Third Karnataka expedition: During this third Karnataka expedition, Ranaullah Khan conquered more territories and handed over them to Shahji. In the second Karnataka expedition (1630-1639) Shahji was permanently posted at Bangalore by Ranaullah Khan with the sanction of the Adil Shah. Shahji found this place convenient to establish a court for himself. Thenceforward Shahji took keen interest in establishing a kingdom in Mysore; and for the gratification of his ambition, political circumstances that prevailed in the south were favourable to him.

Causes: After the departure of the Bijapur army Virabhadra Nayaka took up his residence at Bednur and repaired it so as to make it stand against another siege by Bijapur. After improving his position, he turned to Hanumappa Nayaka who was responsible for the intervention of the Bijapur army in the affairs of the south. He despatched a diplomatic representative named Rama-krishnaiya with presents to the Sultan of Bijapur and solicited his aid to punish his enemy. Secondly Kanthirava Narasarsaja of Mysore had not paid the arrears of tribute due to Bijapur,

1. Ke.N.V.Ch.VI, P.93, V.34; Annals (I. P.83) states that persons named Huvalya & Puvalya were despatched.

according to the treaty of 1639. Thirdly, Hanumappa Nayaka who was placed in charge of the territory on the northern bank of the Cauvery as against Kanthirava Narasaraja holding the territory south of the Cauvery revolted against Bijapur and thus brought about the general rising of the Hindu Rajas throughout the Karnataka against Bijapur. 

A commission under Channaiah: To conduct an enquiry to the unsatisfactory arrangements made at Mysore, a commission was appointed of which Nagamangala Channaiah was a member. Hanumappa Nayaka, who did not like the intervention of the commission, murdered Nagamangala Channaiah in cold-blood when he arrived in Basavapatna to conduct an enquiry. Irritated at the high-handedness and treachery of Hanumappa, the Sultan of Bijapur launched forth the third Karnataka expedition in 1640. R.D.Khan, Shahji and others were sent to lead the expedition. In order to employ divide-and-rule policy in his venture, R.D.Khan wrote to Virabh德拉:

"If you will help me in defeating Kenge Nayak, I will restore to you that dominion of yours which I gave to him after the victory of Ikkeri".

Feeling happy, Virabh德拉 accepted the proposal and joined the

---

3. Annals, (I.pp.83-86) and Mys.Dho.Vam. say that R.D.Khan was dismissed and Khan was appointed in his place. This seems to be erroneous as Ke.N.V., K.N.Vi and Muhammad namah speak of the presence of R.D.Khan in this expedition of 1640.  
Sultan's army at Harlhara. The combined Bijapur Ikkerl armies, crossing the river Bhadra at Habbe arrived in Basavapatna. R.D. Khan sent a message to Hanumappa Nayak for surrendering the fort but he was not inclined to do so. Thereupon, Shahji was despatched with Afzal Khan, Badaji, Sidi Rayhan, Sholanuri, Huseini Ambas and others to besiege the fort. In the sanguinary action that followed, Hanumappa Nayaka could not long hold out. He came out of the fort, expressed sorrow at his past deeds and delivered the fort along with 40 lakhs of Hun. According to a source, Hanumappa Nayaka was murdered at Dudda, and according to another source he and his brothers were captured and his brothers were sent to Bijapur. According to some other source, the Bijapur general converted the temple at Santebannur into a mosque and endowed with villages, Kulunur and Kempanahalli. He stationed guards in Santebannur. He appointed Murtij Beg as the Governor of Basavapatna and Hanumappa was taken prisoner to Bijapur. After a while his younger brother Chikka Kenga Hanumappa of Banavara went to Bijapur to have his brother released. The Shah honoured him with presents and sent him back with his kingdom restored.

1. K.N.V., P.99 says that the Ikkerl forces were led by Shivappa Nayaka, uncle of Virabhadr; K.N.V., XVI, Vs.22-24; K.A.W. Sastry and N.Venkataramanaiya: Further sources of Vijayanagara History Vol. I. P.344.
4. K.N.V., VI. Vs.99; K.N.V., XVI, Vs.25-29

(for 5 a foot-note please see next page)
Shiva Bharatā says that

"When Ranadaula (Ranadulla) attacked Farakat
then Shahji defeated Kenge Nayak of Vrishapattan (Basavapatna)".

This is confirmed by an account compiled in Tanjore in the days of Raja Sarfoji by his chitnis in 1803. It says that

"Shahji went on the southern invasion with
Ranadhoola Khan sent by Adil Shah. He
conquered Kenge Nayaka".  

After the reduction of Basavapatna, Afzal Khan, Shahji
and other reputed generals were sent with a big army in advance
to conquer Chikkanayakanahalli. When the army arrived in Chikkanayakanahalli, its chief was terror-stricken and sent a message:

"If you kindly allow me to keep the qasba, I will
leave my men therein and accompany you for your
help".

Accordingly the fort and 20,000 Huns were taken leaving the
qasba for the chieftain.  

Belur was
taken to Chikkanayakanahalli and detached another contingent to Belur

(contd. from previous page)

2. Ch. IX. V.37.
3. It says that he was the ruler of Konju country. It is an
K.N.V., XVI, V.53.
in order to help Afzal Khan and others who had laid siege to the fort of Belur.¹ After a protracted siege of 4 months, Venkatapati, the chief of Belur entered into negotiations with R.D.Khan, agreeing to deliver Sakrepatna in exchange for his fort. The spoils of the war were carried off to Bijapur.²

**Tumkur:** On seeing the tremendous preparation of the Bijapur army in the vicinity of Tumkur, its chief surrendered and gave all his treasures to R.D.Khan. The property of the chief thus taken was transferred to Bijapur.³

**R.D.Khan & Venkatapati raya of Vellore:** After the reduction of Belur and Tumkur, R.D.Khan went and made an agreement with the ruler of Vellore, according to which both of them should carry on the war jointly and in the event of their success, R.D.Khan was to receive the movable property and the Raja was to take possession of the immovable property. But the Raja did not seem to have kept up the promise. Consequently R.D.Khan took to conquest independently and captured Belapura (Doddaballapura). The chief of Doddaballapura surrendered the fort and its treasury to R.D.Khan. Then R.D.Khan turned his attention towards Kunigal, and conquered it from its chief after a siege of 14 days. He appropriated all the wealth and gave the empty fort

---

¹ Belur which is in Hassan district was called in ancient times Velapuri in Sanskrit.
³ Ibid.
⁴ In Persian Source it is called Kolihal.
to the ruler of Vellor as was agreed upon.¹

It must be remembered that Shahji, being one of the generals of the Bijapur army under R.D.Khan, played a significant part in all these territorial conquests.

Rāmagiridurga taken: Shahji, R.D.Khan and other generals arrived at Bangalore about August 1640 with all their army. The encampment of the army was communicated to Kanthirava Narasaraja of Mysore who, in his perplexity at the disturbances of the enemies, despatched his Dalavoy, Nanjarejendra with instructions to take possession of Rāmagiridurga, a place commanding the route of the Bijapur army to Mysore. Vemōji Pandita, one of the generals of the Bijapur army, fought stubbornly and took possession of Ramagiridurga, putting to flight the Mysore army.²

According to Kannada Source battles were fought at Huliyur-durga, Bāgur, Thruvekere and Nonavina Kere, between Mysore and Bijapur, in which the army of Mysore claimed victory over the Muslims,³ but we have no other sources to substantiate them. Muhammad Namah maintains discreet silence on these points; much more so Maratha bakhars.

¹. House of Shivaji, P.55; Shiv.Nibh.P.103; K.N.V., Ch.XVI.
   Tumkur, Ballapura and Kunigal were overrun by the Bijapur army even during the expedition of 1639 as pointed out already (Vide: K.N.V., Ch.XI). Probably they became independent after the departure of the Bijapuri army.

². K.N.V., XVII, Vs.41.

³. Mys.Dho.Vam, P.37: Vemōji Panditharu Ramagiridurgavanm"thegadukondu" Vemōji pandits name is spelt in different sources as 'Vemōji pant, Vemajj pant, Vedboji pant'. S.K.Jyvazner: Ancient India (P.294) refers to the name as 'Hemaji pandit'. See and compare K.N.V. XVI, pp.32.43.

³. K.N.V., XVI, Vs.55-91.
Renewed relations between Bijapur and Mysore, 1640-41: In December 1640, Mustafa Khan, successor of R.D.Khan, was commissioned to lead an expedition into the Karnatak. Intent upon taking Srirangapatna, Mustafa Khan proceeded with all his rapidity and halted near Chandanahalli in the neighbourhood of Bellur. From there he sent a message to Kanthirava for the payment of the dues under the treaty of 1639. Kanthirava marched to the battle field in person with a huge army and inflicted a crushing defeat on the enemies. Mustafa Khan retreated to Bijapur ignominiously.¹

About March 1641, another wave of Bijapur invasion under Vedoji pandit and Afzal Khan had swept away Tippur, Hampapura, Kannambadi, Akkihebbal, Gauni, Nallur, Madapura, Kattarighatta, Hosaholalu and several other places in the neighbourhood of Srirangapatna. They opposed the Mysore army under Nanjarajaiya, the Dalvoy, and returned to Bijapur with vast booty. On his way Vedoji pandit reoccupied Turuvekere; and assassinating its chieftain, handed it over to Afzal Khan, who accompanied him.² Thus, the series of Bijapur invasions under gallant generals like Shahji and Vedoji pandit had prepared the ground for permanent settlements of the latter in MYSORE.

In this connection Sardesai says: "The Sultan held grand celebrations at Bijapur to commemorate the unprecedented triumph of three years continuous efforts in which all the Hindu potentates of the South had been overcome".¹

The conquered territories such as Bangalore, Doddaballapur, Belur, Tumkur, Kunigal were left in charge of Shahji except Turuvakere which was managed by another Bijapur general, Afzal Khan.

**Bangalore town described:** Bangalore which was assigned to Shahji as a jagir became a great centre of Maratha activities. Bangalore in the region of the dilapidated Vijayanagar was then a place of historical importance full of old traditions of the fallen Hindu Empire. The town had nine gates, nine tanks, temples and four towers situated in the four quarters of the town. It was a prosperous and opulent town.² It was in this beautiful, attractive and delightful city that Shahji established his capital.

An account compiled in Tanjore in the days of Sarfoji by Chitnis says: "Being pleased with the sight of Bangalore, the security of its fortress and the salubrity of its climate, Shahji made up his mind to fix his head quarters there".³

**Shahji in Bangalore:** The ambitious desire of Shahji was gratified when Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur had conferred upon him

---

2. S.K. Narasimiah: The Founder of Bangalore, Ch. II and III.
SHAHJI'S JAGHIRS.
Bengaluru, Kolar, Hoskote, Doddaballapura and Sira as a Jagir. The Shah of Bijapur renamed Bengaluru as Islampuri. Thereupon Shahji took up his residence at Bengaluru. On certain occasions, when not engaged in military expeditions, Shahji used to stay at Doddaballapura and Kolar with Mandi as his summer residence. Consequent upon the third Karnataka expedition of R.D.Khan, places like Chikkamagalur, Belur, Tumkur and Kunigal were placed in charge of Shahji who administered them with commendable equanimity.

Shahji earned the love and confidence of his overlord so much that the latter went to the extent of saying in one of his letters: "To our son Shahji Bhonsale, the pillar of our state." In another letter, the Sultan appreciated the services of Shahji rendered in several Karnataka expeditions.

Shahji established almost a royal splendour and independence at Bengaluru, for the central government could have hardly any effective control over a distant province. The great sagacity and dexterity he showed in evolving an administration to his sweet will were remarkable. A body of Maratha Brahmins were employed in his administration and trained them as hereditary officials.

With the closer cooperation and goodwill of these officers, Shahji

---

1. Sardesai: Marathi Riyasat, part I, P.64.
2. L.Rice: Mysore Gazetteer, Vol.II. P.22; Shiv.Fib, II, P.64.
4. Ibid.
succeeded in rooting out universal anarchy and lawlessness in his kingdom, arising out of the frequent incursions of the Muslim army.\textsuperscript{1} Marathi was introduced as the court-language. Maratha system of accounting and auditing and other novelties in respect of revenue administration were introduced, in Mysore kingdom. Maratha names like Deshpande, Deshmukh, Kulakarmee together with persian designations like Seristedar and others found convenient place in Mysore. Civil administration was continued to be in the hands of native officers,\textsuperscript{2} making necessary changes at the higher plane of the administration. Therefore some sort of Double Government was instituted at Bangalore.

His court was adorned with eminent scholars, poets, musicians and saints, each one was rewarded according to his status. Thus a miniature Maharashtra Court came into existence in Mysore, the effects of which survived to this day in spite of centuries of change.\textsuperscript{3}

Though Shahji was acting as an independent king, yet his loyalty to the Sultan of Bijapur was unquestioned. He remitted the annual contributions to the Bijapur treasury regularly. Care was taken in official dealings. In collecting revenue from his subjects, Shahji observed as much moderation as possible.\textsuperscript{4} The subjects were happy and prosperous under his benevolent rule.\textsuperscript{5}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} Wilks: History of Mysore, Vol. I, P.45.
\item \textsuperscript{3} Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, P.73.
\item \textsuperscript{4} Wilks: History of Mysore, Vol.I, pp.45-46.
\item \textsuperscript{5} Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, P.73.
\end{itemize}
Shahji was wedded to court and camp.\(^1\)

**Poona Jagir:** Shahji did not neglect his other jagirs at Poona. He entrusted the duty of administering it to his confidential dependent named Dadaji Kondedev who realized a considerable surplus annually from reviving the revenue system in Poona; and the surplus was remitted to Bangalore treasury faithfully.\(^2\) Jija bai and Shivaji were left under the loving care of Dadaji who gave the best possible education to Shivaji. The other two sons named Sambhaji and Ekoji were growing in the court of Bangalore.

**Dadaji, Shivaji and Jija bai at Bangalore:** The closest association of Shivaji with the turbulent and hardy Navals and the intimate pupillage under Dadaji Kondedev made him hard, bold and courageous; and these prepared him to any enterprise however difficult and dangerous it might be. Having armed himself with all the education and experience, Shivaji threw himself on the career of plundering expeditions. In order to keep Shivaji on traditional path of serving the Muslims, Shahji invited Shivaji, Dadaji and Jija bai to his court.\(^3\) Therefore the whole family journaled to Bangalore from Poona and stayed there for about two years from 1640 to 1642.

**Marriage of Shivaji at Bangalore:** In Bangalore the marriage of Shivaji with a girl named Saibai from Kimbalkar family, was celebrated on a grand scale.\(^5\)

---

4. Ibid.

WYSORE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
MYSORE-6
To admonish on how he should conduct himself in regard to the Bijapur Sultan, he called upon his son, wife and Dadaji to his presence. For about 2 years between 1640 and 1643, the party was at Bangalore. What happened during their visit to Bangalore was still lost in mystery. Dadaji Kondadeva also visited Bangalore just a year before his death.¹

Jija Bai went on Pilgrimage:

A woman born and bread up in an orthodox atmosphere would find, as a matter of fact, her sentiments repulsive, when she was required to stay at a court where cosmopolitan atmosphere prevailed. In the same way, Jija bai was not happy to stay on in Bangalore where her husband was surrounded by the men of different tastes. Therefore, she went on pilgrimage to different numerous sacred Hindu shrines in the South. The visit to Bangalore by the whole family from Poona had created great anxiety in the mind of Muhammad Adil Shah and was keeping watch on the political developments arising out of their visit. But soon Adil Shah found the necessity of inviting them to his court in about 1643.

Death of R.D.Khan: In the meanwhile Shahji was distressed and dismayed to hear the news of the death of his own intimate friend and patron namely R.D.Khan; with the result there was none in the Adil Shah's court to champion the cause of Shahji.²

---

¹ Indian Historical Quarterly Sept.1955; Shivaji Kalina Patra Sara Sangraha, Vol.3, P.173.
Shahji went to Bijapur: In response to the invitation extended to him, Shahji paid a visit to the court of Bijapur along with his whole family sometime in 1643. The absence of Shahji from Bangalore was taken advantage of by many enterprising and ambitious Hindu chieftains who, by throwing off the Adil Shah's allegiance, rose in rebellion and thus started in the south, a strong revulsion against the Adil Shah's rule.¹

Shahji and Kanthirava compared: Just as Shivaji and Aurangzeb complement each other's history, so exactly do Shahji and Kanthirava too, who were close contemporaries. The study of the two character reveals to us close similarity in their status, dignity, conquest.

Shahji stood for the honour and prestige of the Adil Shahs of Bijapur. He earned their respect and goodwill as a champion of their power. Establishing his court which almost resembled that of royal splendour, at Bangalore, he governed the Bijapuri conquered territories.² In the same manner, Kanthirava stood for the cause of the Vijayanagar Empire as the right-hand-man. Gajjaganahalli copper-plate³ grant reveals to us that he had accepted the suzerainty of Venkata seated on the jewelled throne at Ghanasaila (Penukonda). Further, Kanthirava calls himself a Mahamandalesvara - Viceroy⁴ and makes the grant having informed his lord Venkata, of

2. Sardesai: Maratha History Vol.1, Ch. III, pp.70-76.
4. Ibid., II. 85-87.
the same. Even after the succession of Sri Ranga to the throne of Penukonda, after the death of Venkata II, in 1642, Kanthirava continued to be loyal feudatory. During 1639-1642 Kanthirava as a loyal feudatory of the Empire, had saved the interest of Vijayanagar in the South.

Shahji, as a loyal feudatory, brought into submission many of the mighty, enterprising and ambitious chieftains, established the authority of the Bijapur Sultan and stood as a great barrier against their aggressions. In the same way, Kanthirava reduced many of the overgrown chieftains in the neighbourhood of Srirangapatna and by stemming the tide of invasions of Madura and other aggressive powers, he protected the interest of Vijayanagar. But visions and objects of Shahji were tempered by larger interests than that of Kanthirava.

Wars between Shahji and Kanthirava

Narasaraja 1644-1645:

Writing in the "Modern Review" for July 1929, J.N. Sarkar says, in the IV division of the article, that the war was renewed in A.D.1644 between Bijapur and Karnataka. No reason for this renewal of the war is stated. He proceeds as follows

"The fort of Tikri, situated in the midst of almost inaccessible hills and forests had been surprised.

1. It is not Tikri but it is Ikkeri, the capital of the Nayak of Bednar."
by Rustum-i-Zaman, but Shivappa Nayaka wrested it from its careless indolent pleasure-loving Adil Shahi commandant. So, Adil Shah sent Khan Muhammad to recover the fort. He took both Tikri and Sagar.

In the autumn of 1645, Khan Muhammad again marched into the Karnatak (uplands) and gained a rapid succession of victories. Early in 1646 he reported the capture of Nandiyal (Karnul District) and eight other strong forts of that region.

In all these wars Shahji did not take any part. The campaign beginning with A.D.1644 and ending with A.D.1646 is given as a mere rhodomontade by this historian. That Shahji during these two years remained idle without entering into any active life is proved by this official historian. But what the Persian sources lack is supplied by Kannada sources. According to Kannada sources Shahji's life during these two years was full of political activities.

Kanthirava Narasaraja of Mysore threw himself on a career of conquest with a view to prevent any one planting colonies in his kingdom. Nanjarajaiyya was sent at the head of the large Mysore army to take Samballi, the chief of which, being supported by Tirumala Nayaka of Madura, rose in rebellion. In March 1641 Nanjarajaiyya took both Samballi and Marata-halli, a dependency of the former, by putting to flight their chief.¹

CoPcracgt ef ftiravckere l6^2t After strengthening southern frontier of Mysore kingdom, Kanthirava turned his attention towards the viceroyalty of Afzal Khan over Turuvekere. Turuvekere had been in the hands of Afzal Khan since its capture in 1641.

Bangalore and Turuvekere were the two places where the Bijapur interest was prominent. These two places proved to be stepping stones for further territorial encroachments in the Mysore kingdom by Bijapur.

Being an enterprising and farsighted ruler, Kanthirava realised early the menace hanging over his kingdom from these dangerous plantation of Bijapur colonies. So, Kanthirava Narasaraja had commissioned his Dalvoy, Nanjarajaiyya to exterminate Afzal Khan from Turuvekere. In May 1642, shortly after his return from the southern campaign, Nanjarajaiyya set out to lay siege to Turuvekere. In the action that followed, Nanjarajaiyya took possession of Turuvekere putting to flight Afzal Khan. This was followed by the reduction of Anegpur. Nanjarajaiyya returned victoriously with large spoils of war in addition to 40 horses and an elephant named Bokkalika that were seized in the confused din of war. This victory meant restriction of the sphere of influence of Bijapur to the east, west and north of Turuvekere which,

however remained a bone of contention between Mysore and Bijapur.

The news of the expulsion of Afzal Khan reached the ears of Adil Shah of Bijapur and also Shahji. Shahji seems to have felt his position shaky at the news of this disaster. Further he seems to have realised that as long as he remained an idle and unconcerned spectator of the political drama staged in Mysore by Kanthirava, he could not think of the security of his own Jagir. Therefore he had been waiting for an opportunity to pounce upon Kanthirava Narasaraja of Mysore. That opportunity offered itself when war broke out between Kanthirava of Mysore and Nanjunda Raja of Piryapatna in 1645.

Conquest of Piryapatna: Causes of the war were: that Nanjunda Raja of Piryapatna had refused to pay the annual tribute of 3,000 varahas due to Mysore according to the treaty signed during the reign of Chamaraja Wodeyar; secondly that he refused to ally himself with the Raja; thirdly that he had been on friendly relations1 with Ikkeri and Shahji, the inveterate opponents of the Mysore Raja.

It is probable that when the danger from Kanthirava of Mysore was imminent, Nanjunda Raja of Piryapatna appealed to

Shahji for help. Thus we find Shahji taking active part in the war against Kanthirava of Mysore.¹

Nanjunda Raja sought the assistance of Ikkeri ruler also. Virabhadra Nayaka was not on good terms with Kanthirava of Mysore. Ever since the war of 1639, Ikkeri, on seeing the peculiar method of Mysorean warfare and also the expansion of the Mysore kingdom, used to call the latter's army by the epithet Mayavis, Mayavadis² (i.e. deluders, diplomatists), political jealousy and hatred probably, accounting, in a large measure, for such a description. Virabhadra Nayaka loyally supported the cause of Bijapur during R.D.Khan's expedition of Mysore. In his third Karnatak expedition of 1640, Virabhadra helped him a lot. Thus we can see the combination of Bijapur and Ikkeri.

Realising the advantages of such a help, Nanjunda Raja appealed to Ikkeri for military aid in his war with Kanthirava of Mysore. Thus war broke out between Piryapatna and Mysore in 1645.

Kanthirava of Mysore ordered his Dalvoy, Nanjarajaiyya to lead an expedition into Piriyapatna. Accordingly Nanjarajaiyya set out at the head of a large army and conquered Palnapare, a fort commanding the kingdom of Nanjunda Raja. After taking possession of it, the entire army marched to Piriyapatna, the capital of Nanjunda Raja.

¹ K.N.V., XVIII, V.113.
² F.N.V., VI-IX. 99, 109, 118, 119, 125, 135.
The fort protected by the chieftains of various places stood impregnable. The Raja was actively assisted by
the Bijapur contingent consisting of 8,000 horse and 15,000 foot. Shahji, Vedoji, Ambar Khan, Malik Rahim (Yuluka Rahima) and Ankus Khan (Ankusa Khana) were some of the prominent Bijapur generals who figured on the side of Nanjunda Raja. Shahji, accompanied by these reputed generals encamped at Bettadapura.

In the terrible battle that followed from January 1645 to October 1645, Nanjundaraja fell though he fought heroically and dexterously. Both sides incurred heavy losses. Ikkeri army was put to flight. Shahji's army ran away from the field of action, wounded seriously. Vedoji too shared the same fate. The Mysore army heavily pursued hard and harassed the Bijapur army under Shahji during this panic stricken flight.

After the flight of Shahji's army, Nanjundaraja exhorted his soldiers to flight bravely in defence of the town. The army in the town fought stubbornly against the advancing tide of the Mysore army. In the thick of the flight, Nanjunda Arasu's sons and relatives lost their lives; the fort was reduced to dust and he himself was taken a prisoner. At the news of this triumph, Kanthirava himself visited the newly won fort and returned to Srirangapatna with vast booty, after stationing guards to protect the conquered fort.

On October 7, 1645 after a protracted siege of nearly nine months, Piriyapatna was reduced and incorporated to the kingdom of Mysore.

Muhammad Namah maintains discreet silence on this important event. Maratha Bakhars also do not say anything about this warfare. In the absence of any recorded evidence, therefore, we will have to rely upon Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam.

Seeing from the point of view of the repercussions, the war of Piriyapatna had left a tremendous influence on the mind of Shahji. Further the relationship between Mysore and the Marathas became bitter.

By involving himself in this war, Kanthirava of Mysore had extended his kingdom as far as Coorg. Manjunda Raja in his flight from place to place, entered Coorg seeking the aid of its king in order to protect his honour and kingdom. In December 1645, Kanthirava pursued him to Coorg and slew him at Nanjarayarpatna (in Coorg). Thus the war with Nanjararaja made Kanthirava extend his territory as far as Coorg in the west.

Though it was a political gain to Kanthirava, he provoked the wrath of the Sultan of Bijapur and invited the Bijapur arms into his kingdom.

1. Mys. Dho. Pur., II. 14 placing the event on October 7, 1645, Wilks I, p.64 places the event in 1644, Rice: F.C. IV (2), p.13 places the event in 1641 for which there is no evidence. The former is preferred.

Role of Shāhji in Mustafa's Karnataka

Expedition 1646 - 1647.

Shāhji's war with Kanthīrava of Mysore:— Sarkar writing an article on 'Shahji Bhonsle in Mysore', in Modern Review for July 1929, in the V division says that "In June 1646, the Prime Minister Mustafa Khan was despatched from the capital to subdue the Kanarese country".

The learned historian has not stated the reason as to the despatch of Mustafa Khan to the Karnataka. Bijapur invasion is begun as if it came upon Karnataka as a bolt from the blue. Historical events do not take place in that way. Action takes place only if there is a predisposing cause. Hindu accounts supply us various causes that were responsible in bringing about the intervention of Bijapur in the affairs of Karnataka.

(1) On October 29, 1642, Sriranga Raya ascended the throne of Vijayanagara, soon after the death of Venkatapati II. Sriranga Raya the last unfortunate relic of the decadent Vijayanagara glory seemed to have been much better and stronger than his predecessors. He organised his resources at Vellore and wished to bring under subjection several subordinate chieftains of the south who enjoyed

virtual independence by throwing off their allegiance to
Vijayanagara empire. The second object of the prince was to
put a check to the advancing tide of the Muslim invasions.\(^1\) In
order to materialise his objectives, Sriranga Raya was fast
making headway and was proved troublesome to the Bijapur interest
in Karnataka. The Sultan of Bijapur, Muhammad Adil Shah realised
that unless Sriranga Raya was crushed, there would be no security
to the Bijapur possession of Karnataka.\(^2\)

(2) In November 1645, Sivappa Nayaka ascended the throne of
Ikkeri by dislodging treacherously Virabhadra Nayaka. He took
his residence at Bednur.\(^3\) The accession of the new ruler
created a new problem in the mind of the Sultan of Bijapur as to
the loyalty of Bednur to his kingdom.

(3) The subversion of the authority of Afzal Khan at Tumve-
kere by Kanthirava of Mysore was a terrible blow to the Bijapur
interest in the Mysore kingdom.\(^4\) Putting an end to the victorious
progress of the king of Mysore was an immediate necessity to the
Sultan of Bijapur.

(4) In the battle of Piriyapatna fought in 1645 Shahji, the
reputed general of Bijapur, who took up the side of Manjunda Raja

---

1. C.S. Srinivasachari: A History of Gingee & its rulers P.158;
R.Satyanath Iyer: Nayaks of Madura, P.127, Pn.52.
4. See page 1 under the Shàhījī Wars between Shāhījī & Kanthirava
of Mysore.
of Piriyapatna as against the ruler of Mysore was ignominiously defeated by the latter’s army and hunted out to a distance of five miles. This disastrous defeat never escaped the attention of the Sultan. Thus Muhammad Shah was faced with numerous problems arising out of this possessions in Karnataka.

Mustafa Khan’s march to the Karnataka: Having come to know of the chaos and confusion into which the whole of Karnataka plunged, Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur convened an assembly of the Khans and Vazirs and questioned them if there were any among them who were capable of leading an expedition into Karnataka. Mustafa Khan, the Prime Minister stood up and offered his services to the Sultan. He said:

"O lord, why speak more permit me to go to Karnataka. If I do not conquer and place it at your feet, you shall not allow me to stay in your court."

The Sultan felt happy and detached Mustafa Khan at the head of a large and well-equipped army on June 5th, 1646 with full instructions as to the means by which Karnataka countries to be conquered. In order to give him a hearty send off, the Sultan accompanied Mustafa Khan as far as Ibrahimpuri.

1. See pase 6, under the Chapter ‘Wars between Shahji & Kanthirava of Mysore’.
Shahjii met Mustafa at Honnali: Passing by way of Gadag and Lakshmeswar, Mustafa Khan reached Honnali (12 miles west of Basavapatna) where he met Shahjii and Asad Khan who were sent in advance to guard the boundaries of Kampatak.¹

On the 3rd October, 1646 Mustafa Khan left the place and on the 4th Shivappa Nayaka of Ikkeri came to Mustafa Khan supplying with 1000 horse and 2000 foot for the conquest of Kampataka. After contributing his quota to the General, Shivappa Nayaka, the most unpatriotic that he was, cantoned on the geographical frontiers of the Mysore kingdom with 1000 horse and 30,000 foot with a view to prevent any aggression on the part of the Mysore king against the territorial encroachments of the Muslims. Then the raja of Hamanahalli came and joined the Bijapur army with a contingent of 30,000 horse and 2000 foot.²

Being reinforced heavily by the levies of the local chieftains of Kampataka, Mustafa Khan, accompanied by Shahjii and others reached Sakkarepatna (in Shimoga district). There he was joined by Husaini, Ambar Khan, Jujhar Rao, Abail Chatge, Kenge Nayaka's brother Chikka Hanumappa Nayaka, Desais of Lakshmeswar and Kopal and Balaji Haibat Rao. These Desais brought with them the contingents of 300 horse and 20,000 foot.³

3. Ibid.
In this campaign Shahji actively cooperated with Mustafa Khan as was desired by the Sultan of Bijapur. Shahji was supposed to have a deep experience of the political affairs in Karnataka. It is probable that Shahji disclosed to Mustafa Khan the subversion of the Bijapur authority by the Mysore king at Turuvekere as well as his disgraceful retreat from Piryanatna.

**Action at Turuvekere:** Consequently Mustafa Khan, instead of directing his marches to the rich plains of the east, concentrated his attention on the capture of the Mysore principality. From Sakkarepatna, the entire army marched and encamped in the neighbourhood of Turuvekere where the influence of Mysore was predominant.

When the news of the arrival of the Khan was being communicated to Kanthirava Narasaraja of Mysore, the latter detached his Dalvoy Nanjaraiya to grapple with the situation at the head of sufficiently a big army. Mustafa Khan had 60,000 infantry at his disposal while Nanjaraiya so manoeuvred as to bring together the entire Mysore cavalry numbering 10,000 in one spot.

Mustafa Khan surrounded Turuvekere on all four directions instructing his various generals such as Shahji and others to watch

---

1. K.N.V., XIX, Vs. 16-18.
the place carefully. Having come to the place of encampment, Nanjarajaiya divided his forces into nine convenient squadrons and ordered them to pounce upon the Muslims. The Mysorean army entered the Muslim camp, opened fire and threw the entire atmosphere into confusion. Arms of various kinds were used to destroy the enemies. The military arrangements of Nanjarajaiya were so fine that the enemies were stricken with horror as to convenient passages by which they could slip away. Nanjarajaiya brought the entire Mysore army fighting in different directions of Turuvekere in one place and encircled the Bijapuris. In the sanguinary action fought in January 1647, both the parties sustained heavy losses.

Nanjarajaiya fought with the enemy heroically and desperately. Unable to bear the brunt of the Mysorean army, Mustafa Khan retraced his steps from Turuvekere incurring heavy losses in men and materials. Unfortunately in the confused-fight between the two armies, Nanjarajaiya, the Dalvoy of the Mysore army was slain on the field of battle. Nanjarajaiya died a soldier's death.

1. The date of the fight has been fixed as January 1647 depending upon Muhammad Namah. Though it is silent about the activities of Mustafa Khan at Turuvekere, yet it speaks of the marches of Khan in the Karnatak between October 1646 and January 1647. The Annals, I P.85 says that Nanjarajaiya was removed from the office on an allegation of neglect of duty in January 1647. Therefore it may not be wrong if the date of the action at Turuvekere is fixed as January 1647.

Defeat of Sri Ranga Raya at Vellore: After the battle of Turuvekere in January 1647, Mustafa Khan directed his gallant army towards the eastern dominions of Sri Ranga and very soon reached Sivaganga in Bangalore District. Sri Ranga might have felt nervous at the approach of the Muslim army and therefore despatched his envoy Venkaiya Somayaji who waited on Mustafa Khan with peace offerings so as to make him retreat to his own country wherefrom he had come, without giving room to invade Sri Ranga Raya’s dominions. But the whole scheme became fall through when the chiefs of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee who were once the vassals of Sri Ranga, had sent their envoys tendering their submission to the Bijapur Government. This shifting political policy enraged Sri Ranga Raya who, immediately set out with 12,000 cavalry and 3 lakhs of infantry against these refractory chieftains.

Mustafa Khan seems to have been the cleverest man and therefore very soon realised that it was very difficult to depend upon the solemn words of a man from the enemy’s camp. However Venkaiya Somayaji induced the Sultan to accept the peace offering he had brought with him. The Khan did not trust the words of the former. Venkaiya Somayaji persisted and prevailed upon the Khan to grant peace to the Emperor. But for Shahji, it would have been very difficult for Venkaiya to realise his cherished goal. Shahji who was the most influential man in the camp intervened in the affairs and assured the Khan that he had taken solemn oaths from
Venkaiya and he would be held responsible for Somavali carrying out his promise. Through the mediation of Shahjhi, Venkaiya was able to secure the permission to go to Vellore in the company of the Bijapur envoy to settle the terms of peace. The treacherous and ungrateful Venkaiya, instead of carrying out the promise intrigued, indirectly fanned the feeling of enmity and induced Sri Ranga to prepare for the war by organising defences and fortifying the passes. No sooner the Khan heard the breach of faith than he marched on Sri Ranga's territories. Mustafa Khan first, invaded the territories of Jagdev Raya and encamped at Masti, a place about 30 miles to the east of Bangalore. Sri Ranga hurried to Oudiyatam in the north Arcot District and passing through the territories of Jagadeva Raya, reached Krishnagiri on the north-west of Salem District. The attack was delivered on Shahji who was properly reinforced by the Khan. After a severe battle, the enemies were put to flight. Jagadeva Raya's mother was killed, his country was subdued, his important forts fell into the hands of Shahji. Shahji won a brilliant victory over Jagadeva Raya and for his selfless service, Mustafa rewarded him amply. 1

Mustafa Khan proceeded taking Krishnagiri, Virabhadradurga and Devadurga and finally arrived at Vellore in February 1647.

Mustafa Khan, in his determined marches to Vellore, seems to have been actuated by the ambitious desire of securing satisfactory reply from Sri Ranga.

The war was commenced more vigorously than before with the coming of Mir Jumla, the Golkonda general at the head of a large force. The Bijapur and Golkonda Governments had come to a decision of dividing among themselves the conquered territories and wealth of Sri Ranga Raya in the proportion of two to one, two-thirds of them to Adil Shah and one third to the Qutb Shah, in the event of their success against Sri Ranga Raya.\(^1\) To raise money for fighting this battle Sri Ranga seems to have taken jewels of women of Vellore and money from the temple of Tirupati.\(^2\) Actively supported by Golkonda forces, Mustafa Khan was prepared for the war. Right persons were placed in suitable positions. Shahji commanded the right wing of the army along with other Muslim officers. Asad Khan stood in support of Shahji with his contingent. A bloody battle was fought under the walls of Vellore in which the slaughter on the Hindu side was great. The general of the Hindu army was severely wounded leaving large number of his men dead on the field of battle. Vellore was invested on all sides. At this critical, cross-road of the destiny, there was no other go for

---

Sri Ranga Raya except submitting to the superior armed might of Mustafa Khan. On submission Sri Ranga Raya paid 50 lakhs of hun and 150 elephants as war reparation.¹

Return journey of Mustafa Khan.

In April 1647 Mustafa Khan commenced his return journey.² On his way he conquered Cuddiam which stood on the frontier of Jagadeva, Ambur which was situated on the summit of a mountain. After the conquest of Canverinatan, Mustafa Khan directed his army to proceed in the direction of Mysore.

The defeat of Sri Ranga Raya gave Mustafa Khan confidence. Therefore Mustafa Khan, forgetting the reverses he sustained at Turuvekere in 1647, proceeded on and reached Mysore about May 1647. All that happened at Mysore is clearly described by the Jesuit Missionary named Leonardo Cinnami, an Italian. He writes as follows: "Nor did he (Kanthirava) fight only against the weak but also against the Moors (Muslims) who are very strong. Mustafa Khan who was a near relation and captain general of the Deccan, came at the head of 60,000 infantry against Mysore ( Mysore ).

¹ Muhammad Wamah as translated in Modern Review 1929, p.11; C.S. Srinivasachari: History of Cinsae and its rulers p.171; Macleod: De Oost Indische Campagnen 11, P.398. as given in Further Sources of Vijayanagar History Vol. I, pr.359-360. The authors have assigned 1646 as the year in which the battle of Vellore took place, relying on the Dutch Dass Register. But the date given in Muhammadnamah seems to be correct as it is corroborated by Kannada sources.
But he was compelled to withdraw to the country whence he had come. During his sojourn on the environs of Mysore, Mustafa Khan showed greatest fear. He used to spend many nights only on his elephant surrounded by vigilant guards, for he expected attack of the Mysore army on his camp at any time day or night, whose peculiar way of warfare was the cutting off noses of those that fell into their hands.  

Having been compelled to retreat from the environs of Mysore, Mustafa Khan determined to conquer other places belonging to Mysore. Accordingly Mustafa Khan and Shahji conquered Melgiri, Arjunkot and Dhaleshwar Kot and changed the scene of war to Channarayapatna.  

The two epigraphic records found at Channarayapatna, dealing with the erection of some monuments incidentally refer to the building of the fort at Channarayapatna in 1648 by the chief of that place. Rice thinks that "the building of the fort in 1648 must have been in accordance with some agreement or treaty with Bijapur... some mutual understanding must be assumed to have been entered into between Mysore and Bijapur for the greater security of both."

1. Journal of Indian History, Vol. 25, 1947, P.196. (Hereafter it will be quoted as J.I.H.).  
3. Sarkar (House of Shivaji, P.59) locates these places in Jagadeva Raya's country. But they were all in Mysore. Melgiri is Melkote, Arjunkot is Maddur (See Rice's Gazetteer, Vol. II, P.265), Dhaleshwar Kot is Talkad (See Rice's Gazetteer Vol. II, P.307, 308).  
the dominions. From this it is clear that after the conclusion of a treaty between Mustafa Khan and Kanthirava the latter gave over Channarayapatna same to Doddaiya. In the royal service of the Sultan of Bijapur, Doddaiya was constructing a stone fort and hence these two inscriptions.

From Channarayapatna, Mustafa Khan and Shahji proceeded and conquered Hassan. From there the entire Bijapur army marched to Tumkur and after annexing several principalities in Tumkur, the army turned towards Bijapur.

The Sultan of Bijapur came up as far as the river Krishna to receive the victorious Mustafa.

Shahji and Asad Khan and others were left in charge of the conquered territories. Shahji played a magnificent role in the campaign of 1646-1647 by championing the cause of the Bijapur Sultan. He distinguished himself as an able General and an experienced captain in knowing the secrets of Karnataka warfare. For this selfless service he was properly rewarded by placed in his charge the entire conquered Karnataka territories and conferring on him the highest distinctions of Maharaja and Farzand.

Sardesai believes that the negotiations that went on

1. Rice (F.C.V (1), Introduction, P. XXXV.
between Shahji and Sri Ranga Raya were open secret. Perhaps, it was this good understanding and mutual goodwill between Sri Ranga Raya & Shahji that made the latter propose the terms of peace to Mustafa when Venkaiya Somayaji had approached him. Though Mustafa was unwilling to accept the mediation of Shahji, yet the force of circumstances made him speechless when Shahji had come forward proposing terms between Mustafa & Sri Ranga Raya. But the whole course of event was upset when Sri Ranga Raya had decided on an openfight. The active participation and the readiness with which Shahji mediated to propose terms of peace between the two clearly shows the attitude of Shahji towards Hindu cause. It is most likely that Shahji was brooding over day in and day out for the formation of a powerful confederacy of Hindu rulers of the country consisting of the Nayaks of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee and the Raja of Mysore and chiefs of Ikkeri and Kaveripatanam in order to put an end to the onward rush of the Muslims into Karnataka. This was perhaps, one of the reasons why Shahji was arrested by the Bijapur Sultan in 1648.

In spite of the reverses that Shahji sustained, once at Piriapatna, another time at Thruvekere, another time at Mysore - by the army of Kanthirava, the former was able to recover from them all very soon. In 1648 Mustafa Khan left Shahji in charge of the conquered territories in Karnataka. Thenceforward he became more powerful than before. His court at Bangalore was nothing but the replica of the Maratha court. As far as the relations were concerned Shahji and Kanthirava stood bitter opponents face to face.
CHAPTER V.

Activities of Shahji in Mysore

1648-1664.

Causes of Mustafa Khan's invasion: (1) Soon after the departure of Mustafa Khan from Vellore, Sriranga Raya took possession of his capital abrogating the authority of Bijapur. When the news of the acquisition of Vellore by Sriranga Raya reached the ears of Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur, the latter became furious. 1

(2) Tirumala Nayaka of Madura wanted to free himself from the yoke of Vijayanagara empire, of which he was a feudatory. In order to realise his object, he entered into negotiations with the Nayaks of Tanjore and Gingee. But the Tanjore Nayak betrayed the scheme by disclosing it to the Emperor. Being angry at the treacherous behaviour of his feudatory, Sriranga Raya marched with an army against the Nayak of Gingee, the nearest rebel. Then Tirumala Nayaka appealed to the Golkonda Viceroy on the frontier to subdue Sriranga Raya's territories. Sriranga Raya had to abandon his scheme of punishing the Nayak of Gingee and repulse the Muslim force that had entered Vellore. When Golkonda was forcing its way to Gingee, Tanjore Nayaka surrendered to them agreeing to render all possible help.

---

Betrayed by this Tanjore Nayak, Tirumala Nayaka of Madura appealed to Adil Shah for help.

(3) According to Paramananda 'Shahji was believed to have become overmighty in the Karnatak and the Hindu princes there, under his inspiration had ceased to fear the Muhammadans'.

(4) During the previous campaign of 1646–1647, Mustafa Khan had kept a strict watch on the movements of Shahji towards the Hindu chieftains and a general report regarding the faithfulness of Shahji seems to have been communicated to the Shah of Bijapur who, relying on the convincing report, came to an understanding that if Shahji was not checked in time, it would be rather difficult to maintain his suzerainty over the southern regions.

Conquest of Gingee: Arrest of Shahji:— After a long deliberation, another expedition was fitted out on January 12, 1648 under the able generalship of Mustafa Khan; and this last and greatest campaign of Mustafa was aimed at Gingee, then the storm centre of Hindu revolt. Shahji was ordered to accompany him when Mustafa Khan arrived near Gingee, Mir Jumla was already there besieging the fort. But very soon the two generals came to an understanding.

4. Sarkar (Modern Review, 1929, P.11) says that he left Bijapur on the 17th Jan.1648 but on 17th the Sultan was at Muhammadpur leaving Bijapur on the 12th, see Shivaji Nibandavali, P.121.
with the result Tirumala Nayaka could not effectively help the defence of Gingee. Golkonda General entrusted the siege of Gingee to Bijapur General and withdrew from the field. Mustafa Khan surrounded the fort. It was found very formidable and almost impregnable. The siege was protracted for some months. Shahji found that the Bijapur troops, instead of helping Tirumala was actually in league with Mir Jumla. This enraged Shahji. Consequently he prolonged the siege. Mustafa Khan who had been suffering from some disease could not bear the disloyal feelings of Shahji and Siddi Raihan. Therefore Mustafa Khan arrested Shahji on 25th July 1648. The Sultan of Bijapur who was seriously ill ordered Mustafa Khan to send Shahji immediately. But Mustafa Khan died on his way on November 9th 1648. Then the command of the Bijapur army devolved upon Khan Muhammad who conquered Gingee on 28th December 1648.

2. Main reasons for the arrest of Shahji were differently stated in several sources. According to Muhammed Namah Shahji was arrested because the latter wanted to get away from the camp. Basatin-us-Salatin says that when the siege of Gingee was going on, Shahji practised opposition and therefore he was arrested. Shiva Bharat says that Shahji was giving lead to all the Karnataka chieftain and therefore Adil Shah decided to put a brake to his growing might. According to the letter dated 23rd December 1647, of Abdul Qutb Shah, Shahji requested Qutb Shah of Golkonda to take him to his service. This was regarded disloyalty and therefore Shahji was arrested. - See Shivaji Nibandavali, Part II, pp.124-125.
5. Ibid., P.329.
Release of Shahji: The confinement of Shahji increased doubts and fears in the mind of the Sultan; for, two important places, namely Bangalore in the south and Sinhgad in Maharashtra were still held by Sambhaji and Shivaji, the two sons of Shahji. The question of wresting the two places involved the fate of Shahji who just arrived in Bijapur.  

Nevertheless the Sultan was bent upon conquering them by force. One detachment was sent from Gingee against Sambhaji and another from Bijapur against Shivaji. The Bijapur army was utterly defeated and disgraced by Shivaji. Another army sent against Sambhaji fought stubbornly in the neighbourhood of Bangalore but was completely routed. Sambhaji showed remarkable skill and valour in the defence of Bangalore against the besieging force. The news of the defeat at both the places had puzzled the Sultan.  

Then the Sultan negotiated with Shahji for the surrender of the fortress of Kondana, Bangalore and a place called Kandari in the Bellary District. Shahji agreed to the compromise and wrote to his two sons to deliver the forts. The two sons obeyed promptly. Then the Sultan called Shahji to his presence, honoured him with a robe of a minister and conferred upon him his former country. Thus Shahji was set at liberty on May 16th 1649.

after a detention of nearly 10 months. ¹

After the restoration of Bangalore, Shahji returned to Karnataka again, took up his residence at Kanakagiri and spent several months there.

Ekoji was looking after the administration of Bangalore and other territories dependent on it during the absence of Shahji at Kanakagiri while Sambhaji went over to his father at Kanakagiri to assist him. ²

Shahji in the war of 1651: Shahji fought with Mir Jumla in the contest of 1651 that broke out between Bijapur and Golconda over the question of the division of territories jointly conquered in the Karnataka. Being defeated, Mir Jumla had to pay 9 lakhs of Hun as war indemnity to Shahji. This victory enhanced the reputation of Shahji. ³ After this war, Shahji seemed to have established himself at Kanakagiri till 1654.

Kanthirava's territorial conquest: Kanthirava Narasaraja, the most ambitious ruler that he was, took advantage of the absence of Shahji in Kanakagiri and began to subdue the territories around Bangalore. The pillaging expeditions would clearly indicate the determined effort of Kanthirava to exterminate the Marathas from the soil of Mysore.

¹ Jedhe Sakavall in Shivaji Souvenir, P.6.
³ Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, P.80; Sarkar: House of Shivaji, P.72, F.N.62. Sarkar says that the war indemnity taken by Shahji was 6 lakhs. I have preferred the sum mentioned by Sardesai. See also Vijayanagara Sex Centenary Commemoration Volume P.121.
Kanthirava Narasaraja undertook an expedition in person, laid siege to Wagadi and conquered it from its keeper Immadi Kempe Gowda about 1648-1650. In April 1651 he subdued Venkura and annexed it to his kingdom from Immadi Kempe Gowda whose son named Yummadi Kempe Gowda showed remarkable skill in the fight. In the same year Kanthirava conquered Sulekeredurga, Nayakavadi State, Yelahanka-nadu, Channarini and Pasavanatna from the Muslims. These conquests indicate nothing but the ambitious desire on the part of Kanthirava in extending his dominion towards the north in the direction of the Maratha Kingdom. What Dkoji did during the devastating expeditions of Kanthirava, we have no means of knowing; probably Dkoji pursued a policy of non-intervention in the affairs of Mysore so long as his territories remained undisturbed by the pillaging activities of Kanthirava.

Sri Ranga Raya in Mysore: Unable to stay in the environs of Tanjore as it was forcibly submitted to Bijapur early in 1649, Sri rangaraya, the unfortunate relic of the decadent Vijayanagara empire, sought shelter of Kanthirava. Proenza says:

"The grand monarch ..... was forced to beg help from the king of Mysore, once the vassal of his crown". Sri Ranga Raya came to Mysore; and it is likely that stayed at Sli rangapatna enjoying the brilliant treatment and discussing

1. Wilks: History of Mysore, I, 64, 66-67; Annals, I, P.69
Kunjal Kempe Gowda mentioned here is to be identified with Immadi Kempe Gowda. Mys. Dho.Pur., II. 19; C.Vam, 37; Virabhadra Vijaya Champu by Ekambara Dixit, P.71.
2. Annals, I. P.70
problems of common importance with the king. During his two-year stay (1650-1652) Sriranga Raya did his best in organizing an army to attempt the reconquest of his kingdom. In the meanwhile Kanthirava had to face a Muslim invasion from Bijapur.

**Invasion of Khan Muhammad 1652.**

**Causes:** The Sultan of Golkonda wrote a letter to Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur requesting permission to conquer the fort to Fundi Kotah. The request was granted. Mir Jumla went and conquered Fundi Kotah as well as Chandra Gotti. Overgrown with pride, Mir Jumla trespassed the geographical frontiers of Bijapur. This enraged the Sultan of Bijapur. The latter despatched Khan Muhammad with an army to punish Mir Jumla and take back the forts conquered by him.

Khan Muhammad started his campaign in 1652, reached Chandra Gotti, and compelled Mir Jumla to submit. The latter

---

(from previous page)

4. Proenza’s letter of Nickel, Trichinopoly, 1659. See Wavaks of Madura, P.265; The Hague Transcripts referred to by William Foster in the English Factories in India (1651-1654), Introduction, P.XXV.

5. Where exactly Sriranga Raya sojourned in Mysore is a controversial point. K.A.N. Sastry and R.Venkataramanayya in “Further Sources of Vijayanagara History”, P.363 refer him to have taken up his residence at Belur. It is in the fitness of things that he remained at Srirangapatna.


3. R.Orme: Historical Fragments, P.62. Sarkar on the basis of Persian sources fixes the date of Bijapur invasion on 1650 (M.R., July 1929; Nov.1929, P.502) but in the light of other sources, it may be fixed to 1652.
sued for peace and it was granted. Then Khan Muhammad marched on Penukonda and conquered it at ease in March 1653. After wresting the town, Khan Muhammad started his return journey and came up to Badkot where a representative of Muhammad Adil Shah met the general and persuaded him to give up the idea of going back to Bijapur.

Why Muhammad Adil Shah desired his general Khan Muhammad to continue the war in the Karnataka? The reason was that there was a fringe of debatable land between Kanthiravara Narasaraaja and the Bijapur Sultan, that was the Jagadev country and Kanthirava Narasaraaja took advantage of the absence of Shahji from Bangalore and also of the declining royal power at Bijapur from 1650 onwards to make conquests in this region.

According to Muhammad Namah, while Khan Muhammad was engaging himself in the siege of Penukonda (1652), "Siddi Rajhan's sons in Sera (Sira) rebelled against Adil Shah and won over to their side the Rajahs of the neighbourhood", and were instigating "the Rajah of Mysore, who was the master of four lakhs of infantry and forty thousand good elephants", to encroach upon the Bijapur.

territories in the Karnataka. The Persian source continues, "the Rajah of Mysore wrested all the forts in the Jagdev country, which Mustafa Khan conquered with so much effort".

In fact, between November 1652 and January 1653 Kanthirava took in rapid succession Ratnagiri, Virabhadradurga, Kengeri-Kote, Pennagara, Denkanli-Kote and Dharmapuri forts said to have been held by "Yatibala Rao", a Bijapur General, perhaps identical with Balaji Faizat Rao of Muhammad Namaah.

Apart from these acquisitions in the Jagadev country, Kanthirava had plundered the whole of Yalahankanad and conquered many territories belonging to Bijapur in the previous war of 1648-1651. These activities were never lost sight of the Bijapur Sultan. Thus a complete change took place in Karnataka. Lastly Timmala Naya of Madura, foreseeing the danger in the closer understanding of Kanthirava and Sriranga appealed to the Muslims for help.

Wars with Mysore: At this stage Khan Muhammad set out from Badakot to put down Kanthirava of Mysore in Jagadev country. Shahji actively cooperated with Khan Muhammad in conquering Jagadev country, Vellore and Mysore. Khan Muhammad marched into Jagadev country and reconquered all the forts. Then he attacked Krishnagiri

3. Wilks spells the name as "Yatibala Rao". The Annals calls him 'Timmala Raya' apparently an error.
which was strongly garrisoned by Kanthirava. After conquering
this fort, Khan Muhammad entered Mysore and attacked the fort
of Kanthirava who took flight for life. Then he captured four
other forts.  

In the meanwhile Mir Jumla induced Sriranga to go back
to his capital to reconquer his former possessions. Sriranga
Raya, relying upon the promises of Mir Jumla had risen against
Adil Shah of Bijapur in Vellore. Again a ferman reached that
Sriranga Raya had sent Mir Jumla to the Moghals for help and so
he should be punished.  

Khan Muhammad, taking the order of his king, marched
towards Vellore. Siddi Masud was despatched against Dasarajaiya,
the Dalvoy of Kanthirava, who was operating at Kaveripatam to
drive out the Bijaparis from Jagadev country. In a sanguinary
action fought at Kaveripatam in October 1653 Dasarajaiya was
beheaded.  

Khan Muhammad marched towards Vellore. On the approach
of the Khan's army, Sriranga Raya fled in terror. Though the fort
was defended by the army of Sriranga for some time yet at the end

1. M.N. in Shiv.Nib., II, P.133; M.N. in Modern Review for Nov.1929,
P.502.
4. Dasarajaiya is spelt in Persian source as 'Das Raj'.
Sarkar (Modern Review, 1929, P.502) spells his name as Des Raj.
P.133. According to Annals (I, P.39) Dasarajaiya was removed from
the office as he was not able to discharge his duties satisfactorily due to old age in Nov.1653. The former authority is
preferred here.
it was surrendered. Sriranga made a treaty with the Khan according to which the former received Chandragiri with its dependencies.\(^1\) Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali gives a brief picture of how Vellore and Chandragiri were given to plunder by the Bijapur army.\(^2\)

The departure of Khan Muhammad for Vellore was a signal for Kanthirava to press forward the conquest of territories in the south. Accordingly Kanthirava conquered Satyamangala, Renayakankote from Venkatadri Nayaka of Vellore in March 1659\(^3\) and in April 1654 he acquired Hosur in the south-east from Chandrasekara Nayaka.\(^4\)

The main army victorious at Vellore, proceeded to Madura in order to demand tribute from its Nayak. On arrival, Khan Muhammad pressed Tirumala for tribute.\(^5\) Had he been a right type of man, well-versed in the politics of his age, would have fished in the troubled sea of politics in south India by coming in contact with the Nayaks of Gingee, Tanjore and the Paia of Mysore patching up all differences; and by the active cooperation of these all, would have put to rout the entire Bijapur army from the soil of Karnatak and settled the affairs of Sri Ranga up to the satisfaction

---

1. Foster: English Factories in India (1655-60), P. XXIII; M.N. in Modern Review, Nov. 1929, P. 502; Further Sources of Vijayanagara History, pp. 355-356; C.Vam, P. 172.
2. C.Vam; P. 172. The name of Kanthirava is given as Chikkadeva which is wrong.
3. Annals, I. P. 70; C.Vam., P. 59.
of all. Tirumala who was too young to the politics of his age, had agreed to pay tribute, entered into negotiation with Khan Muhammad and requested him to declare war against Panthirava of Mysore who invaded his border lands.\(^1\) Considering Mysore army on his border land as a source of danger, Tirumala, known for unsound policy in politics, went to the extent of begging the Commander to expel the invading Mysore army from his dominions.\(^2\) Khan Muhammad who was prepared to undertake any hard enterprise for the sake of money, readily responded and directed his marches on to Mysore. The Mysore king being alarmed by the advancing tide of the Muslim army had despatched Balaji Haibat Rao, who had deserted the Adil Shahi Service to that of Mysore to encounter the army. Khan Muhammad, on the other hand had commissioned Siddi Masaud with a detachment to war with the Mysore army. In the action that followed, Balaji Haibat Rao was killed and his army put to flight. Thereupon, Khan Muhammad plundered, pillaged, and burnt Mysore territory down to a heap of ashes. "At this the Rajah of Mysore in mortal terror sent his envoy to the victorious Khan Muhammad, with an offer of submission, asking pardon for his offences and praying for safety. He promised to pay 'treasure beyond calculation' as an offering to Adil Shah and regularly deliver tribute every year. By order of Adil Shah, Khan

\(^1\) Proenza's letter, in Nayaks of Madura, P.267.
Muhammad left the Mysore Rajah's devastated kingdom to him.
The peshkash was realized by Khan Muhammad.¹

The closer cooperation and goodwill of Bijapur with which
Tirumala Nayaka waged war against the king of Mysore did not come
to a happy termination. On the other hand, Tirumala was asked by
Khan Muhammad to pay heavy sums as war-indemnity. Though it was
a shock to him, yet he did not escape from the demand of the Khan
for, the idea of the latter was not to leave the country without
levying ransom on Tanjore and Madura. Thus, by extracting large
amount of money from the Nayaks of the latter, Khan Muhammad re-
turned homeladen with riches.²

The results of this invasion were: (1) the pride of
Kanthirava was crushed; (2) the frequent movements of the army in
Mysore caused incalculable havoc to the material prosperity to
Mysore; (3) the ambition of Kanthirava in extending his arms towards
the Bijapur possessions in the north was checked; (4) Maratha
possessions were free from the danger of Mysore; (5) the victory
of Bijapur meant indirectly a victory to the Marathas; (6) enmity
between the Marathas and the Mysoreans became bitter.

Shahji at Kanakagiri, 1653-1654: After his release, Shahji came
to Kanakagiri, a place of great historical interest being in the
region of dilapidated Vijayanagar.³ In February 1653 the Sultan
of Bijapur assigned Chikkaballapura to Shahji ⁴ and induced him to

¹ M.W., in Modern Review, Nov. 1929, P. 502.
⁴ Sarkar: House of Shivaji, P. 81.
take care of the Bijapur possessions in Mysore.

Sambhaji was also with his father at Kanakagiri. But the affectionate son did not stand sharing in the sorrow and happiness of his father as he was soon victimised by the jaws of death. The reason for this was that a storm of rebellion broke out in Kanakagiri under its chieftain Appa Khan who cast his covetous eye on Doddaballapura, a part and parcel of Shahji's new Jagir in Mysore. This news being communicated to Adil Shah, the latter immediately sent Afzal Khan with instructions to cooperate with Shahji in suppressing Appa Khan. Accordingly Afzal Khan came with an army; and in the encounter that followed, Sambhaji was killed. This tragic state of affairs was mainly due to the deliberate negligence on the part of Afzal Khan in not reinforcing Sambhaji at a critical hour of facing death. The death of Sambhaji in 1654 was a terrible shock to Shahji.

Thereafter Shahji returned to Bangalore, the capital city and dedicated his life for the betterment and upliftment of the Marathas.

Shahji and Sriranga Raya: In the great campaign of 1657 Shahji was sent by the Sultan of Bijapur to assist Srirangaraya. The need to despatch Shahji was that Mir Jumla, Qutb Shahi Minister had carved out a new kingdom in Karnatak for himself and become

4. Shivaji's murder of Afzal Khan was just a revenge for his part in the death of Sambhaji.
refractory. To put down Mir Jumla, Qutb Shah joined Aurangzeb the viceroy of the Deccan near Hyderabad in March 1656. Further Qutb Shah made friendship with Sriranga Raya and gave back all that he had conquered in his kingdom. With the support of Qutb Shah and the armies of the other Hindu chieftains (calculated to be 8000) Srirangaraya captured Tirupati and other places.

Shahji came and joined Sriranga Raya. In the action that followed, Mir Jumla inflicted a crushing defeat on the combined army of Qutb Shah, Shahji and Sriranga Raya in September 1657 and the defeated army ignominiously fled in the direction of Amr - a strong castle on the borders of Gingee. Shahji returned to Bangalore.

Shahji defeated by the chief of Bangalore: Soon after his return to Bangalore, Shahji had to face another overhanging danger. Mummadi Kempe Gowda, (1658-1678) a strong and a resourceful ruler of yelahanka-nad, had never reconciled to the settlement of Maratha colony in Bangalore which once, belonged to his forefathers. Therefore Mummadi Kempe Gowda marched on Bangalore, and inflicted a crushing defeat on Shahji, who just returned to Bangalore from the previous war. This ignominious defeat towards the end of 1658

1. Further Sources of Vijayanagara History, P.366; A History of Gingee and its rulers, P.176.
2. Foster: English Factories in India (1655-1660), P.92.
was another staggering blow to Shahji. This defeat did not mean the complete extermination of the Marathas from Bangalore.

Death of Kanthirava, 1659: Kanthirava, who was the bitter enemy of Shahji, passed away on July 31st 1659 in his forty-fifth year. His later years were unfortunately, miserable for he had lost his only son which heavily told upon his health. His country had suffered greatly by the devastating expeditions of the Bijapur generals. His efforts to exterminate the Marathas from Bangalore proved failure. Above all Sivappa Nayaka of Ikkeri and the Nayak of Madura were ever ready to encroach upon the territory of Mysore. Afflicted with all these mental tortures within and without, the last years of Kanthirava serve as a great and striking contrast to the dazzling brilliance of his earlier part of his rule.

Extension of Kingdoms of Shahji and Kanthirava in 1659: The territorial aggrandisement of Bijapur and Golkonda in Karnataka seemed to have been practically over towards the end of 1659.

1. Virabhadra Vijaya Champu by Kåramba Dixita. This is a contemporary Sanskrit work. The author was the court poet of Mummadi Kempe Gowda. The work which is mainly devoted to a description of the car festival of god Virabhadra of Savantadurga, incidentally gives these important historical event. The text runs as follows:

"Yo yam satsapta kritvorical bhuvi Shahji raja mājī sajitva
Hatva sainyantadiya dhwaja gaja patahachatra mukhyanya
grīman".

As the work seems to have been written during the early months of Mummadi Kempe Gowda's rule, I have fixed the date as 1658.


3. Orme: Historical Fragments, P.62. He says that the wars between Golkonda and Bijapur were over by 1654 in Karnataka. But the detailed study of the Muslim warfare in Karnataka reveals that the war continued unabated till 1659. Therefore it is in the fitness of things that the date can be shifted to 1659.
The Bijapur belt of territory to the north of the kingdom of Mysore, comprising Bangalore, Hoskote, Kolar, Doddaballapura, Chikkaballapura and Sira went under the designation of Karnatak-Bijapur-Balaghat, while the territory below the Ghaunts, almost coterminous with the southern frontier of Mysore, under the designation of Karnatak-Bijapur-Payanghat, Shahji being continued in the entire track.

Kanthirava, at the time of his death, had extended his kingdom on the north, up to Channapatna and Turuvekere, coterminous with the Karnatak-Bijapur-Balaghat, while Channarayapatna had become his north-western limit; in the south he extended his kingdom as far as Danayakankote and Satyamangalam and in the south-east up to Kaveripatanam co-extensive with the Karnatak Bijapur-Payanghat; in the east he went to the border land of Jagadeva country while in the west he took a portion of the kingdom of the chengalvas (including Nanjarayapatna).

Accession of Doddadevaraja Wodeyar 1659-1672: Who was the actual successor of Kanthirava? What was his relationship to the Mysore Royal Family? These questions confront the historians of Mysore, because the sources are conflicting.¹

With the death of the only son of Kanthirava towards the close of the latter's reign, direct descent in the line of Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar ceased. The choice of succession fell on the

¹See Appendix II
sons of Muppina Devaraja Wodeyar. The four sons of the latter, were Doddadevaraja, Chikkadeva Raja, Deva Raja and Varideva.

Of these four sons Doddadevaraja succeeded to the throne of Mysore on August 19, 1659, eighteen days after the death of Kanthirava. At the time of his accession he was quite young and energetic.

Political situation: The political equilibrium of south India was disturbed at a time when Doddadevaraja assumed the rulership of Mysore. The two great Bahamani Kingdoms, Bijapur and Golconda which had divided their sphere of activities in swallowing up as much territories as possible in south India were drawn into the vortex of life-and-death struggle with Aurangzeb, the Viceroy of Deccan. The Karnataka possessions of Bijapur were left in the hands of Shahji who, with the closer cooperation and coordination of his Hindu Ministers and generals, was carrying on war on behalf of the Sultan of Bijapur and annexing as many territories as possible to his kingdom. Further Shahji was carrying out the transaction of business at Bangalore according to the instructions of the Sultan. Soon after the accession of Doddadevaraja, Shahji was away from the capital as he was commissioned by the Sultan of Bijapur to go to the support of Tanjore against the Nayak of Madura. In the north-west of Mysore Ikkeri was coming up as a prominent capital city under the progressive rule of Sivappa Nayaka (1645-1660). The last unfortunate ruler of the decadent Vijayanagara

empire had left the kingdom and took shelter at the court of Sivappa Nayaka.

Shahji in the war of 1659: An attractive and colourful stage set in for Shahji in the year 1659. By resolving to refuse the annual tribute due to Bijapur, Muttu Virappa Nayaka who succeeded Tirumala Nayaka in 1659, focussed his attention on the fortifications of Trichinopoly. Lingama Nayaka was placed in charge of the fort.¹

But Vijayaraghava Nayaka adopted a different policy towards the Muslims. By his treacherous, short-sighted and suicidal policy, the Nayak made Tanjore a victim to the aggressive jaws of the Muslims.² He appealed to Bijapur for help in order to prevent the Madura Nayak from fortifying Trichinopoly. The Sultan of Bijapur commissioned 'Sagosi' (Shahji) and 'Mula' (Mulla Muhammad) to Tanjore. The Bijapur army marched with rapid speed and reached Trichinopoly which was strongly garrisoned under Lingama Nayaka. Stricken with awe to see the "war like preparations of the Nayak at Tanjore", Shahji moved towards the east and delivered a surprise attack on Tanjore on March 19th, 1659.³ Though the fort fell into the hands of Shahji and Mulla, yet they were greatly disappointed for the wealth of the fort was carried off by the Kallans.⁴

¹ Proenza's letter in "Nayaks of Madura", pp.269-270; Nayaks of Madura, P.151; The Nayaks of Tanjore by Vriddigirivasan, P.141.
² The Nayaks of Tanjore, P.141; Proenza's letter in "Nayaks of Madura", pp.269-270.
⁴ Proenza's letter in "Nayaks of Madura", pp.270-271; The Nayaks of Tanjore, pp.142-143; Nayaks of Madura, P.152. Writing in Vij.Sec.Com.Volume, (P.121) D.B.Diskalar says that Shahji was repulsed from Tanjore for which there is no authority.
The victors left Tanjore and laid siege to Trichinopoly.

They found it hard to reduce and therefore they began to plunder the country. At last they were obliged to retreat receiving a moderate sum from the Nayaks of Madura and Tanjore towards the end of 1659.

Doddadevaraja sought the help of Bijapur: The bitter hostility between Mysore and Bijapur seemed to have loosened during the reign of Doddadevaraja. While Shahji and Mulla were in the environs of Tanjore fighting the Nayak, Mysore was invested by the army of Sivappa Nayaka of Ikkeri. The main reason for the invasion of Mysore was that the peace offerings of Sivarpa Nayaka in 1647 were turned down by the ruler of Mysore. This offended Sivapra Nayaka. Intent upon taking vengeance, the latter invaded Mysore with an army consisting of the chieftains of Sode, Biligiri, Tarikere and other places. In the encounter that followed, the Mysore army under the Dalvoy, Hamparajaya was completely defeated at Grama (in Hassan) in September 1659. Hamparajaya became a prisoner. Highly elated at the success, Sivappa Nayaka proceeded in the direction of Mysore. On the way he took Lakshmapra Nayaka of Holenarasipura. Throwing across the rapidly flowing Cauvery a

---

3. Ke N. V., XII. 114; V. 38-43. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar (Ancient India, P.297; Sources of Vijayangara History, P.211), R. Satyanath Aiyer (Nayaks of Madura; P.172), without taking into account that Doddadevaraja and Sivappa Nayaka were contemporaries, assign the event to have taken place in the latter part of Devaraja's reign or early in the reign of Chikkadeva. This is not correct.
bridge, the entire combined army crossed the river and began to block the fort of Srirangapatna in October 1659. In the face of the besiegers, the guards at Srirangapatna were confounded. Not knowing what to do during the unexpected siege of the fort, Mysore sought the assistance of Bijapur. In response to their appeal, the Sultan of Bijapur despatched Bahlul Khan. Realising the critical situation that might arise by the alliance of Mysore and Bijapur, Sivappa Nayaka made Bahlul Khan who had arrived at Srirangapatna retreat to the place wherefrom he had come most dramatically. The victory which Sivappa Nayaka was about to win was turned into defeat as the generals of the Ikkeri army were won over by the Mysoreans by means of bribery and performing rites and ceremonies. Thereafter Sivappa Nayaka returned to his country in January 1660 achieving nothing tangible at Srirangapatna. The defeat seems to have heavily told upon the health of Sivappa Nayaka and the latter passed away on September 25th, 1660.

Shahji in the Trichinopoly war of 1660: By the time Shahji came to Bangalore much water had been flown over and under the bridge. The siege of the fort of Srirangapatna was in progress;

---

3. The retreat of Bahlul Khan was made possible by Sivappa Nayaka, for as we know, that the latter is closer to Bijapur than Mysore. Further Ikkeri remained long under the control of Bijapur.
5. Ibid; Mysore Archaeological Report, 1942, P.68.
6. It is stated in the 'Nayaks of Ikkeri' (P.94) that the Mys.Arc. Report for the year 1942, P.68 makes reference to the defeat Sivappa Nayaka by Komarayya without any evidence. But it is based on "Dynasty of Kalale".
Bahlul Khan was camping on the environs of Mysore in order to support Doddaddevaraja against the besiegers. Shahji thought that it was not good to interfere in the affairs of Mysore and remained aloof.

The affairs of the south again drew the attention of the Sultan of Bijapur who despatched Shahji to bring the worsening situation to control. Shahji set out and soon encamped at Gingee.

Chokkanatha Nayaka, the successor of Vuttu Virappa Nayaka of Madura launched forth a new project. The main object with which he laid-out this daring project was "to reestablish the ancient king of Bismagar (Vijayanagara) in his country, to give Gingee to its Nayak and thus to remove the evils that had resulted from the mistaken policy of Tirumala Nayaka."

Accordingly Dalvoy Lingama Nayaka was commissioned at the head of a large army of 40,000 to drive out Shahji who was encamping then at Gingee. Lingama Nayaka was bribed by the Bijapur general to waste the royal treasure in a long and fruitless campaign. In Madura, the Brahman regent and the Secretary hatched a plan to end the life of Chokkanatha and to instal his brother on the throne. The news of the secret plot was disclosed to the Nayak by a lady of his court and he lost no time in taking a bold action. By exhibiting courage and resourcefulness far above his age, he got the eyes of the Brahman regent plucked out and the

Secretary assassinated. Being too weak to stand in opposition to Lingama Nayaka, he pretended friendship only to capture him as a prisoner at a suitable opportunity. But Lingama whose conscience rendered him suspicious joined Shahji and persuaded him to besiege Trichinopoly. Accordingly he started with 12,000 foot and 7,000 horse to attack Trichinopoly. The ruler of Tanjore also promised help in their endeavour, Chokkanatha Nayaka with an army of 50,000 defended the fort ably and put the combined army to flight. Shahji and Lingama lost heart and fled for life to Tanjore, the Nayak of which received them warmly. Encouraged by the brilliantly successful campaign, Chokkanatha Nayaka, with an increased army of 70,000 marched on Tanjore to punish the Nayak for having favoured the traitorous invasion of Shahji and Vulla. Vijayaragheva incapable of defence submitted to him without any opposition while Shahji and Vulla hurriedly retreated to Cingee.\(^1\) This occurred in 1660.\(^2\)

Shahji exhibited in the campaign of 1660 a rare courage, and deep diplomacy. Being resourceful and well-skilled in military expeditions, he realised very early the grave consequence of a powerful combination by the Nayak of Madura with the Nayak of Tanjore. The powerful combination under the leadership of the Nayak of Madura for the restoration of Sriranga Raya was a serious threat to the

---

2. Since these events are found in the letter of Proenza dated A.D.1662, the invasion of Madura on Tanjore must have taken place in 1660. C.S.Srinivassachari writing on "A Great Maratha Service to South India in the Pre-Shivaji epoch" in Sar.Com.Vol., pp.76-77 also assigns the date A.D.1660 for this invasion.
interest of Karnataka possession of Bijapur. Realising the imminent danger from such a project, Shahji broke up the combination cleverly seducing the Tanjore ruler. Though he was repulsed, he did all that could save his possessions from the possible encroachment of the Nayar of Madura.

Shahji conquered Tegnapatam and Porto Novo: The year 1661 found Shahji near Tegnapatam with ambitious design to effect the conquest of Tegnapatam and other places dependent on it. Mir Jumla quitted the stage of Golconda to Hindustan. With him went the serious obstacle which barred the ambitious project of Shahji in the south. In the absence of such serious Muhammadan opposition, Shahji began to fish. He succeeded in conquering the fort of Tegnapatam (Cuddalore) and important fort of Porto Novo, the base of his operations against Tanjore kingdom. This was an outstanding achievement of Shahji.

Visit of Shahji to Poona 1662.

The vigorous activities of Shivaji and his increasing powers in about 1660 had not escaped the attention of Bijapur Sultan who, deliberately employed Shahji to bring about a reconciliation with Shivaji. Shahji paid a visit in the early part of 1662 Poona and urged his son not to cause any disturbance to the peace and tranquillity of the Sultan's kingdom as after all, the latter had been their bread giver upon whose salt they had thrived. Shivaji

agreed to the proposals of his father and requested permission to form a formidable confederacy against the Mughals. In spite of this Shivaji had to attempt the conquest of Panhala, an important fort, from the Bijapur Sultan in March 1673 because of strategic importance.

Shahji who had had a rich experience of forty years of Deccan warfare had vast amount of useful instructions to give to his son who was amply benefitted by this instruction in the arts of Government diplomacy and war. Shahji seems to have said nothing about the attitude of Shivaji towards the Mughals as they were in possession of Poona and Kalyan. Proposing a long tour, the father and the son found an extensive plateau of Rai^i near Mahad as the suitable place for the fixation of the capital of future Maratha kingdom against the aggressions of the Mughals. When the hill was strongly fortified, it figured as Raigad, the best Maratha capital.

After a full and frank association for only a few months together, Shahji returned to Bangalore towards the close of 1662.

2. Sardesai: New History of the Marathas Vol.I, P.83 says that the father and the son parted early in 1663. Shahji does not seem to have stayed such a long time in the company of his son, inspecting his old Jagirs and selecting a suitable place for the establishment of a capital of future Maratha kingdom as has been stated by Sardesai, because, his presence was urgently needed in the Mysore kingdom as many of the enterprising and ambitious chieftains were looking forward to assert independence making use of his absence. Therefore it is in the fitness of things that Shahji must have left his old Jagir towards the close of 1662 spending a few months in the company of his son. We do not find any reference to this in the Jedhe Chronology (mentioned in Shivaji Souvenir).
Shahji in Bednur 1662-1663: The Adil Shah of Bijapur, having lent his ears to the reports of the agents of Sode who were hostile to Bednore kings, had decided to fit out an expedition to crush the over-grown might of Bhadrappa Nayaka. Shahji seems to have been considered by the Sultan as the best person to undertake this hazardous task. Accordingly Shahji had been entrusted with the responsibility of undertaking this expedition into Bednore territory. With him were the other Bijapur Generals such as Bahlnl Khan, Sharaja Khan and others. At the head of a force consisting of elephants, horses and infantry, Shahji started for the invasion.

Bhadrappa Nayaka, having resorted to retaliatory measures despatched a strong army under the command of Jatapana Bhadrapa brother of Sivappa Nayaka; and he came and halted at Bhuvanagiri. In the fierce and bloody battle that was fought near Ambaligolla, between the two armies, Jatapana Bhadrapa took flight and his army was put to rout. Being successful in putting to rout the entire Bednore army, the Muslim army under Shahji, making rapid marches devastating places which came across them, passing through the valley of Bilusagara, came and encamped in the neighbourhood of Bednore. Afterwards, it laid siege to the fort and took possession of it. The Bijapur Sultan, coming all the way from Bijapur, alighted


2. Ibid., V.8: Karitûra-pa pattisahitam vara Shâhji Balûla Khâna Saidavilâsâm verasida Sharajâkanâna nireddallinda teralchi.
in the palace of the fort of Bednore.

Halting in the gorgeous palace of Bednore, the Sultan conducted the siege. Shahji and other Vaziers were despatched again to effect the conquest. Obedient to the orders of the Sultan, Shahji invested the fort of Bhuvangiri with all his army. Bhadrappa Nayaka stood boldly and courageously against the onslaught of the Muslim army. With undaunted courage, resourcefulness and inflexible determination, Bhadrappa Nayaka collected his scattered forces and blocked all the passes big and small and all the communications internal and external. Before this well conducted defence of Bhadrappa, Shahji and other Vaziers were forced to retrace their steps from the scene of action. The hostility was terminated by the conclusion of a treaty with the Sultan of Bijapur through the mediation of Huvaiya. The details of the war were not found expression in Sivatatva Ratnakara though it is in complete agreement with the main outlines of Ke.N.V. The Dutch sources, however, mention that an indemnity of 150,000 pagodas was fixed.

Defeat of Shahji at Bangalore (March 1663): In Mysore Dalavoy Kantaiya was succeeded by Nandinathaiya in April 1662.

1. Ibid., V.9: Bhadrappa Nayakam Jatapana Bhadrapanodanaganitam samuchamam teralchi bikkottu, tam bhavagiriya dhuragadolnilambali golade baliyol .... yuddham pannalavelyol Jatapana Bhadrapanam muridaturaska saiyamati tivragatiyim dalivaryuttaidi ...venu-purada paristaranakke muttigeyanikki talparisthananamam kolal, pintani patusahanaitandu venupurada konteyaramaneylelidi.

2. Ke.N.V., VIII, V.9: Balikkam Shahji saidavilasa Sarjakhana muntada vaajeeram samayavarseu teralchalavargalaitandu giriya-durganam vedaisal, Bhadrapanayakam dhairyagundade nitarisii nindu bharalavada sainya samuhamam nerahi patha paika kandi kanivegalam katti .... yuddhamam rachisi yavanasyayavam pudigaisi Sarjakhana saidavilasa Shahji muntadaavaram pindegesi palayanangolisi balikkum Huvayya muntada niyogigalam kalhi sandhanavanodarchisi

(for foot note 3 and 4 please see next page)
Nandinathalya's vigorous activities for the forcible seizure of Shahi kingdoms has roused the attention of the Bijapur general; and in particular never allowed Shahji to remain idle and unconcerned spectator. It is said that it is a great error in politics to remain idle and unconcerned spectator.

True to this theory, Shahji was making elaborate preparation to deal with Nandinathalya who took Chikkaballapur without much opposition. This easy success served as an impetus and filip to Nandinathalya to carry on war even into Bangalore. The Mysore Archaeological Report of 1942, relying on the Kaifiyait of the dynasty of Kalale, the original of which is in Kannada says that "Dalavoy" demanded tribute from Chikka Kempegowda. But the latter offered war and was totally defeated and captured prisoner. The palagars who had come to give him aid were all beaten. Gaganagiri was occupied & treasure in the palace of Chikka Kempegowda was looted. The neighbouring palagars were subdued and made tributary. Shahji of

(from previous page)

4. Batavla Dagh Register, 1664, P.320.
1. Annals, I, P.97. This work says that it was conquered by Golkonda Sultan. But Chikkavakkanahalli first, conquered by Bijapur and was given to Shahji. Lately it was attacked by Ikkeri and then Nandinathalya took possession of it. Wilks, I, P.36; Mys. Arch. Rep. 1942, P.89, rightly says that Chikkavakkanahalli belonged to the Muhammadans of Bijapur.
3. In the report of 1942 it is stated that Dalavai Kumaraiyya had proceeded to Bangalore. But this is wrong according to Annals and other Kannada corroborative sources which say that from 1662-1667 Nandanathaiyaa was holding the post of Dalavoyship. Further it says that he attacked Shahji Rao of Bangalore but Shahji was dead in 1664 and therefore he was no more at the time of Kumarayya coming to the office. Therefore it should be read as Nandanathaiyaa.
4. Annals, I, P.97; Mys. Arch. Rep. As the manuscript is very short it refers only to the siege of Gaganagiri & Bangalore.
Bangalore was next attacked and his elephants, horses and belongings were all taken possession of. Those who submitted were given protection and their insignias and tributes were accepted.

The main object in launching forth this invasion was to plunder the treasures of Shahji but not to dislodge him altogether.

Confinement of Shahji, 1662: The consequence of the attitude of Shahji after his humiliating defeat at Bangalore was that he was arrested by the Sultan. The main reason for his arrest was that Shahji became unruly and seems to have been going out of the way set in by the Sultan in conducting wars in Mysore kingdom. The unruly conduct of Shahji led the Sultan to proceed to Bankapur where he urgently summoned both Shahji and Bahlool Khan. Soon after their arrival, they were put in fetters. Shahji was, however released after two days and was commissioned to march against the ruler of Bednore who had unfurled the standard of revolt relegating to the background the treaty concluded in the recent war through the mediation of Huvaliya.

Death of Shahji 1664.

It is curious that most of the Maratha historians so far have not located the exact place of the death of Shahji. Relying on some of the Bakhars which do not supply the lucid account of

2. English Records on Shivaji, No.67 of 20th July, 1663; Balakrishna: Shivaji the Great, P.94.
the latter part of the life of Shahji, They assign Paswanatna
as the place where in Shahji's accidental fall brought his death. Referring to the death of Shahji, Grant Duff 1 says: "On Shivaji's return, he heard the death of his father which happened by an accidental fall from his horse, when hunting in January 1664 at the village of Paswanatna". This account has been repeated in Prof. Ralakrishna's account of Shahji's death in 'Shivaji the Great'. Sarodesai whom we know as the great authority on Maratha history has fallen into the same error. He says:

"Shahji was sent against the Nuvak of Bednore who had rebelled. After accomplishing his commission within a few months, he started for Bangalore. While halting at Paswanatna on the way he heard of some game in the vicinity and rode out for a hunt of which he was very fond. While following an antelope his horse's foot got entangled in a hole bringing down both the horse and the rider, the latter dying instantly".

It is found to be incorrect in all respects since the Brindavan and epitaph of Raja Shahji have been found now. 2 It is true that Shahji was despatched against Phadappa Nuvaka of Ikkeri who became refractory. But Phadappa Nuvaka was tottered at the advancing army of Shahji and was easily submitted to the superior force. After accomplishing the commission, he

granting Yergatanahalli for maintaining worship at the pavilion.

Shahji's fame has, like Hamilear's been overshadowed by that of his more famous son. Nevertheless the achievements, neither of Hannibal nor of Shivaji, could well have been accomplished but for the work done by their fathers before. Hamilear, from his Sicilian stronghold, demonstrated to his countrymen that by unity and good generalship Carthaginian army could withstand the strong Roman army. Shahji first showed several Hindu chief-tains that crowd the columns of south India that by unity Hindu troops under a Hindu leader could strike terror into and defeat the picked forces of Delhi or Bijapur.

Conclusion: A study of Shahji's activities in Karnataka brings to light that he occupied a foremost place in the galaxy of the prominent personalities of the 17th century. A stream of Bijapur invasion across the Tungabhadra into Karnataka had brought Shahji and the latter had showed himself the ultimate saviour of the Hindu cause. He was particularly friendly to the army-chief of Bijapur, Ranadulla Khan. Having occupied a second place in the command of the Bijapur army, Shahji invaded the Bednar kingdom and occupied its capital as well as a half of his kingdom (1637-1638). In the Karnataka expedition (1638-1639) Shahji's mind was wrinkled to see the treacherous murder of Kasthuriranga Nayaka, the chief of

(continued from previous page)

3. the stone is broken. The original word was evidently "Samadhi" at Rahut Ramappa's epitaph which is close by.

started his return journey to Bangalore. While halting at Hodigere, he noticed that wild beasts were giving lot of trouble to the neighbours. The Raja who was about 60 years old, went out on horse back to hunt these creatures. During the course of the hunt his horse's foot got entangled in a hole in the ground and both horse and the rider fell, the latter dying instantly. Linganna Kavi says that Shahji died of a disease in the neighbourhood of Sira while he was on his way from Tanjore to Bijapur. As mentioned by Jedhe, the date of Shahji's death was Saturday the 6th of Magha suddha of the year Subhakrit corresponding to the Saka year 1585. This corresponding to the English date 23rd January 1664.

Shahji's funeral ceremony was conducted by Ekoji, his son. Soon after this Ekoji got a confirmation sanction of Adil Shah of Bijapur to the heritage of his father. The joy of Shivaji, for having sacked Surat which gave him lot of fund for furtherance of his object was marred at the tragic news of the death of his father. Jija Bai wanted to become Sati but was prevented by the great exertions made by Shivaji. Shivaji got a pavilion or chatri put up at the place of his father's death. Adil Shah issued a Sannad

1. Hodigere is village, 6 miles to the east of Chennagiri, 12 miles to the west of the Holalkere Railway station and a mile to the north of the Bhadravati-Chitaldrug road. It is 25 miles from Basavapatna. Hodigere is in Chennagiri Taluk and Shimoga district. See Mys. Arch. Report, 1940, pp. 58-59.

2. Ke. F. V. Ch. IX., P. 152. I have preferred here the former event.

3. The Archaeologists of Mysore during their course of tour in Chennagiri Taluk of Shimoga district of the Mysore State discovered that the place of Shahji's death was really Hodigere. It was there Shahji's Brindavan or tomb was found along with indisputable epigraphic evidence of its identity in the shape of an inscription, in the Kannada language and Kannada characters worded thus:- First line ............. Sri Shahji Second line ............. Rajana Sa After 'sa' (contd. in the next page)
Sira, by Afzal Khan in the course of an attempted negotiation. But for the timely intervention of Shahji, the kingdom of Sira would have been parcelled out. Fortunately Shahji saved Sira; and it was handed over to Hanumappa Nayaka of Rasavaratna.

Bangalore was next invaded and its keeper, Kempe Gowda was forced to submit. Even here the hand of Shahji could be distinctly seen in settling the terms of the treaty between R.D.Khan and Kempe Gowda. According to this treaty Kempe Gowda went and took up his residence at Magadi. R.D.Khan who had been the intimate friend of Shahji, had handed over Bangalore to the latter with the sanction of the Sultan of Bijapur. The next target of attack was Srirangapatna, the seat and centre of Kanthirava Narasaraaja of Mysore. Shahji saw here his utter bewilderment the firm resolution and determined effort of Kanthirava in offering stubborn resistance to the invading force of Bijapur. When the fort of Srirangapatna fell, Kanthirava was terror-stricken; Shahji intervened and proposed terms to the satisfaction of either parties namely Kanthirava and R.D.Khan. According to the treaty of Srirangapatna signed on January 21st, 1639, territories lying to the north of Cauvery went to Bijapur and the territories lying to the south of the river remained to Kanthirava. Though Kanthirava agreed to the humiliating treaty in his distress, he never thought of fulfilling it, as his subsequent attitude showed clearly. The failure to carry out the agreement and the refractory conduct on the part of Kanthirava may be regarded as the root
cause for the enmity between Shahji on one side and Kanthirava on the other. This enmity continued unabated. Shahji again distinguished himself in the attack on Hanumappa Nayaka of Basavapatna. In 1644 Shahji contrived to earn further honours by forming a great confederacy of the local Nayaks, several Maratha and Muslim chiefs against Sivanna Nayaka of Ikkeri who vastly increased the material prosperity of his kingdom. Sivappa Nayaka capitulated the fort and submitted to Shahji. But in 1645 the triumphal march of Shahji suffered an eclipse. He cooperated with Manjunia Raja of Piryapatna against Mysore. In the fierce battle that was fought near Piryapatna Shahji was completely defeated and driven out by the Mysore army under Kanjarajaiya. In the Mustafa's Karnataka expedition of 1646, Shahji went and joined Mustafa Khan near Honnali and induced him to direct his march on Tumuvakere, the northern limit of Mysore, ostensibly to avenge the humiliation done to him at Piryapatna. But all the high hopes of Shahji were upset when Nanjaraiya, the Dalvoy of Mysore went at the head of a large force and inflicted a crushing defeat on the besieging army at Tumuvakere. When Vellore was invested by the Bijapur army, Shahji was commanding the right wing of the army. In February 1647 Vellore was taken by the combined forces of Bijapur and Golconda. During the following months, Mustafa Khan proceeded to Srirangapatna along with Shahji but was compelled to withdraw. Then they conquered Channarayapatna, Hassan and other places in Mysore and Tumkur and retreated. Mustafa Khan left Shahji in charge of the conquered country and left for Bijapur.

In the great campaign of 1648 Shahji found that the Bijapur
army, instead of helping Tirumala Nayaka of Madura, was actually in league with Golconda. This offended Shahji, who consequently prolonged the siege. Mustafa Khan who feared that Shahji had been trying hard to form an confederacy consisting of all the chiefs of the south against Bijapur, decided to arrest him. His release from prison must have been due to the defeat of the two Bijapur armies - one at Sinhasad by Shivaji and another at Bangalore by Sambhaji - that were sent by the Sultan of Bijapur; also due in some measure to the death of Mustafa Khan and partly due to the threatening attitude of the Moghals.

In 1651 Shahji fought with Mir Jumla of Golconda and defeated him. This enhanced the reputation of Shahji. In 1652 Shahji cooperated with Khan Muhammad in conquering Jagadeva country, Mysore and Vellore. In this campaign Mysore was reduced to ashes. In the campaign of 1657 Shahji fought on behalf of Sirlanga Raya against Mir Jumla but was utterly defeated by the latter. Shahji retreated to Bangalore wherefrom he had come. Towards the end of 1658 Shahji suffered another discomfiture at the hands of Mummadi Kempegowda of Magadi. Then Shahji took his own ally of Tanjore into the task, assaulted his capital and took possession of territories dependent on it. In 1660 Chokkanatha Nayaka of Madura formed a great confederacy in order to place Sirlanga Raya to his original position by reconquering all the countries that last to Bijapur. Shahji broke up the combination by cleverly seducing the ruler of Tanjore. In the following year Shahji conquered Ternapatam and Porto Novo. Shahji took part in the war of 1662-1663 against Bhadrappa Nayaka of Ikkeri and terminated the hostility between
Bijapur and Ikkeri by concluding a treaty. His last years were miserable, for Mandinathalya, the Dalvoy of Mysore renewed the traditional policy of hostility, attacked Shahji in Bangalore in 1663 and took all his insignias of royalty. In 1664 Shahji died at Hodigere after a rule of 25 years in Mysore. The Shiva Bharata, says in a summary form on which J.N. Sarkar placed high value:

"Afterwards along with the commander-in-chief this great man (Shahji) ..... reached the Karnataka Mandala; he conquered Bednur. He also conquered Kenge Nayaka of Basavapatna; the ruler of Kaveripattinam; he likewise conquered the cruel Kanthirava of Srirangapattana. Then he overthrew the brave Vijayaraghava, the lord of Tanjore, as also the master of Gingee. He overthrew Timmala Nayaka of Madura; the ruler of Pilugunda, Sriranga Raya, the ruler of Vijayanagar and then Tamme Gowda of Hamsakuta". Then follows that after a continuous fight for days and nights, "he took the delightful place, Bangalore, from Kempegowda who delighted in war, which was presented to him for his own maintenance by the delighted R.D.Khan. He, the victorious one (Shahji) resided in the city called Bangalore". Having established his authority firmly over Bangalore, Shahji inaugurated a new era of territorial conquests in Mysore and brought petty principalities therein under control. Out of these conquests he was clever enough to evolve a pretty big government for himself certainly under the authority of his overlords at Bijapur to begin with but gradually to become more or less entirely
his own in the event of the slackening control of Bijapur over these conquests.

Now it is possible to state that Shahji was not a subordinate officer acting only under the eyes and orders of the Sultan of Bijapur as has been held by J.N. Sarkar but a man occupying a position of considerable importance. Secondly Shahji stood a redoubtable enemy of the rulers of Mysore. In signing the treaty of Srirangapatna in 1639 Shahji showed great generosity and sympathy towards Kanthirava of Mysore but shortly thereafter hostility grew between the two prominent personalities. This was because of the failure on the part of Kanthirava to carry out the terms of the treaty and also of the policy of non-alignment that Kanthirava laid down in dealing with foreign powers. Of course Kanthirava and his successors showed from the beginning of their reign a rare consistency of purpose and loyalty to the cause of the Vijayanagara empire which appear in refreshing contrast with the disloyal ruinous and suicidal course of conduct pursued by the rest of the rulers of South India. But towards the Farathas the rulers of Mysore remained formidable enemies. Expediency and self-interest were the governing principles of the South Indian powers and Kanthirava was no exception to this rule. If Mysore cooperated with Shahji who took up the cause of the Vijayanagara empire, the history of Mysore and Faratha relations would have been different; and the highest hope of Shahji in formulating a great confederacy of the Hindus consisting of the Nayaks of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee and of the chiefs of Mysore, Kaveripattanam and Ikkeri would have
been realised and the maintenance of peace and order and above all the unity of south India could have been possible.

It would be rather incorrect to say that Shahji had no self-interest. Like many other chieftains of the south Shahji was mainly actuated by selfish motives in undertaking hazardous enterprises. But his views were tempered by larger interest and broader outlook. He dreamed the vision of South Indian unity for the greater end of national preservation. But his gorgeous palace built in the air had tumbled down to the ground when he saw Mysore rising up in arms against him.