PART I

CHAPTER I

Introduction.
INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER I.

No important work either on Shahji, or Shivaji, or Sambhai or Rajaram has attempted to give a clear-cut picture of the relations that existed between Mysore and the Marathas in the 17th century. This is perhaps due to the fact that eminent authorities on Maratha history, such as J. N. Sarkar, Rajwade, G. S. Sardesai, etc. have not been able to make use of the original Kannada sources - literary and epigraphic - which contain considerable historical materials pertaining to Mysore-Maharashtra relations in the 17th century. The learned scholars present the events from 1630 to 1700 mainly from the point of view of the Marathi, Persian and other non-Kannada sources. Therefore the relationship of Mysore and Maharashtra has to be viewed from the angle of Kannada sources. In this thesis I have made an earnest attempt to present "the Mysore Maratha relations under Shahji, Shivaji, Sambhai and Rajaram as revealed in Kannada sources". Treatment of such an important subject only from Kannada sources will become one-sided. Therefore I have tried to bring together the scattered, disarranged mass of historical data and opinions found in Kannada sources and after comparing them with available material in other non-Kannada sources, to construct a compact critical study of the Mysore-Maratha relations under the four prominent Maratha rulers of the 17th century.

Historical research in Mysore has made a phenomenal
progress during the present century. But unfortunately no scientific narrative of the achievements or failures of the rulers of Mysore has yet been written by weaving together all the fascinating and colourful material found in various languages. As a consequence of the frequent incursions of the Marathas into the kingdom of Mysore particularly in the 17th century, the rulers of Mysore in succession were put in a hopeless embarrassment as to the means by which they could be checked. And these events are found recorded in Kannada literature of the 17th and 18th centuries. No scholar has ever addressed himself to the task of throwing fresh light on the relationship of Mysore and Maharashtra in the 17th century by making use of all the historical materials that are embedded in Kannada literature and in periodical reports published in important Indian States such as Mysore, Hyderabad, Madras and Travancore.

The first history of Mysore was written by Lt. Col. Mark Wilks (1760-1831). He was the British resident at the court of Mysore (1803-1808). His work entitled "Historical Sketches of the south of India in an attempt to trace the History of Mysore", remained an authority till the end of the first quarter of the present century. Since then a vast amount of original material unknown to him, has come to light. In writing his book, Wilks had mainly relied upon uncritical summaries and translations of a very few local chronicles, then available to him. On the whole
his treatment of the subject is neither exhaustive nor satisfactory when viewed from the point of modern research.

The second attempt in this direction was made by R.L. Rice in the Mysore Gazetteer, but he had completely relied upon Wilks.

The writer on the history of Mysore was Dr. S.K. Aiyangar. In his book entitled, "Ancient India", he devoted a few pages (272-313) to wodeyars of Mysore. Though he went a little further in utilising a few epigraphic and literary sources, yet the history is brief and imperfect.

Latest works on Mysore history are: "Mysore Gazetteer" compiled by C.Hayavadana Rao for the Government of Mysore and "History of Mysore" written by C.Hayavadana Rao himself in three volumes. For my purpose the first volume (1399-1708 A.D.) is important. He has drawn upon almost all the principal original kannada sources. Further he has also collected and utilised some second-hand Persian sources as well as the first-hand English East India Company records. Having all these sources at his disposal, he has tried hard to weave the history of Mysore. Nevertheless some of his conclusions and generalisations are unsupported by adequate historical evidence. In his book he makes many references to the activities of the Marathas in Mysore, but he has not utilised the Marathi sources. Above all his treatment of Mysore Maratha relations of the 17th century is neither exhaustive nor satisfactory.
He has further tried to describe certain historical events in
the light of moral values of the times.

Selection of the right kind of sources is an indispensable preliminary in writing history. Detailed consideration of
facts and views, which do not come up to a minimum standard of
veracity, is wasteful. The ethical consideration of historical
facts is not history. Lanalais and Saighbos say: "It is
not an historian's question, for instance, whether
Napoleon was right or wrong in his conduct at Jaffa,
or Nelson in his behaviour at Naples ... all that
the historian has to do is to get what conclusion
he can out of the conflict of evidence"

Further C.Hayavadana Rao has accumulated vast amount
of Non-Marathi sources; but on many occasions, he has slipped
from representing those facts in their proper historical setting.
To accumulate facts is far easier than to weigh them and estimate
them at their real value. It is the work of properly using facts
rather than of merely collecting them that distinguishes the his­
torian from the antiquarian. Therefore it is that Lord Acton called
for "solidity of criticism" in preference to "plentitude of erudition"
in the study of history.

The advancing tide of research and criticism in historical
field has not only forced on us fresh points of view but brought
about a new mental out-look as well.

That the acquisition of Srirangapatna by Raja Wodeyar of
Mysore in 1610 from the hands of Tirumala, the Vijayanagara Viceroy,
was not an act of conquest as has been held by C.Hayavadana Rao and
others.
Of late while I was searching for Kannada sources bearing on my subject in the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore, I saw an unpublished manuscript entitling "Srirangapatnada Charitre, which in my opinion is a contemporary document. According to this work Raja Wodeyar conquered Srirangapatna not by war but by bribery. Not a drop of blood was shed. Therefore it may be called a "Bloodless Succession of 1610".

No one has attempted to give a clear-cut picture of the various causes that led the Sultan of Bijapur to launch the Karnataka expedition.

Apart from the influence of the treaty of 1636 on the Sultan of Bijapur to extend his arms only to the south, the part played by several unpatriotic chieftains of the south, such as Hanumappa Nayaka of Basavapatna, Channaiya of Nagamangala and Chief Sumuki Bagur in inducing the Bijapur Sultan to fit out an expedition into the south should not be overlooked.

Scholars on Mysore History have relegated to the background the part played by Shahji, father of the great Shivaji, in the several campaigns against Karnataka.

Being an intimate friend of Ranadulla Khan, the Commander-in-Chief of the Bijapur army in several Karnataka campaigns, Shahji did yeoman service in saving many of the Hindu kingdoms of the south. But for the intervention of Shahji in the Bijapur expedition of Ikkeri (1637-1638), the kingdom of Ikkeri
would have been parcelled out. Again in the second Karnataka expedition (1638-1639), Shahji proposed terms of treaty between the defeated Kanthirava Narasaraja of Mysore and Ranadulla Khan and settled matters in a manner satisfactory to both the parties. Thereafter Shahji was permanently established at Bangalore by Ranadulla Khan with the sanction of the Sultan of Bijapur. The latter conferred upon Shahji a jagir in Mysore, renaming Bangalore 'Islampuri'. Henceforth Bangalore became the chief centre of Maratha activities. There had been frequent wars between the Marathas on the one side and the Wodeyars of Mysore on the other, for some reason or the other. The failure on the part of Kanthirava of Mysore to honour the terms of the treaty was the main reason for the enmity between Shahji and the former. In short the violation of the treaty of 1639 held the "seeds for the future discord and conflict between the two houses".

Writing in the Modern Review 1929 on Shahji in Mysore, in the first section, J.N. Sarkar says that the Bijapur wars of 1638-1639 ended in the capture of all the territory up to Bangalore. Shahji was placed in charge of Bangalore, Ranadulla Khan went to lay siege to Srirangapatna which under Kanthirava submitted after a month's fight paying five lakhs of gold pieces.

The same author continues, on the basis of Persian sources that when Ranadulla Khan returned to Bijapur, Kenje Nayaka rebelled and there was a general rising of the Hindu Rajas throughout Karnataka against Bijapur. So, the war was renewed. Ranadulla Khan took many kingdoms of the Hindu Rajas in Karnataka.
In the official account no cause is given for the war and the Bijapur invasion is begun as if it came uponysore as a bolt from the blue. Historical events do not take place in this way. What the Persian sources lack, can be supplied by Kannada sources. Hanumappa Nayaka plays a significant part in the Bijapur campaigns of Karnataka. He is not Kenge Nayaka but Kenge Hanumappa, the son of Kenge Nayaka. According to Kannada accounts Hanumappa Nayaka who was placed in charge of the territory on the northern bank of the Cauvery as a result of the treaty of January 1639 between Ranadulla Khan and Kanthirava, played false and brought another invasion, this time perhaps by the incitement of Channaiya of Nagamangala. The treaty that Kanthirava entered into was only to gain time that Srirangapatna may be fortified and put in position for standing a siege.

The next section, division IV of J.N. Sarkar's article simply says that the war was renewed in A.D. 1644. Why? No reason is given for the renewal of the war. The fort of Tikri is said to have taken and Sivanva Nayaka is stated to have wrested it from the Bijapur commander. The fort is not Tikri, but Ikkeri, the capital of the Nayaks of Bednur. Again the learned historian writes that the Sultan of Bijapur sent Khan Muhammad to recover the fort. The commander is said to have taken both Tikri and Sagar four miles from it. The places ought to be Ikkeri and Sagar, the two capitals of the Nayaks of Bednur.

The learned historian has pointed out in the same division that Shahji played no part from 1644-1646 and his life is barren.
of any historical event. This is not correct, for Hindu
account maintains that Shahji stood up in arms against Kanthi-
raja of Mysore during those two years. The main reason that
induced Shahji to wage war with the ruler of Mysore was that
Nanjundaraja of Piriapatna refused to pay annual tribute due
to Mysore. Consequently Kanthiraya declared war against Nanjundar-
aja. The latter in his distressing position appealed to Shahji
who had permanently established at Bangalore for help. Shahji
cooperated with Nanjundaraja; and both of them fought against the
Mysore army. The war continued for nearly two years and in the
end Shahji and Nanjundaraja were completely defeated and driven
out.

The VI section of J.N. Sarkar's article speaks of the
Bijapur army marching by way of Anandabad, Amaravati and Gudi-
yatam and reaching what is called "Uranipur". This is not Paranchur
as suggested, but Vrinchipuram, the capital, in the days of the
Hindus, of the Pana country in the Palar valley.

It is incorrect to say that Mustafa Khan, after the
defeat of Srirangaraya at Vellore, returned by the same way by
which he entered the country of Vellore. On the other hand it
is evident that Mustafa Khan and Shahji returned to Bijapur with
his vast army passing by way of Mysore, Channaravatna and Hassan.
One of the Jesuit letters clearly says that Mustafa Khan was
compelled to withdraw from Mysore to the country wherefrom he had
come. From Mysore Mustafa Khan proceeded to Channaravatna and
inflicted a crushing defeat on its ruling chieftain and retracted his steps to Bijapur ravaging Hassan and other districts he met on the way.

The next section deals with the greatest campaign of Mustafa Khan which started in January 1648. The eminent historian does not give proper reasons for Mustafa Khan’s campaign against Ginge. Tirmala Nayaka of Madura wanted to form a great confederacy consisting of the Nayaks of Ginge and Tanjore. The Nayak of Tanjore disclosed the plan of Tirmala to Srirangaraya. Being enraged at the attitude of the Tanjore Nayak and Srirangaraya, Tirmala appealed to Golconda to invade the latter’s territory. Mir Jumla marched south and laid siege to Ginge. Then Tirmala utilised his good offices with Bijapur, obtained its cooperation and marched to the relief of Ginge. Besides this, the kannada account maintains that the conquest of Srirangapatna had remained a mighty problem to the Sultan of Bijapur who in his firm resolution to take Srirangapatna by any means - foul or fair, asked his men if there were any among them who could reduce Kanthirava of Srirangapatna to submission. Mustafa Khan offered to undertake the responsibility of leading an expedition into the south. Thus Mustafa Khan came to the south.

No scholar has attempted to give proper reasons for the invasion of Mysore by Khan Muhammad. Throughout her history, Mysore had never met such a disaster as the defeat - of 1654 at the hands of Khan Muhammad.
No light has been thrown so far, on the frequent wars between Shahji and Kummaid Kempe Gowda of Mysore. In the war of 1658 Kummaid Kempe Gowda, unable to reconcile with the growing power of Shahji at Bangalore which was once the great capital of their predecessors, made a surprise attack on the capital city of Bangalore and inflicted a crushing defeat on the latter taking possession of all the spoils of the war.

Again in 1663 Shahji had come into armed conflict with the army of Mysore under the celebrated Commander-in-Chief named Nandnatheya. In the samarthy fight that ensued between the two renowned generals of the age, Shahji was beaten off. Nandinathaiya made a triumphal march into the city of Srinivaspur with vast booty taken from the fort of Bangalore. Throughout this period the relationship between the rulers of Mysore and the Marathas was not cordial.

Eminent historians like Rajwade, Sardesai, Sarkar and others held the view that Shahji's death occurred at Basavapatna while he was hunting. This opinion is wrong for we have not an epigraphic record which says that Shahji died at Hodigere.

Sarkar's opinion that Shahji was a subordinate officer working only under the yees and orders of the Sultan of Bijapur finds a complete refutation in the light of his own political exploits and vestiges of his own work in the fortifications and other structures found in Mysore State. His works in Mysore bear ample testimony to the fact that he occupied a position of great
importance. As a matter of fact, he seems to have continued to govern those parts of the conquered Channapatna Viceroyalty, but shifted his government from Bangalore to Chikkaballapur and Kolar as his headquarters with Tandli as his summer residence. Shiva Bharata, Radha Madhava Vilasa Champu and some kannada accounts clearly explain the important position that he occupied. Shahji was really the founder of the Maratha dominion in Mysore.

As regards the actual successor of Kanthirava Narasaraja of Mysore, C. Hayavadana Rao says that Devaraja Wodeyar succeeded the former. He had completely ignored the rule of Doddadevaraja Wodeyar. On the basis of literary and epigraphic sources it is stated that Doddadevaraja was the actual successor of Kanthirava and Narasaraja, that he ruled from 1659 - 1673. The next person in succession to him was Devaraja who ruled for only a short period of five months.

Various non-kannada sources throw a flood of light on the activities of Ekoji after his usurpation of the throne of Tanjore; but unfortunately they say little or nothing about his doings before that significant event, especially during the last years of his father's life and before his drive into the south. Contemporary kannada literary as well as epigraphic sources say much about this neglected portion of his life. I have here made a pioneer attempt to draw a complete portrait of Ekoji.

Literary and epigraphic sources bring to light five
important Marathas bearing the same name, 'Sambhaji'. I have tried to identify the person who played a significant part in Mysore politics.

So far as the origin of Shivaji was concerned, the kannada account brings to light that he was of low origin as he was born of a mother belonging to a carpenter's community. This account is compared with other non-kannada sources so as to find out its reliability. The domatic opinion of Grant Duff that Shivaji could never write his name is rejected on the basis of several English East India Company records and Marathi sources; and it is proved that Shivaji knew well both reading and writing. Nothing had wielded greater influence on the mind of Shivaji than the influence of Bangalore when he visited it in 1640. Two-year stay at Bangalore where Hindu life was still flowing in pristine purity unimposed upon by any foreign domination, gave Shivaji all that was necessary for his mental make-up and future plan. In short Shivaji's ideal was formed in the shadow of Vijayanagara at Bangalore. The kannada account gives the graphic picture of Afzal Khan's incident, Shaistha Khan's incident, Shivaji's visit to Delhi and his wonderful escape and the coronation ceremony; and a comparative study of all these points with other non-kannada sources is made to arrive at correct conclusions. According to the kannada account, the judgment of Gargas Bhatta in respect of Shivaji's claim to the coronation ceremony is very interesting. Gargas Bhatta says that though Shivaji was a Carpenter by caste from the mother side, the father's side should be taken into account.
prominently; and as his father was a Kshatriya, Shivaji was eligible for coronation ceremony.

The territorial encroachments of Chikkadevaraja of Mysore in the vicinity of Karnataka-Bijapur-Balaghat and the assertion of independence by Kolar and Doddaballapura between 1670 and 1677 were some of the most important causes which induced Shivaji to launch the Karnataka expedition.

The opinion of several scholars such as Ranade, J.M. Sarkar and others in respect of the object with which Shivaji projected the campaign of Karnataka is rejected on the basis of Martin's account according to which the sole aim of Shivaji was conquest and administration. Likewise the theory that Raghunath Narayan Hanumanthe was the principal originator of Shivaji's south Indian expedition is set aside in the light of a French letter from Surat which says that the expedition was decided upon, in Shivaji's council as early as 1675, a year earlier than Raghunatha's visit to Shivaji with his proposals.

Scholars like M.H.Krishna have expressed great doubt about Shivaji's presence in the Maratha invasion of Mysore, of 1677. But on the basis of several authorities it has been proved that Shivaji was present in the Maratha invasion of Mysore and suffered an utter discomfiture at the hands of Chikkadevaraja.

Referring to the conquest of Shivaji in the northern
direction of Mysore during his South Indian expedition, Sarkar says that Shivaji ascending the Eastern Ghats from Mysore had taken possession of 'No Yan's Land'. It is not right to say that the territories lying north and northeast of Mysore were governed by none. Several inscriptions found at Kolar and Doddaballapura clearly bear testimony to the efficient administration of several able and powerful governors in these territories.

No writer either on Maratha history or Mysore history has thrown light on the viceroyalty of Sambhaji, the son of Shivaji at Kolar in Mysore before he became the ruler of Yaha-rashtra in 1680. Epigraphic records found at various places in Mysore have not only proved the rule of Sambhaji and his wife, Jayita Bai in several places of Mysore but an armed conflict between Dilir Khan, Commander of the Mughal army and Sambhaji in the vicinity of Nandi hill as well.

As regards the relations between Kavi Kalasa, the chief adviser and Sambhaji, Sardessi's opinion is that Kavi Kalasa was not the spy of Aurangzeb slowly working to bring about ruin of Sambhaji; and he further writes that "there is absolutely no proof to support such an allegation." But there is enough of historical proof to say that Kavi Kalasa was a spy employed by Aurangzeb to destroy Sambhaji.

Depending upon the Hindu accounts and the Jesuit letters,
it is possible to reinterpret Sambhaji's invasion of Mysore in 1686. When Chikkadevarajas fame was at its lowest ebb, Sambhaji invaded Mysore but, according to Hindu accounts, was defeated and driven out.

J.N. Sarkar has not given a proper estimate of Ekoji. His estimate of Ekoji does not take into account the tyranny of his government and his utter unpopularity towards the end of his rule. An attempt is made here to give the true picture of Ekoji on the basis of latest evidence.

It has been the opinion of almost all the authorities on the history of Mysore that Chikkadevaraja purchased Bangalore from Ekoji of Tanjore for three lakhs of rupees and retained it till his death. But in the light of latest research, we arrive at the conclusion that Chikkadevaraja did not purchase Bangalore from the Marathas and could not retain the city for so long.

So far it has been maintained that Rajaram when hard pressed by the Moghals, left Panhala, reached Bednur and sent his men to the court of Channammaji, the celebrated ruler of the kingdom of Bednur so as to secure shelter for his stay for sometime during his flight to the impregnable fort of Gingi. Further it has been pointed out that Channammaji had not only offered protection to the refugee monarch but also sent her guards to escort the unfortunate Maratha leader and his followers as far as the geographical frontiers of her kingdom. Again Channammaji was supposed to have resisted the Moghals while they arrived at
Bednur in pursuit of the Marathas. What is more interesting is the narration that the Marathas had already left the environs of the Bednur kingdom by the time that the Moghals had arrived at the capital city, Bednur.

This theory may be set aside in the light of the latest research according to which the Marathas were still at Bednur when the Moghals under the able generalship of Jan Nisar Khan (Jansara Khan) came and encamped at the city. The Marathas under Santaji, the dazzling star of the Deccan warfare, fought stubbornly against the Moghals; and the bloody war came to an end by the timely intervention of Rani Channammaji who purchased peace from the Moghals by agreeing to pay heavy ransom. It was only after the hostility was neutralised by Channammaji, the Marathas departed from Bednur.

No writer either on Mysore side or Maratha side has clearly pointed out the route by which Rajaram and his followers passed from Panhala to Gingi. In fact the Marathas, after they had escaped the vigilence of the Moghals at Bangalore went through Channapatna, Srirangapatna and Mysore to Gingi.

What were the factors that contributed enormously for the brilliant victory of Santaji over the Moghals in the famous battle of Dodderi? Nothing has been said about it. In fact Santaji who was a farsighted general, arrived at an unalterable conclusion that unless he would ally himself with some local
palegar, it would be hard to cross the sword against the Moghals in Karnataka. Therefore Santaji made an alliance with Baramappa Nayaka, the palegar of Chitradurga and secured all possible help in men and materials to prosecute the war against the Moghals. This and the prevailing political situation in Karnataka helped greatly for Santaji's brilliantly successful campaign in Karnataka against the Moghals.

Lastly the sending of an embassy by Chikkadevaraja of Mysore to the Moghal court of Aurangzeb was nothing but a diplomatic move designed to secure the friendship of the latter to strike terror into the hearts of the innumerable palegars of Mysore who had not submitted to the former.

**SOURCES.**

The sources on which this piece of research is based are broadly divided into two groups: (1) literary and (2) epigraphical. The contemporary kannada literature has got one peculiarity which every student of History ought to know. It is more in the nature of poetic compositions than of historical narrative type. Bardic flattery and exaggeration have been found in all countries to be the greatest perverters of historical truth. In Mysore, as elsewhere, the art of literary mendicancy was carried nauseating lengths by the court flatterers of the Hindu kings. The very training, mode of life and literary models of these poets made them unfit to be sober recorders of contemporary and observed facts.
For instance, Chikkadevaraja's court was adorned with learned men such as Tirumalarya, Chikkapadhyaya, Timma Kavi, Mallikarjuna and others; but they were all poets, flourishing on the munificent state of the Royal family. In their poetical compositions, they elevate their patron to the seventh Heaven saying that he was the complete incarnation of Narayana. They glorify the smallest exploit of their master and at best omit what is inglorious to him. Historical events are wrapped up in poetical hyperboles and mere verbiage. So the duty of the historian is to disentangle sober truth from all the miracles, rhetorical flourishes and emotional gush of the poets.

Bearing this caveat in mind one has to look into the kannada works of the 17th and 18th centuries. Among the literary sources we will have to distinguish between primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include literary works, inscriptions, coins, travels, contemporary chronicles and memoirs.

Most of the primary literary works found either in Kannada or in Sanskrit were produced under the patronage of the Mysore Royal House during the 17th and 18th centuries. Only a few of them have been published, while others have been preserved in the form of manuscripts - palm-leaf and paper - in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library at Mysore. These works present a number of interpretative difficulties: (1) They are not properly dated; (2) the names of the authors are not often mentioned. The probable chronological limit of these compositions has to be guessed
from understanding their contents and, in certain cases from making a comparative study of the contemporary inscriptions.

(1) "The Kanthırava Narasarāja Vijayam", written by Gōvinda Vaidya in 1648, is a contemporary quasi-historical work bearing on Ranadulla Khan’s invasion of Srirangapatna. The author has treated the subject in an epic grandeur. Full light has been thrown on the fight between the Bijapur army and Mysore army at Mysore and Srirangapatna. The part played by Shahi and other Maratha heroes in the campaign of Srirangapatna is neatly sketched; but the author of the work has not pronounced correct judgment on historical personages. The internal data of the work conveys the idea that it was written in accordance with the will of Nanjaraja, the Dalvoy of Kanthırava Narasarāja, then the ruler of Mysore; and as such it pours forth wholesome praise on the Commander of Mysore army, particularly when he met the Bijapur army. Therefore the work must be handled with due care and caution.

(2) "Chikkadēvarāya Vamsāvali", written by Tirumalārya, the play-mate and the Prime Minister of Chikkadēvarāja of Mysore is a prose work in Halagannada concerning mainly the rise and fortunes of the Mysore Royal House, down to Chikkadēvarāja. This work seems to have been written somewhere between 1678 and 1680. This supplies us with valuable information regarding the foundation of the Royal House of Mysore, efficient administration of Raja-wodeyar; expedition of Ranadulla Khan into Mysore; and the early
career of Chikkadevaraja.

Though a prose work, the Chikkadevaraya Vamsâvali is conceived throughout in the poetic vein. It reads more like an epic poetry than as a plain prose narrative. It is full of imageries, similes, metaphors and heroic and devotional sentiments. Historical personages and events are described with poetic license, lack of chronological sequence; and are often coloured by personal predilections as well. Giving due margin for these limitations, we must utilise this work for our historical purposes.

(3) "Chikkadevaraja Vijayam" is the next literary production of Tirumalârya. It seems to have been written between 1632 and 1636. It is a champu work in Halagannada, dealing with the pedigree of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. The author calls it an epic. It contains six cantos. So far as the literary merit is concerned, it is written, on the same model as "Chikkadevaraya Vamsavalii". It deals with the traditional history of the rise of the kingdom of Mysore under Raja Wodeyar and his successors. It throws fresh light on the relationship between Mysore and Redmur and the siege of Frode (1667).

(4) "Apratima-Vïra-Charitam" is the most important work, written by Tirumalârya. It is a Halagannada treatise in four parts on poetics (Alankara). It is written in accordance with the order of Chikkadevaraja. It is so styled because it concerns mainly the political achievements of Chikkadevaraja. "Apratima Vira" is the title assumed by Chikkadevaraja for having curbed the might of
Shivaji, the famous Maratha empire-builder. From the study of internal data, it is possible to determine the date of its compositions at 1694 or 1695. Besides being a text-book on poetics in Kannada, the work throws welcome light on the relations of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar with his contemporaries such as the Nayak of Madura, Ikkeri, the Marattas and the Moghals.

(5) Another important work supposed to have been written by Chikkadevaraja himself is "Chikkadevaraja Pinnapam" (1700-1704). Though it mainly concerns the essence of Srivaishnava Philosophy in the form of thirty humble prose petitions, addressed by Chikkadevaraja to God Narayana of Melkote, the opening chapter is very important for one purpose. It gives in brief the most important exploits of Chikkadevaraja. It forms the main source of information for dealing with the Mysore-Maratha relations.

(6) "Keladi Nripa Vijaya", published under the authority of the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore, is a kannada work on the Nayaks of Ikkeri. This was written by a Brahman Pandit named Linganna who was patronised by one of the Nayaks of Ikkeri. A detailed study of the books shows that he lived, perhaps in the last quarter of the 18th century. He narrates the historical events since the inception of the Nayakship at Ikkeri upto 1763.

Making due allowance to the first part of the work, as it is largely mixed with the poetical elements, the rest of the work may surely be said to be a historical work. The author has given
a detailed account of the rulers of Ikkeri and their relations with the neighbouring chieftains in the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries. Of all the chapters, the ninth chapter is most important for our study. The author has given genealogical tables of the Mughals, Marathas, Adil Shahi and Qutb Shahi dynasties. So far as the Marathas are concerned, the facts that are to be told earlier are narrated later and vice versa. In giving a brief account of the emergence of the Marathas and their wars with the Mughals and several other powers, the author shifted certain historical events to have taken place under particular historical personages, which do not agree with the account found in Marathi and Persian sources. For instance, certain events that had taken place under Shivaji with whom we are most concerned, are stated to have taken place under one whose name is also Shivaji of some three or four generations before. Therefore a few historical facts in this work have not found their proper historical setting; and I have made an earnest attempt to arrange the facts and utilise them with due care.

II. On the whole the above mentioned contemporary and later kannada works and several other kannada works which I have mentioned in the Bibliography are to be handled with care to avoid misinterpretations.

According to my subdivision of sources, next comes inscriptions. Epigraphy is an indispensable aid to history. Inscriptions are the most copious and authentic sources for South Indian history in general and Mysore history in particular.
Generally, their evidence is contemporary and precise and contains much less of the personal element than is contained in other sources. Allowance has to be made for royal and governmental rodeomontade and spurious or forged plates have to be guarded against.

Kannada Inscriptions - lithic as well as copper-plate - bearing on the subject under investigation are found in the volumes of Epigraphia Carnatica. Moreover inscriptions are found scattered over the volumes of Epigraphia Carnatica (including supplemental volumes for Mysore and Bangalore districts), the Mysore Archaeological Reports, the Madras Epigraphists report, the Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency. If we use them with greatest discrimination, they throw light on genealogical lists, chronological details and disconnected facts. They generally deal with the gifts, donations and grants of the rulers to institutions or private individuals. The inscriptions are mostly corroborative evidences. They provide only a skeleton of history; and it is the function of literary sources to fill it with blood, flesh and life. Therefore the epigraphical records, used with care, form an important source of informations for our work.

III. A particular branch of the literary sources is the series of annual reports sent to Europe by the Jesuit missionaries in South India. The letters of Father J. Bertrand included in the "La Mission Du Madure", (1659-1686) contain a brief sketch of the political conditions of South India. John Lockman's Travels of
the Jesuits", (1701), Dr. John Fryer's "Travels in India", (1676-1680), Niccolao Manucci's "Storio Do Mogor", (1653-1708) and extracts published in Orme's "Historical Fragments", William Foster's "English Factories in India", contain valuable information on the political, economic and social conditions of South India.

The following observations of J. Lockman give a fair estimate of the value of Jesuit letters. "No men are better qualified to describe nations and countries than the Jesuits. Their education; their extensive learning; the pains they take to acquire the languages of the several regions they visit; the opportunities they have; these must give our Jesuits a much more perfect insight into the genius and character of a nation than others ...... upon the whole, the Jesuits have the best opportunity of furnishing us with valuable accounts of many far distant countries". Father Bertrand writes that the chief merit of these Jesuit letters consist in their having been written, 'without any thought of publication' by men who, 'by duty and intimacy of confidential correspondence, offer, to their superiors or fellow-members, a faithful picture of their work and success, without any motive of exaggerating the colour'. But this merit seems to be of doubtful historical value. Their desire either to justify their existence or enhance their reputation might have led them consciously or unconsciously into exaggerations and misstatements. It is impossible to believe all that is said and written by them. They were ignorant in many aspects of Hindu life. Therefore in
cases where their evidence is of doubtful value, care has to be taken to disentangle truth from its misrepresentation or distortion.

IV. Persian Sources: "Muhammad Namah", a contemporary Persian history of the reign of Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur (1627-1656), written by Md. Zahur is a very important source for our purpose. This has been rendered into English by J.N. Sarkar in "Modern Review". A much better analysis of the same work in English, can be found in the book entitled "Shivaji Vibhandavali", part II. "Basatin-us-Salatin" is another Persian work written by Muhammad Ibrahim Tubairi in 1824. D.V. Verma in his introduction to "Muhammad Namah" in "Shivaji Vibhandavali" says that by comparison, the Basatin-us-Salatin is a faithful copy, word for word, of the Muhammad Namah.

"Muhammad Namah" has given a detailed account of the conquests of Ranadulla Khan and Nawab Mustafa Khan in the Karnatak and Malnad, giving the names of many forts which have not been referred to by Basatin-us-Salatin. It throws plenty of light on Shahji, the father of Shivaji and several kings and Navaks of south India.

Most of the Persian sources have been described and discussed by J.N. Sarkar in his monumental works such as 'Aurangzeb' (five volumes), "Shivaji and His Times" and "House of Shivaji". I have freely adopted his works and translations. In my thesis
I have weighed kannada and persian sources and have tried to say which ever is more reliable.

V. **Sanskrit works:** "Shiva Bharat", written by Paramananda is a valuable source of information for Maratha history. It is a poem in Sanskrit. The author, Paramananda seems to have written at the instance of Shivaji. Being patronised by Shivaji, the courtier, like kannada poets, had glorified his master in pompous language and omitted what was inglorious to this patron. While we are going through the work, we can easily find out poetic exaggerations; and set aside. This Shiva Bharata is translated into English by R.P.Patwardhan and Rawlinson in their Source Book on Maratha History. The siege of Srirangapatna by the Bijapur army; the part played by Shahji in the siege; Shivaji's activities are all very well depicted in the book.

"Rādhā-Mādhav-Vilās-Champu" by Jayaram and other sanskrit works were secured by me translated into English.

VI. **Marathi Sources:** Several important Marathi sources were translated into English by eminent scholars like Sardesai, J.N. Sarkar, Kincaid and Parasnis, Grant Duff and others; and these authors have freely used these sources and where-ever it was necessary they give literal translations for them. Hence lack of deep knowledge in Marathi has not handicapped me in the preparation of my thesis. I have depended upon those literal translations. on the advice of Sri B.C.Khare, Secretary of B.I.S.M., Poona, I bought more than 15 Marathi books which were translated to me
by Sri V. Raghavendra Rao, retired professor of History, whose knowledge of History is both extensive and original. Therefore, by my ignorance of the Marathi language, I was not handicapped in preparing my thesis.

Value of European Factory Records: The records of the English factories on the Bombay coast and the inland are of the highest value for dates and facts. The English at Rajapur and Karwar employed paid spies who travelled in Shivaji’s dominions and brought back news of Shivaji’s doings and plans. These factory records have the supreme merit of having been preserved in the original manuscript without any later garbling or interpolation.

The Records of Fort St. George concerning Mysore, comprise the Diary and Consultation Book, Fort St. David Consultation Letters to St. Fort George, Letters from Fort St. George, Despatches to England. Though these records relate to the commercial activities of the English and the French on the coast lines of India, incidentally they refer to the political conditions which prevailed in the south in general and in Mysore in particular.

Secondary Sources: There are a few secondary sources in Kannada. "Mysore Dhoregala Vamsávali" (1800), "Mysore Padara Charite" (1800) by Venkataramaiah, "Mysore Dhooregala Purvabhuyudava Vivara" (1710-1714), "Kalale Arasugala Vamsávali" (1830), "Rajávali Katha" (1838) by Deva Chandra and the Annals of the Mysore Royal Family (first compiled in the Mysore Palace in 1864-1865) are some of the
secondary sources in Kannada. Their value, as historical sources cannot be ignored because they are later compilations. They are written not out of nothing but on some original documents. They are chronicles of a quasi-historical character. Care has to be taken in setting aside what is unwanted and unreliable and noting down what is most essential. Therefore a great degree of discrimination is necessary in utilising them as historical sources.

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