Several inscriptions found in Mysore State particularly in Chikkaballapura, Doddballapura, Kolar and other places speak of the activities of Sambhaji, the Maratha. These inscriptions range from 1637 to 1680. There are five prominent Marathas having the same name, Sambhaji. Sambhaji was the name given to the eldest son of Shahji, the eldest brother of Shivaji the great. The name of the latter's eldest son was also Sambhaji. Another man from Kolhapur bore the same name; Shahji's brother-in-law (second wife's brother) was called Sambhaji Mohite; and one of Shivaji's officers was also called Sambhaji.

Of these five personalities that figure mostly in Maratha history, who was the man that played a significant part in the politics of Mysore is to be decided satisfactorily. Sambhaji Kavili does not engage our attention as he cannot be the likely ruler alluded to in the inscription; and above all he does not seem to have been vested with any sovereign powers as the person under review. Sambhaji of Kolhapur does not come on the scene as he was born after the 17th century (i.e. A.D. 1712 - 1760). The other Sambhajis that are left here are the sons of Shahji and Shivaji and the brother-in-law of Shahji, with whom we are more concerned, as they had indisputable connection with the history of Mysore.

We know clearly that Shahji was sent by the Sultan of
Bijapur with Panadulla Khan in order to effect the conquest of Mysore; and after the successful termination of the campaign, Shahji was granted Jagir in Mysore comprising of Bangalore, Doddaballapura, Sira and other places as a mark of his selfless service. Since 1639, Shahji had been residing at Bangalore which in course of time developed into a historical city of great importance.

Shahji had two sons by his first wife Jija Bai, named Sambhaji and Shivaji. Sambhaji was born in A.D. 1619. It is generally accepted that Sambhaji had lost his life in an attack on Kanakagiri in A.D. 1654.

Sambhaji had been of great help to Shahji for he used to assist him in the administration. That Sambhaji came to light as assisting his father in Mysore at least from 1647 onwards can evidently be proved. Several inscriptions found in Mysore bear testimony to this fact. An inscription discovered at Hancarahalli, Doddaballapura Taluk, dated Wednesday, 3 March 1647 states that "Sambhaji Raya granted Ganna Basappa Vader (Wodeyar) of the Saji Matha (people's matha, the Hancipura village). From this it is clear that he was ruling over Doddaballapura as the Governor; and to occupy this post he was sufficiently aged (28 years). It is

2. Ibid., p. 81.
to be noted that he was simply addressed as Sambhaji without giving any honorific title which was common among the several royal families of the age (Raya and so on). From this it can be inferred that he was acting only as the representative of his father Shahji and till this year he was not granted any specific royal title. In 1650 a charitable grant was issued by Sambhaji in the district of Bangalore. But in the year 1653 there appears to have been a change in the official status of the prince Sambhaji. He had assumed so many titles. The inscription found in the Kondipalli village, Mulbagal taluk, Mysore State, dated 1653 says that "the rajadhiraja rajaraja Sambhaji Raja Maharaja's son Kannaravaji Pandita .... buying Kondiganahalli, granted it to .............svati as a kattu-godagi". Now Sambhaji was invested with almost full royal titles like Rajadhiraja, Raja raja, Maharaja. Further he had a son named Kannaravaji Pandita.

Why Sambhaji was granted these titles in A.D. 1653 needs inquiry. Though we have not got direct evidence on this point, yet we can make out the reasons for honouring Sambhaji with such royal titles. Firstly, he was entrusted with the tremendous responsibilities of administering several districts in the Jagirs of his father and above all he was expected to lead an expedition

into Kanakagiri in the subsequent year against Appa Khan, its chieftain. Spirited Sambhai was further exalted with these royal titles to equip him for the task.

The Maratha records agree in stating that Appa Khan, the chieftain of Kanakagiri unfurled the standard of revolt and cast a covetous eye on Doddaballapura, a part and parcel of Shahji's Jagir. In order to punish this refractory chieftain, Sambhai was deputed. In the encounter that followed Sambhai was killed due to deliberate negligence on the part of Afzal Khan to reinforce the prince at a critical juncture. This campaign took place in 1654. It was this failure that drove Shahji to reconquer Kanakagiri three or four years later. A reference is made by Shahji in his letter dated 6 July, 1657 to the Sultan of Bijapur.

"Your majesty, I had been deputed to the expedition against Kanakagiri and having carried out the mission successfully, was duly rewarded .......... I also conquered for your State the districts of Anegondi and Kanakagiri."  

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1. Kanakagiri has been known as a tirtha from the 10th century. See P.C. III, Ml. 30, p. 59. For its prominence in A.D. 1355, 1422 and 1492 see E.C. IV(1) Ch. 153, p. 20, Ch. 150, p. 20, and Ch. 160, p. 21 respectively.


On the basis of this letter, R.N. Salatore writes that there was a second expedition against the chieftain of Kanakagiri which was led by Shahji in person either in 1556 or in the early part of A.D. 1657. How Shahji was honoured for having conquered Kanakagiri is not known to us. On the whole it is evident that Kanakagiri did not remain a part and parcel of Shahji Jagir; on the contrary it was annexed to the kingdom of Bijapur.

The Kondipalli inscription issued in the year 1653 does not mention the death of Sambhaji, which would have been certainly mentioned, had the event taken place in that year. Therefore it can easily be inferred that the epigraph was issued prior to the alleged fatality.

Sardesai says that Sambhaji lost his life in an attack on Kanakagiri in 1654.2

Further an epigraph found at Kuduvadi on a shrine near the sluice of Mallasandra tank in the Kolar taluk, Mysore State, dated 20 October 1651 states that "the Rajadhiraja rajasri Sambhaji Raya Maharajaraayya's agent for the border district of Kolala sime, Kanavaja pant and others, on the Komatis of Kolala, abounding it, giving it, gave to Candara Tamharahalli Depa Gauda, land under the Muduvadi Mallasamudram tank with sasana for constructing it".3

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3. E.C. X, 71.193, p. 60, text, p. 62: Jayasarmatara ba asvija ba 5 Ria - lu - srimad rajadhiraja rajasri Sambhoji Raja Maharaja rayyanavara Kar (yakartha ) ru ... Kolala sime sarahada- lada Kanavaja pantaru modaladavaru Kolada Komati.
From this account we can make out that the authority of the Marathas was fully established over the Kolar district. Secondly, Sambhaji is not said to have issued the grant to Depa Gauḍa; on the contrary his agent figured prominently and is said to have been the chief grantor of the plot of land. If Sambhaji was really alive, as was the practice, there was no necessity to issue the grant in the name of his agent. Therefore it is clear that Sambhaji was dead by this time. It is also incorrect to assume that Sambhaji was alive as far as 1663.¹

R.N. Salatore says that "one of the epigraphs which specifically refers to Sambhaji as living for instance, in A.D. 1660 is one found at Gottehalli, Kolar taluk, Mysore State".

The author of the article has completely mistaken this Sambhaji, mentioned in the inscription of 1660. He was altogether

1. R.N. Salatore writing in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras Vol. 13, 1939, p. 60 argues that if Sambhaji were not alive at that time, his successor's name should have been mentioned in the inscription. Relying on this particular point, he rejects the theory of the death of Sambhaji in the siege of Kanakagiri as unhistorical. He again says "The acceptance of his demise in this year is based almost entirely of Maratha Chroniclers none of whose accounts were contemporary in the sense in which the inscriptions can be said to be contemporary. There is no Maratha chronicle which written in the last days of Sambhaji or his father or even of Shivaji, specifies in the clearest terms Sambhaji perished in the onslaught against Kanakagiri; nor is there any account, either of an eye-witness, Hindu or Muslim, or even a foreign traveller, to corroborate the statement. The only historian of note who set this down as an accepted fact was Grant Duff, but the exact sources of information are neither accessible or known to us. The kanarese epigraphs, on the other hand, not only do they not refer to his death but speak of him as actually alive up to 1663 A.D."
different from the one mentioned already. Sambhaji of 1660 inscription was the brother-in-law of Shahji as his sister Tuka Bai was married to him. How this Sambhaji came to Mysore.

Sardesai says:

"Supa .... not far from Poona was held by a rather uncongenial neighbour, Sambhaji Mohite, a staunch loyalist of Bijapur and in addition an unfriendly relation of Shivaji, as his sister Tuka Bai was the second wife of Shahji. Sambhaji Mohite, a hereditary noble of Bijapur, would not be persuaded to join Shivaji's movement nor enter his service ....... one dark night Shivaji ....... made a sudden raid upon Supa, surprised Sambhaji ....... and persuaded him to join his movement, but the proud man would not yield, Shivaji sent him under proper escort to his father at Bangalore."

This event took place in 1652. After the death of Sambhaji at Kanakagiri in 1654, this Sambhaji Mohite was appointed to the Governorship of Kolar. It may be argued that Mohite is not mentioned in the inscription to consider that he is different from the former. To this objection it may be said that the Karnataka people were not in the habit of calling their governors by their family name or it is likely they not know the epithet 'Mohite'.

2. Ibid., p. 104.
They used to call him Sambhaji.

Therefore Sambhaji was placed to govern Kolar district. Let us see what the inscription of 1660 says. It says that "Sambhaji Raja granted land to Antraji Pandita of Akaladarsa in Sugatur hobali".

By making a comparative study of the two epigraphs it is possible to find out the approximate date, if not the exact date, of the appointment of Sambhaji to the governorship of Kolar. In the inscription of 1654 Sambhaji's agent is mentioned to have been the chief grantor of the land and in the inscription of 1660 Sambhaji is mentioned as the grantor of the land. Therefore it is probable that Sambhaji was sent to rule Kolar about A.D.1657.

Another point we will have to note in this inscription 1660 is that honorific titles like rajadhiraja, raja Maharaja that were conferred upon Sambhaji, the son of Shahji, were not given to this Sambhaji. He is simply addressed as Sambhaji Rajaravaru. Therefore this Sambhaji must have been different, otherwise all the other titles would have been repeated in the inscription if he were to be the same man. The word "Rajaravaru" also implies the royal position accorded to him most likely by Shahji who was at Bangalore and also great regard and respect that the people of Kolar showed to him.

1. E.C. X, 176, p. 57 text, p. 64: sarvar samsvatsara
   Asvija suddha 12 lu srimatu Samboji Rajaravaru Sugaturu hobaliya Akaladarasaya Antaraji panditaru vritt vandu Samba Sasana.
It is very interesting to note that Sambhaji, in course of time, assumed all titles.

An epigraph found at Hololur hobli, Kolar taluk, dated Friday, 1 May 1663 says that

"the rajadhira rajashri Sambhaji Raja Saheb gave to Alambigiri Tippi Setti and Varanasi Cenne Gauda a kodiige sasana".¹

Now it can no longer be disputed that Sambhaji had permanently established his rule over Kolar and assumed all the other titles befitting to his royal position. Further he was graced with the honorific 'Sahebaru' which was denied to Sambhaji, the son of Shahji. Moreover he seems to have assumed grandeur in the administration of his district.

Sambhaji seems to have died in 1663 for no inscription bearing his name has been discovered as having been issued after 1663. The death of Sambhaji in 1663 and his brother-in-law Shahji in 1664 induced most of the districts in the Karnatak to throw off the rule of the Marathas and assert their independence. Such a move on the part of several districts must have taken fairly a long time because Shivaji had commenced the reconquest of these Karnatak possessions 14 years later. Thus Bijapur territories in Karnatak came to be ruled by Sambhaji and his successor.

¹ E.C. X, Kl 219, text, p. 72: Vijayabhyudaya salivahana saka varusangalu 1586 s'obhakruta samvatsara da vaisaka su 5 lu srimad rajadhira raja raja rajasri Sambhaji Raja Sahebaru Alambigiri Tippi Setti Varanasi Canne gaudagu kotta ...kodiige sasana.
The following is the genealogy of the Mysore Rajas as is depicted in Srirangapatna inscription 14, dated A.D. 1686 and continued in Sr. 64 dated A.D. 1722. It corresponds to Sr. 151 dated A.D. 1679 and Sr. 100 dated A.D. 1724.

**APPENDIX 2**

The following is the genealogy of the Mysore Rajas as is depicted in Srirangapatna inscription 14, dated A.D. 1686 and continued in Sr. 64 dated A.D. 1722. It corresponds to Sr. 151 dated A.D. 1679 and Sr. 100 dated A.D. 1724.

**Bettada Chamaraja**

```
Timma Raja ───── Krishna Raja ───── Chamaraja
          └───────┘                └───────┘
Rajadhi Raja ─── Bettada Chama Deva Rajendra Chama Raja
          └───────┘                └───────┘
Dodda Devaraja Chikka Deva Deva Raja Mariva Deva
          └───────┘                └───────┘
Chikkadevandra Kanthirava
M. Devamamba
Kanthirava Narasa Raja.
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**Wilks' genealogical Table.**

Vijaya (Madana and Karugahalli)

Chama Raja (Arberal = six-fingured)

**Bettad Chamaraja**

```
Appan Timmaraj Hemanahalli
          └───────┘                └───────┘
Bettad Wodeyar Raja Wodeyar Muppin Devaraj Here Chamaraja
1576 to 1578 1579 to 1617
          └───────┘                └───────┘
Dodda Devaiah 2nd 3rd Kemps Devaiah
               (1659 to 1672)
Chikkadeva Raj (1672 - 1704)
              └───────┘
Dod Devayya
```
Chikkadeva Raj (1672 - 1704)

Kanthiravaraj (1704 to 1714)

Dod Krishna Raj (1714 to 1731)

Two usurpers Chamraj (1722 to 1734)

Chikka Krishna Raj (1734 to 1766)

Dalavov Grant No.63, Tirumakudlu Narasipur dated A.D. 1759 gives the following which agrees more closely with that in Wilks' History of Mysore.

Chamaraja

Timmaraja Krishnaraja Retad Chamaraja

Raja Wodeyar

Narasaraj

Chamaraja

Imma Raj

Kanthirava Narasa

Devarajendra

Chikka Devaraja

Kanthirava Narasa

Krishna Raja Nripati

Krishna Raja
Palace History
Yadu Raja (1399 to 1423)

Here Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar (1423 to 1459)
Timmaraja Wodeyar (1459 to 1478)
Here Chama Raja Wodeyar (1478 to 1513)
Betad Chamaraja (1513 to 1552)

Timmaraja (1552 to 1571) Krishna Raja Bole Chamaraja (1571 to 1576)

Betad Chamaraja (1576 to 1598) Raja Wodeyar (1578 to 1617)

Muppina Devaraj Chamaraja
Raja Wodeyar Kanthirava Var Narasa (1638-1659)

Narasa- Bettada- Nanja- Chama raja. Wodevar. raja raja Chikkadevaraja Narasa
Haja 1672 to 1704) Kanthirava Navasa
1637 to 1638

Kanthirava Narasa (1704 to 1713)
Dodd Krishna Raja (1713 to 1731)
Chamaraja (1731 to 1734)
Chikkakrishna Raj (1734 to 1761)

Both of these adopted by the widow of Dodd Krishna Raj.

The Genealogical table adopted in this work
Yadu (1399 to 1423)

Here Bettad Chamaraj (1423 to 1459)
Timmaraja Wodeyar (1459 to 1478)
Here Chamarasa (1478 to 1513)
"No Man's Land" - refuted

Referring to the conquests of Shivaji during his return journey from Gingee to Maharashtra, J.N. Sarkar says that Shivaji attacked and took easy possession of his father's jagir districts Kolar, Hoskote, Bangalore, Doddaballapura and Sira in the eastern and central parts of the Mysore kingdom and put down the chieftains of that "No Man's Land".¹

It is incorrect to say that those districts were "No Man's Land", for we have got sufficient evidences on hand to prove that those districts were controlled and ably administered by enterprising, war-like chieftains. For instance Kolar was committed to the charge of the Avatinad Prabhus and Sugatur Chieftains. Immadi Bairegowda, the son of Bairegowda, the Prabhu of Avatinad in 1640 was the contemporary of Shahji. Another contemporary chieftain of Shahji was Immade Chikkaraya Tammava Gowdaravva of Sugatur in 1637.²

That several Maratha officials were placed over Kolar to carry on the administration can evidently be proved. A stone inscription of 1637 gives the name of the Maratha official as Srimantha Desa Kulakarni Samanna.³

2. Epigraphia Carnatica, X, Sd. 31, p. 183; Kl. 247, p. 69.
3. Ibid., Sd. 49, p. 185.
In 1653 Rajadhiraja Raja Sambhaji Raja Maharaja's son Kannarayaji Pandita is said to have made a gift of land to some one whose name is effaced in the record, styling himself as the agent (Karyakartha) of the emperor Sambhaji.

Kannarayaji Pandita seemed to have governed the whole Kolar region ably and efficiently. There appears to have been a change in the official status of Prince Sambhaji. This can be seen in another inscription which says that Sambhajiraja is honoured with full royal titles such as Rajadhiraja Rajamanya Rajasri Sambhoji Raja Maharajaravva.

It is known that Sambhaji was the eldest son of Shahji who played a significant part in the politics of South Indian History from 1639 to 1664. After the death of Sambhaji in 1657 at Kanakagiri, another Maratha by the same name succeeded to the Viceroyalty. He was the brother-in-law of Shahji as his sister was married to the latter.

A stone inscription of 1660 makes mention of Sambhaji who granted a land to Antraji Pandita of Akaladarasa in Sugatur Hobil.

In 1662 Kolar sime was committed to the charge of Ekoji. This is proved by a stone inscription correctly dated 1662 by Rice, which says that during the rule of Enkoji (Ekoji) Raja, the havaldar

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1. Ibid., 154, p. 111.
2. E.C., X, Kl., 193, p. 60.
3. See chapter Appendix 1.
4. Ibid.
5. E.C., X, Kl. 176, p. 57.
of Rahadurga, Baranaji Raja made a gift of land to Timmappa. ¹

Ekoji did not seem to have governed Kolar some for a long time, for Sambhaji comes to assume the governorship of that district next in the year 1663. The stone inscription which throws fresh light on this, clearly says that Rajadhiraja Rajasri Sambhaji Raja Saheb made a gift of land to Alambigiri Tippi Setty & Varanasi Chenneguda.² This Sambhaji died in 1663.³

After the death of Sambhaji the administration of the district was devolved upon Javita Bayiamma. A stone inscription says that in 1666 Javita Bayiamma, lawful wife of Sambhaji Raja made a gift of land to some one (named).⁴ That she continued to rule over the district up to 1670 can be proved by an inscription of 1670 which refers to the gift of a land to some one (named) made by Javita Rai, the wife of Sambhaji.⁵

But in 1673 the governorship of that district was placed under a Maratha official named Krishnappa. This can be clearly proved by an inscription dated 1673 which says that Maharajasri Desapande Krishnappa made a gift of land to one Nagarajappa.⁶

Krishnappa seems to have ruled district for about 5 years,

¹ E.C. X. 80. 47, p. 195.
² Ibid., Kl. 210, p. 63.
³ See Chapter IX.
⁴ Ibid., Kl. 227. This inscription says that Sambhaji was the son of Shivaji Raja. Probably this is an error for Sambhaji.
⁵ E.C., E, Kl. 224, p. 64.
for in 1680 Sambhaji, the son of Shivaji comes to assume the governorship of the district. The inscription of 1680 mentions Sambhaji ordering one of his officials for grant of land to some one (named).¹ According to the above inscriptions, therefore, Kolar was continued to be governed by different Maratha officers since the establishment of the Maratha rule in Mysore.

Let us turn to Tumkur. Within the jurisdiction of the district of Tumkur was Sira which formed a part of Jagir that was bestowed on Shahji, father of the Great Shivaji by Adil Shah of Bijapur in 1639 in recognition for his selfless service in the Karnatic.²

A Persian inscription on the tomb of Malik Rihan dated 1651 definitely says that Sira was committed to the charge of the Adil Shahi Subedar named Malik Rihan who dedicated his life for the betterment of his district. It says that he came over there in 1637 to increase the beauty of his country. What is more interesting in this is that he is called the lord of the riches and power - riches referring to the material prosperity that he increased and power referring to the efficient rule that he gave to his country.³ Another Persian inscription copied at Sira refers to the construction of a mosque by Ali Nazr, a subordinate of Malik Rihan. It says:

"This holy, grand, lofty and glorious mosque was built by Ali Nazr, subordinate to Malik Rihan Mubarak".

¹ Ibid., Mh. 117, p. 106.
² See Muhammad Namah translated in Modern Review 1929 by J.N. Sarka.
³ F.C. XII, Sira 66 b, p. 98.
This must have been constructed during the reign of Malik Pihan.\textsuperscript{1}
Another on a black slab kept in the courtyard of the big mosque
gives A.D. 1657 as the date of the construction of another mosque.\textsuperscript{2}
The name of the Governor is not mentioned.

The capture of Bijapur by Aurangzeb in 1686 was followed
by the conquest of the Karnataka districts dependent on it. Sira
was made the capital of the new province south of the Tungabhadra.
Khasim Khan was appointed the first governor. Khasim Khan
governed Sira region with ability till 1698.\textsuperscript{3}

Now it is clear that Shivaji during his Karnataka ex-
pedition had not conquered "No Man's Land" in the northern, central
and eastern parts of the kingdom of Mysore, as has been held by
J.N. Sarkar; but conquered districts held by enterprising and able
chieftains.

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\textsuperscript{1} Archaeological Report of Mysore 1916, p. 57.
\textsuperscript{2} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{3} See Chapters on Sambhaji and Rajaram.
APPENDIX

Sambhaji in Mysore (1666-1680)

While we have some details concerning Raja Sambhaji's activities after his enthronement in Maharashtra consequent on the death of his father Shivaji, we know practically little or nothing concerning his doings in Mysore before that event especially during the last 14 years of Shivaji's life. Several inscriptions found in Mysore State throw plenty of light on the activities of Sambhaji in Mysore before 1680.

According to Sabhasad Shivaji had two sons, the eldest of whom, born of Sai Bai, was called Sambhaji. He saw light on May 1657 at Purandar. He seems to have married when he was quite a young boy. His wife issued a grant in Kolar taluk. An inscription found at Huttur, Kolar taluk, dated 20th January A.D. 1666 says that "Javati Bavi Amma, lawful wife of Sambhaji Raja, the son of Sivaji Raja of the kausika gotra and Bhosla family made to Shavaji Pant, a grant". There is no room for discussion on the point of identity of Sambhaji for, the epigraph explicitly says

1. Sarkar consistently spells Sambhaji as Shambuji, and Shambhu see his Shiwaji and 'his Times (3rd ed) p. 142, 153 etc. but the Marathi, Kannada and Sanskrit records call him Sambhaji.
that Sambhaji was the son of Shivaji Raja. The wife Javita Bai is the kannada version of Marathi Jew Bai. Perhaps Javita Bai was married to Sambhaji when he was just 9 years old. Another inscription issued four years later by the same queen confirms the inference. That inscription was found at Jannapalli, Kolar taluk and dated Monday 21st March 1670. It states that by order of the queen (matusri) Javita Baviamma, the Sugatur hobali Havaldar Vithala Panditarava and Brahmins of the Agrahara made a grant. According to these two epigraphs, Huttur and Sugatur in the Kolar taluk came to be administered by the Maratha power till 1670.

Now these two epigraphs do not make mention of Sambhaji's presence in person at the above mentioned places. On the contrary his wife's presence was clearly stated. Where exactly Sambhaji was? Whether he was in Maharashtra or Karnataka is the problem now to be solved. On the basis of Sabhasad, Sarker says that "Shivaji took leave of his family at Rajgarh and began his journey to North India, about the third week of March, 1666, with his eldest son Shambhuj, seven chief officers and 4000 troops."

Towards the end of December in the same year he was at Rayagad.

Then consequent on the agreement made in 1668 between Shivaji and Aurangzeb, Sambhaji was sent to the viceroy's court at Aurangabad. After an interview with the Viceroy, Sambhaji was made commander

1. Ibid., Vol.22, p. 64, text, p. 73: Fadharanada samvatsarada caatra su 10 - lu srimatu Javita baviamma navara appaneli Sugatura hobali Havaldara rajasri vithala pandita ravanavanara runnu-agrahara naheanonangalu saha...........

of 5000 and assigned a Jagir in Mirar. Therefore, according
to Sabhasad Sambhaji had been away in north India and was not found
in Mysore. How to reconcile the two sources of information? It
is likely that Sambhaji went to Maharashtra from Mysore in order
to accompany his father to the imperial court after handing over
the responsibilities of the administration of Kolar to his wife
Javita Bai. It may be questioned that how an young lady was placed
to govern the territory? The answer is clearly supplied by the
inscription which says that by the order of Javita Baivamma a chari-
table grant was made by Vithala Pandita. This means that Vithala
Pandita who had made the grant must have occupied a responsible posi-
tion. In the light of this we can say that Vithala Pandita was
acting as Chief Minister to help the inexperienced lady on the
viceregal throne.

Nextly on the eve of the death of his father Shivaji in
1680 Sambhaji seems to have been in Mysore with his residence at
Nandi from where, according to the epigraphic record, he repulsed
the invasion of Muslims. To understand how Sambhaji had been to
Nandi at the time of his father's death requires a slight retrospec-
tive study.

Sabhasad informs us how Shivaji called upon his son Sambhaji
to bear the burden of the administration of some portion of distant
Karnataka which he conquered during his daring southern expedition
of 1677. Shivaji addresses his son as follows:— "Thou Sambhaji

art one; and Rajaram is the second. So I shall divide all my kingdom into two. The kingdom of Gingee, stretching from Tungabhadra to the Kaveri, is one kingdom. The second is a kingdom on the other side of the Tungabhadra, extending up to the river Godavari. Such are the two kingdoms (I have). Thou art my eldest son, I confer on you the kingdom of the Karnatak; the kingdom on this side I give to Rajaram''.

The newly conquered area of the Karnatak seems to have consisted of seventy-nine forts which were newly conquered by Shivaji, according to Sabhasad. Among these forts, districts of Kolar and Ballapura over the Ghats, besides Bhor, Kot, Kolar figure prominently. The newly conquered Karnataka of Shivaji extended from the Tungabhadra right up to the Kaveri comprising several important districts like Kolar, Doddaballapur, Gingee and Vellore. It was to this Karnatak area Sambhaji was invited by his dying father. At first Sambhaji obeyed the order of his father, but later changed his tone and refused the offer. How strongly Shivaji felt sad on the occasion can be clearly made out from his last words to his courtiers: "I am going to Kallara to see the Sri, feeling that my body was growing weak, I said to my eldest son Sambhaji - 'you two are my sons. I am dividing the kingdom between you and you two should live in but amity'. So I said, the eldest son Sambhaji Raje did not listen to (this counsel), it seems my end has come".

1. Sabhasad, op. cit., p. 78; Sen, op.cit., p. 132.
celebrated the marriage of Rajaram at Raygad on 15 March 1680\(^1\) and on that occasion "the elder son, Sambhaji Raje, was not present".\(^2\)

Shivaji died in the year 1680\(^3\) and at that time Sambhaji was away. Where was Sambhaji at this time? To this, answer is supplied by the Mysore inscription. A record found at Nandi hill, Chikkaballapura Taluk, dated A.D. 1680 says:–

"Obeisance to Nandiswara. In the east of the Karnataka country is the mountain named Nandi, very lofty and impregnable, with only one path, filled with Champaka, asvatha (trees). At the very top the huge cliff is adorned with a temple. In the Ballapura kingdom, the great mountain was made a hill fort, being reckoned a secure protection from the fear of enemies. In order to seize the hill fort, a Mlencha came with a great force but at length was beaten off greatly distressed. (On the date specified), Siva-Chatrapati's son Sambhaji-Raje is ruling here in peace. And the durgadhikari (or governor of hill forts) Balaji Krishna, governing the Jagadeva hill-forts, here, in pursuance of Raghunatha

2. Sabhasad, op.cit, p. 89; Sen, op.cit, p. 153.
Pandita's orders, took over the command (or possession) of his fine hill fort.¹

According to this inscription Sambhaji was living peacefully in Chikkaballapura in that year. This epigraph also implies that Sambhaji made Nandi hill as his summer resort as his grand father Shahji used to. Now the problem is who the daring Mlenchha was that besieged the fort? Mlenchha means a Muslim. So the Muslim that came as far as Nandi Hill was no other than Dilir Khan, the Mughal Commander.

In A.D. 1679 Dilir Khan declared war against the Sultan of Bijapur and caused incalculable havoc around the southern region of Bijapur; but his whole plan was shattered to pieces owing to the intrigues practised by Shah Alam relying on whose letter Aurangzeb wrote a strong letter to Dilir Khan as follows: "You have neither protected my dominions nor gained your object. Withdraw quickly from the siege of Bijapur."²

1. F.C. X, CR 32, p. 205, text, p. 250:

Sri Nandisvarava namah
dese karnatake purve navrato Nandi namakah
aty unnato abhed var cha margenaikena samyutah
champakara astha - naringa tamalih paritas sritah
atvuchchrayo maha - vapra devalaya - vibhushitah
raje Ballapurasyaiva durgam kritva maha girim
mene satru bhavat tratum svavam asti vinisshitam
grihitam durgam agrahvam Mlenchho bahu balavithah
agama .... tato Jatah taditotvanta vimvalah
...... Sakabda - sahasram dvi-ti-sata-de-varse
Paudrau Stravana suddha Shashth, vam
Budhe cha vere Siva - chhatrapateh kumaro Sambhoji rad atra
mu'anan s asti
durgadhikari - Jagadeva - sudurgakani Balaji Krishno hy
anusasti vatra
ajnanusari Raghunatha - supanditavya jagraha durgottama
vajamanavam

The date is worked out by Swamikannu Pillai, An Indian Ephemeris Vol. VI, p. 163.
In the meanwhile, on the 30 Nov. 1679 Sambhaji escaped from Bijapur. On 29 January 1680, losing all hope of fighting against Bijapur, Dilar Khan retraced his steps. When his hopes were foiled, Dilar Khan gave vent to his worst passions and roamed about like a mad dog, slaving and looting. During his return journey he besieged Sagar but being defeated by Ram Nayaka its ruler, he was disgraced and recalled, while returning he moved northwards along the east side of Bijapur perpetrating horrible cruelties on the populace.

Sambhaji was ruling peacefully in Chikkaballapura which is fairly a big town, 36 miles north-west of Kolar. We know on the 21 February 1680 Dilar Khan, having sustained defeat at the hands of Ram Nayaka, moved northwards. It was from Sagar which lies north-west of Mysore that the Khan was driven out. It is possible that Dilar Khan heard about Sambhaji, staying in Chikkaballapura and therefore decided to attack him. It is likely that he had never forgotten the hide and seek which Sambhaji played in the previous year. Therefore Dilar Khan made a sudden dash on the hill fort with all his forces but as the epigraphic record points out "was beaten off greatly distressed" by Krishnaji Pant, Governor of the fort under Sambhaji. The Muslim general has therefore, been contemptuously styled in this inscription as a Menchha which implies...

(Foot note continued from previous page).

merely a non-Hindu. No other general invaded any part of Maratha kingdom in this portion of Karnataka in this year. According to Khafi Khan two princes, Akbar and Muazzam came as far as Baglan part of Sambhaji's territory but no mention is made of the prince Akbar, as having come to any part of the Mysore State, much less Chikkaballapura. The other prince, Muhammad Muazzam was ordered by Aurangzeb, after his arrival at Aurangabad in A.D. 1691 "to reduce the fort of Salir near the fort of Malir in Baglan which had been held for sometime by the Marathas. Prince Muazzam penetrated into Konkan ....... laid waste in all directions ......... "¹(a) but he was soon recalled. Here also Khafi Khan makes no mention of prince Muazzam invading the Mysore territory where Maratha interest was dominant. Therefore it is clear that the Menchhha referred to was Dilir Khan.

The next point for consideration is from what date Sambhaji had been ruling at Chikkaballapura and during which month the battle really took place between Dilir Khan and Sambhaji.

According to Sabhasad, Sambhaji was not present by the side of his father at the time of the latter's death.² It is known that in A.D. 1669 Sambhaji was appointed commander of 5,000 horse and sent to Berar. Sabhasad says for two years a Maratha contingent of one thousand horse under Pratap Rao Gujar, lived in

¹. Elliot and Dowson, History of India, VII, p. 309.
¹(a) Ibid., p. 311.
². Sabhasad, op.cit, p. 89, Sen, op.cit., p. 149.
Berar "feeding themselves at the expense of the Mughal dominion". But as soon as he heard of his father's death, as Khafi Khan relates, he proceeded to his country: "When Shivaji was dead his wretched son Sambha desired to surpass his father. He raised the standard of rebellion and on 15 February 1680, he attacked Kakar Khan Afghan, who acted as the Collector of Jizva, under Khan Zaman, the Subedar of the Dakhin. Sambha was returning with nearly 20,000 men from a plundering expedition in Berar. He made a forced march ....... and made his attack, while his victims were entirely ignorant of his approach. Thus he fell upon Bahadurpur". But owing to a misunderstanding, the Mughal general failed to attack Sambhaji, who, evading the Mughals, went to Salir (Saller) in Baglan. From this account of Khafi Khan it is clear that until the 15 February 1680, Sambhaji was not in Chikkaballapura and that he must have arrived at his place probably towards the end of the month. An English letter written from the Bombay council to Surat, on 28 April 1680 says "we have certain news that Shivaji Rajah is dead, it is now 23 days since he diseased ......... Sambhaji Rajah is at Panhala". Therefore it is evident that the driving away of the Mlenchha as is mentioned in the inscription must have taken place between February and April of 1680 and that Sambhaji was in Chikkaballapura from the end of February upto the 3rd week of April 1680.

1. Ibid.
2. Elliot and Dowson: History of India as told by her own Historians, Vol.VII, p. 306.
3. Ibid., p. 307.
The date given in the epigraph on 21 July 1680. Reliving on this calculated date, we can not certainly say that Sambhaji continued to be in Chikkaballapura from the end of February to 21 July 1680, for as already pointed out we have got the Factory record which says that by 28 April 1680 Sambhaji was at Panhala. Further Jedhe Sakavali says that "on 18 June 1680, Sambhaji entered Raigad, assumed powers and imprisoned Raja-Ram; and on 20 July 1680 ascended the throne". Therefore what we can infer from the above statements is that while Sambhaji was seated on the throne of Raigad peacefully, he ordered his officer in the Karnatak to issue the inscription in his name on 21 July 1680. Therefore the inscription is dated 21 July 1680.

Now we shall examine whether the statements regarding Maratha officers mentioned in the epigraph are correct. The epigraph says that Balaji Krishna who was in charge of Jagadeva hill forts, in pursuance of Raghunath Pandita's orders, took over the command of the fort of Chikkaballapura itself. This statement is amply corroborated by Sabhashad who says that after defeating Venkoji with the assistance of Hambir Rao, Raghunath Pant, dismissed him and sent him over to his master Shivaji. Then, "Raghunath Pant himself, on that side, raised an army of 10,000 horse, Paga and Silledar in the Karnatak and lived there and maintained the kingdom. The flight of Ekoji took place in July 1677 and

1. Sakabda Sahasram dvitri-Sata-dve-varshe Paudra Shrayana-Suddh, Shashthiyam, Bude Cha Vare.
2. Shivaji Souvenir, p. 25.
Shivaji must have occupied this region in the same year.\(^1\) Therefore it is evident that Balaji Krishna took charge of the fort of Chikkaballapura in obedience to the orders of Raghunatha Narayan who was placed in charge of Karnatak by Shivaji.

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1. Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, pp. 311-312.
Influence of Kavi Kalasa on Sambhaji

There are periods in history which have acquired a distinctive character and tendency through the life and influence of certain outstanding individuals. The advent of Sambhaji in the Karnataka was such an event of great significance. The political framework of Mysore was affected greatly by the emergence of this Maratha who lacked magnanimity and resourcefulness of his father. Very early Sambhaji came under the influence of Kavi Kalasa. In deciding matters of peace and war Kavi Kalasa was the chief guide and adviser to Sambhaji. The latter was only a puppet in the hands of Kavi Kalasa.

In determining the destiny of Sambhaji, the influence of Kavi Kalasa - Prince of Poets, who adorned the Maratha court could not be overlooked. Who this Kalasa was? Grant Duff, and J. N. Sarkar and several other

scholars on Maratha history have unhesitatingly accepted that Kalasa was a great scholar and won a great influence over the mind of the prince, and was the pivot of the entire Maratha administrative machinery. Further they say that Kalasa was deeply versed in Sanskrit theology, enjoyed the honour of a Pandit and was dignified to the title of Chandogamatya - expounder of the Vedas. Though these scholars give a long description of his qualifications, they do not specifically say who this Kavi Kalasa was.

Sardesai, praising Kavi Kalasa as a scholar of deep learning and erudition says that, "popular tradition in Maharashtra charges Kalusha with having been the Emperor's spy, slyly trying to bring about Sambhaji's ruin. There is absolutely no proof to support such an allegation".

But we have enough of historical proof to say that Kavi Kalasa was a spy employed by Aurangzeb to destroy Sambhaji. Keladi Nripa Vijaya says that "Aurangzeb being indignant at the attitude of Sambhaji had been planning to effect the capture of the prince dead or alive. Having realised that such a mighty and powerful Sambhaji would not submit to him unless he could resort to magic and incantation for his capture. Aurangzeb conceived a plan. Immediately Aurangzeb summoned in the presence of Kannoji Brahmin named Kabji and instructed secretly thus: 'you go to Sambhaji and try to win him over by any means - fair or foul. Do not come here if you do not capture him dead or alive'.

1. He is often called by the name of Kub Kulus or Kablis Khan (See Grant Duff: H.M. Vol., p. 317, F.N.) See also Hodiwala's Studies in Indo-Muslim History (1939), pp. 655-656.
Honouring the Brahmin with costly jewels and presents; and holding out promises of prospects of further booty and position, Aurangzeb despatched him from his Imperial headquarters "to Panhala". From this we may gather that Kabji alias Kavi Kalasa was deliberately employed by Aurangzeb as a spy to bring about the ruin of Sambhaji. This Kannada account was fully supported by English writings. Edward Scott Waring says: "Aurangzeb found that he had little hope of subduing Sambhaji by open and honourable warfare. He resorted to other means; and ........ his favourite Kub Kulus or Cablis Khan ........ was selected by Aurangzeb as a fit instrument to execute his plan". 2

Obedient to the orders of his master, Kavi Kalas, a Kannada Brahmin, arrived in Pannali and sent confidential officers to Sambhaji to say that a Shrotriva Brahmin, well versed in all sciences had come to Pannali; and by making this self-introduction, he interviewed Sambhaji and monopolised his trust. By making an honourable entry into Sambhaji's heart at the very first sight, Kavi Kalasa gradually enlisted the love, affection and confidence of the Prince. Further he held out before the prince prompt promises of reducing all the powerful enemies around him by means


69: Sambhaji Akhila mukhagalolantavanupatalavanesage Thamramukhadhisam thavakeralavavana nidadantike kevdisuvupavamentenutirdam.

69: Antendalochisi Bala saliyagi varthisuthirpa Sambhaji Mayantrantravanoddidalase tanage vasanganendu nischavisibalikkonupatvantaramam nunedu.

70: Barisuttagale Kabjinamakada Kannadoj dvijadhishanam VaraSambhaji vanavde saravigananinendentododam vasagavdiradennalige Barpolagipudenutte-kantadolmanaadim toredistarthavanitibilkodal.

2. History of the Mahrattas, p. 117.
of magic and incantation over the science of which he was a thorough master. By performance of hideous rites, charms, magic and incantation he possessed Sambhaji's mind. The fool-capped prince preferred the company of the bad to that of wise, experienced and important officers. Thus Sambhaji grew extreme distrustful of his father's faithful servants. He lost himself in loose talks and low tastes. Getting the submission of the prince to his will, Kavi Kalasa made Sambhaji a thorough master of the whole debaucherous gang. In the midst of pretty virgins in succession, he entirely forgot the world with which he was mostly concerned.

Maratha sources entirely agree with the account given in Kannada source. "He (Kavi Kalasa) plied Sambhaji with wine, bhang and opium ....... procured for him an endless succession of pretty and lascivious women", say Kincaid and Paramis. Although it is possible to conclude that Kavi Kalasa was the spy of Aurangzeb employed to destroy Sambhaji, more corroborative evidences are necessary to establish the truth.


2. Ibid., IX, Verse 72; Strilolanagi Kabjlya Taladolum silki Jeranijayakkelam Bula guruvenisi tam Jala Keliyanesaguttu mint varthisutridam.


APPENDIX 6

A letter of Portuguese Viceroy

The Portuguese viceroy in a letter written on January 16th 1691 at Goa to the king of Portugal describes the condition of Bednur when it was surrounded by the Mughals: "The Mughal king, after having captured Sambhaji, put him to death and proceeded with the conquests of his territories; but as his brother Rajaram escaped from the mountain of Panhala which the Mughal had besieged, he ordered that a division of his army under his son prince Sultan Tara should chase. The prince surrounded the queen of Kanara who was reported to have allowed Rajaram to pass through her kingdom in such a way that the latter after taking several of her fortresses and entering her court at Bednur had compelled her to retreat and seek peace, surrendering three fortresses out of those which she had in the Ghats and belonged to king Adil Shah and offering to pay him in three years 18 lakhs of pagodas which are more than 18 millions. She immediately handed over to him six lakhs representing the first year's instalment. The Mughal Emperor, being appraised of this did not feel satisfied, for his intention was to conquer the kingdom of Kanara as he had conquered those of Bijapur and Golkonda." ¹

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Santaji's invasion of Mysore
(1696)

Hayavadana Rao says that Mysore was not invaded by Santaji in 1696. His argument was that Mysore was subjected to Maratha onslaught in 1682 but not in 1696. His evidences are: 1) Srirangapatna Temple Copper plate grant, dated 19 November, 1696 which alludes to the Maratha invasion of Srirangapatna by Dadaji Jaitaji and Nimbaji; 2) The local chronicles which reveal that Kumaraiya was in the office of Dalavoyship upto 26 May, 1692; 3) Letters of Fort St. George (1692) and of Jesuits (1692) which say that Kumaraiya was in Trichinopoly with a major portion of the Mysore army at a time when Marathas invaded Sri-rangapatna (1692); 4) Sakala Vaidya - Samhita Sararnava (1714-1720 by Viraraja of Kalale and Andhra Vachana Bharatamu - Sabhaparvamu (1731).

By making a comparative study of conflicting sources, Wilks also writes that there was only one Maratha invasion in 1680-1682. It is true that Mysore was invaded by the Maratha Generals like Padaji, Jaitaji and Nimbalkar during 1680-1682 when the major portion of the Mysore army was away from the capital but it is incorrect to say that Mysore was not invaded by the Marathas in 1696.

On the following evidences, I offer to say that Mysore was invaded by Santaji in 1696. A letter of Fort St. George of 1696 says that Santaji is cantoning at Seerpe with his army to oppose the entrance of the Mughal army into the Carnatic. Yet another letter of Fort St. George of 1696 says that Zulfikar Khan under the orders of the Emperor had pursued Santaji to Mysore. Chikkadevaraja Binnapam specifically mentions the name of Santaji who was defeated by Chikkadevaraja. Sarkar, on the basis of Persian sources, says that Santaji entered the region of central Mysore being closely followed by Zulfikar Khan. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that Santaji invaded Mysore in 1696.

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1. Records of Fort St. George, Letters from Fort St. George, 1696, p. 29, No.34.
2. Ibid., Diary and Consultation Book, 1696, p. 166.