls upon individual state to refrain from war and to adopt five principles as the basis of their inter-state relations:

The Five Principles are:

1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity,

2) Mutual non-aggression,

3) Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs,

4) Equality and mutual benefit,

5) Peaceful co-existence.

At a time when the mankind is facing the fear of an atomic war, co-existence is the only hope. Co-existence is the only alternative to co-destruction. We have to choose between non-existence and co-existence. That is the truth; that is the dilemma; that is the issue that is laid before all of us.

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