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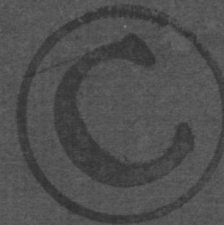
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N. SUBBA RAU, M.A.

Raja Wodeyar of Mysore and his Successors

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(1576-1638 A.D.)

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**RAJA WADEYAR OF MYSORE AND
HIS SUCCESSORS (1576-1638 A.D.)**

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE.

By N. SUBBA RAU, M.A.

I

The Rise of the Kingdom of Mysore.

By far the most important and at the same time the most complicated topic in the history of Mysore is the downfall of the Vijayanagara (Kanarese) Viceroyalty of Seringapatam and the rise to prominence of the kingdom of Mysore under Rāja Wāḍeyar. There is a bewildering variety of conflicting versions regarding this. It is high time to review them in detail in the light of the fresh data now available.

The prevailing version,¹ rejected by Wilks² and the successive writers,³ is that Tirumala Rājayya, the Vijayanagara Viceroy of Seringapatam, was afflicted with *Rājpora* (Royal boil), a disaster most fatal to monarchs, that he sent for Rāja Wāḍeyar of Mysore and asked him to hold Seringapatam on his behalf, saying that he (Tirumala) would go to Talakāḍ, Tirumakūḍlu and other sacred places on pilgrimage and that if he opened to breathe his last, Rāja Wāḍeyar should hand over charge of the city to the chief of Ummattūr. Having instructed Rāja Wāḍeyar, Tirumala went to Talakāḍ where he died shortly afterwards. Rāja Wāḍeyar assumed charge of the government of Seringapatam (Saumya-Māgha-ba. 10 corresponding to 8—2—1610 A.D.). Tirumala's queen and children stayed in Mālingi near Talakāḍ where they died. Later Rāja Wāḍeyar was able to overawe all opposition from the surrounding pāllegars and consolidated his position. Thus began the kingdom of Mysore.

A slightly different version comes, however, from the Palace manuscript.⁴ Tirumala Rājayya (called by mistake Śrī Ranga Rāya), afflicted with *Rājpora*, deliberated with his councillors thus: "Rāja Wāḍeyar, our friend, who is the most powerful ruler,

¹ *Mysūru dhoregaḷa raṁṣa pāraṁpare kaiḷiyat* (c. 1800 A.D.).

² *History of Mysore*, Vol. I, pp. 41-2.

³ The latest among these is the Rev. Prof. H. Heras in *The Āraṇḍiḍu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, Vol. I, p. 420.

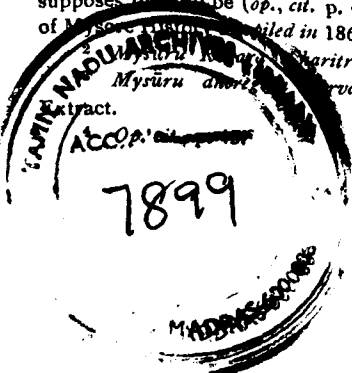
⁴ pp. 28-9.

has stood us in good stead on one or two occasions. He is born in the Yadu race. He is therefore well fitted to sit on this throne and rule the country. Since he has defeated some pāllegars and extended his territories, he will naturally take Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa also, in case some one else is appointed." Accordingly, he sent for Rāja Waḍeyar, narrated to him the story of the acquisition of Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa and the throne by his ancestors, bestowed upon him both the throne and the kingdom (Saumya. Māgha-ba. 10. Thursday) and accompanied by his two wives¹ (Alamelamma and Rangamma) and relatives, proceeded to Talakāḍ near Mālingi where he died shortly afterwards.

From another manuscript² we have the following interesting version: Tirumala Rājayya, the Seringapatam Viceroy, having acted treacherously towards Venkaṭapati Rāya (the Vijayanagara Emperor) in connection with the action against the chief of Madura, Venkaṭapati, with a view to capture him and take possession of Seringapatam, carried on negotiations. Whereupon Tirumala sent to the imperial court all his money, jewels etc. Venkaṭa, however, refused the same and entered into an understanding with the Kanarese chiefs and took possession of Seringapatam. All the chiefs refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of Tirumala Rājayya and laid siege to Seringapatam with their varied forces. Rāja Waḍeyar went against them at the head of 300 warriors, put them to rout in the battle that ensued, curbed them, cut off their noses, took possession of palanquins, drums etc., entered into a truce with all the chiefs (whom he had conquered) and in the cyclic year *Saumya* (Māgha-ba-10. Thursday) took possession of Seringapatam, sent Śrī Rangamma and other females to Mālingi (where Tirumala had taken refuge), conquered the chiefs of the surrounding country and ruled it.

In Nagara Puṭṭiah Pundit's MS.,³ relied on by Wilks,⁴ we have a slightly variant version: According to the orders of Venkaṭapati Rāya, Gambhira Rāya Virupaṇṇa, Halaga, the menial and Ambā

¹ The Palace Historical MS. or the Palace History and the 'Annals of the Mysore Royal Family' are more or less identical (the latter being an abridged edition of the former) and not different works as Prof. Heras supposes them to be (*op. cit.* p. 421). The Palace MS. is the latest version of Mysore history, compiled in 1864, as is evident from the colophon to the MS. Mysuru ananta... varābhayudaya vivara (c. 1800 A.D.).
Myruru ananta... varābhayudaya vivara (c. 1713 A.D.)—Select extract.



Rangayya—all these having combined, sent Tirumala Rājayya to Mālingi on the strength of the authority of *Rāya Nirūpa*¹ (Saumya-Māgha-ba. 10). Rāja Waḍeyar took Seringapatam.

All the versions, referred to above, are from later historical manuscripts; all are agreed regarding the date of acquisition of Seringapatam by Rāja Waḍeyar; they differ considerably only in regard to the actual circumstances connected with it. The first one, as can be seen, refers to the conditional transfer of the Viceroyalty of Seringapatam by Tirumala to Rāja Waḍeyar; the second to the acquisition of Seringapatam by Rāja Waḍeyar as an act of gift, pure and simple; the third refers to the event as the result of a deliberate plan on the part of Venkaṭa consequent on the alleged treason of Tirumala against him; while the last one refers to a desire on the part of Venkaṭa to depose Tirumala, though the reason for the step is not clearly indicated by the author of the manuscript. It thus becomes very difficult to base our judgment of the event on any one of these versions alone to the detriment or exclusion of another equally interesting; nor can we reject them all in their entirety, for, though they are admittedly later versions, they are invariably based on some earlier documents, or, as in some cases, on genuine local traditions available at the time of the composition of the manuscripts. Let us therefore turn our attention to contemporary sources and see how far these conflicting versions are reconcilable and how far do they enable us to form a fairly correct view of the event.

In *Chikkadēva Rāya Vamśāvali*² by Tirumalārya, we have the following: Venkaṭapati Rāya, incensed at the conduct of Virappa Nāyaka of Madura, proceeded on an expedition against and attacked Madura, the capital of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. Virappa, however, taking recourse to indirect means, sent bribes (cash and jewels) to the commanding officers of Venkaṭapati. Tirumala Rājayya³ (one of the generals) accepted the bribe. By acting thus he fell into disfavour

¹ The reason for this course of action is not quite clear in the MS. nor has the "*Rāya Nirūpa*," referred to, as yet come to light. It is strange that Wilks and some of the successive writers have relied solely on this imperfect testimony of a later MS. to explain their view of the whole affair, as will be shown later!

² *Select Extracts*: pp. 3, 9, 12, 15—20, 22 etc.

³ In the Palace MS. (Vol. I, p. 27) we have a faint echo of Tirumala's relations with Virappa Nāyaka of Madura and of his attempts to keep off the latter's encroachments on his Viceroyalty. For a full discussion see *infra*.

with his uncle and taking his elephants, horses and foot-soldiers, went to Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa. News of this having been communicated to Rāja Waḍeyar, he assembled his brothers, ministers and friends, deliberated with them and decided to drive away the traitor from Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa. Accordingly he sent his representatives thither to study the political situation. They, having stayed there for some time, returned to their master, reporting on what they had seen.

On hearing about the advent of Tirumala from Madura with his army to Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa, the chiefs of the various parts of the country, princes and lords of the Vokkaligas, Bēḍas, Baṇajigas and others proceeded to his court with tribute and presents, prostrated to him and became his subordinates by accepting the insignia of office from him. Favoured by him they ruled their territories in his name while at the same time cultivating hostility with Rāja Waḍeyar.¹

Once Tirumala while holding his court, addressed the chiefs of different parts of his dominions, asking them to report on the conditions of their principalities. Whereupon they all got up and expressed their fear of the aggressive attitude of Rāja Waḍeyar of Mysore. The chiefs of Kārugaḥalli, Kannambāḍi, Talakāḍ and Ammachavāḍi represented their grievances against Rāja Waḍeyar. Tirumala promised protection to them.

On hearing the account about the king of Mysore, Tirumala, thinking that the presence of such a dangerous neighbour was a source of anxiety to him, wanted to curb his power somehow or other. He thought of inviting him to his court by offering him terms of friendship and then capture him, failing which he would plan an expedition against him and take him prisoner. With this object in view, and in order to secure the support of his subjects for his project, he asked the chiefs² to bring all their forces to the capital on the pretext of the Mahānavami festival.

¹ Rāja Waḍeyar's policy of systematic aggression was the main reason for this, as will be elucidated further.

² The following are the names of places whose chiefs made common cause with Tirumala against Rāja Waḍeyar, according to this work:—

Chiefs of Baḷḷāpura Kōḷāla, Punganūr, Māgaḍi, Bangalore, Morasanāḍu, Talakāḍ, Yeḷavandūr, Ammachavāḍi, Terakanāmbi, Kōṭē, Kaḷale, Bēlūr, Keḷadi, and other parts of Malnād; Chintanakal, Chikkanāyakanahalli, Bāṇāvāra, Basavapaṭṭaṇa, Sireya and other countries of the Bēḍas; the forces of Rāja Jagadev, Kereyūr Timma Nāyaka etc.

These names are significant indicating as they do the extent of Tirumala's jurisdiction as the Vijayanagara Viceroy in the Kanarese country.

Meanwhile, Rāja Waḍeyar had an interview with Tirumala during which each exchanged friendly greetings with the other¹. However, at the close of the interview, one of the attendants of Rāja Waḍeyar, recited the latter's title 'Birudantembaraganda' (Lord of those who say they have such and such a title), a title which belongs as a matter of right to the Mysore kings. This gave offence to Tirumala who consequently laid² a plot to kill Rāja Waḍeyar on his return from a visit to the temple of Ranganātha. The plot having been disclosed to Rāja Waḍeyar by an intimate friend, he escaped with his brother Beṭṭada Chāma and returned to Mysore. Hearing of this, Tirumala, sorely disappointed, ordered his vast army to march against Mysore. The fort of Kesare³ was besieged preparatory to an attack on Mysore. Tirumala's forces were thoroughly defeated by Beṭṭada Chāma, brother of Rāja Waḍeyar, and forced to retreat. Shortly afterwards the Mysore army under Narasa Rāja proceeded against and besieged Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa. Tirumala, very much disheartened, retreated from the capital towards Mālingi leaving his wives behind.⁴ Narasa Rāja sent news of this incident to Rāja Waḍeyar who whereupon proceeded to Paṭṭaṇa accompanied by his brother. He sent a messenger to Rangamma, the queen of Tirumala, with instructions to tell her to proceed from that place with her belongings....Accordingly the queen left the

¹ It must not be forgotten that Rāja Waḍeyar was as good a feudatory of Tirumala as any other chieftain. His visit to the capital was in the natural course of things as is evident from a study of the work.

² Wilks (*O.C.*, p. 39) refers to the futility of a plot by Tirumala on Rāja Waḍeyar's life after the victory of the latter at the siege of Kesare. There is nothing strange in the story of this second plot of Tirumala, since Rāja Waḍeyar was always a thorn in his side.

³ It is held in the 'Kaifiyat' and 'Puṭṭiah's MS.' that this took place in 1596, though the reasons are not set forth. The Palace MS. (I, p. 27) does not at all give the date, while the reason it advances for the siege is the failure of Rāja Waḍeyar to help Tirumala on the occasion of the latter's war with Virappa Nāyaka of Madura.

The trend of evidence from contemporary sources is in favour of the view that the siege took place hardly a year (1609) before Rāja Waḍeyar's acquisition of Seringapatam.

⁴ The view that Tirumala, yielding to the advice of his courtiers and secretly admonished by Venkaṭa, quietly retired to Talakāḍ and that thereupon Rāja Waḍeyar occupied Seringapatam (Prof. Heras: *op. cit.*, p. 420), is quite inconsistent with the evidence of contemporary sources which are unanimous in the statement that Tirumala was forced to retreat to Mālingi as a result of Rāja Waḍeyar's conquest of Seringapatam assisted by his brothers and sons. Both Mālingi and Talakāḍ have obtained historical celebrity in this connection.

city to Mālingi. Rāja Waḍeyar took possession of Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa and inaugurated his rule.

Venkaṭapati Rāya, having sent his foremost minister Gambhīra Rāya Virupanna with an army of rutting elephants and horses with a view to take possession of the kingdom and treasure of Tirumala Rāya (the traitor during the war with Madura), Rāja Waḍeyar (who had already conquered Tirumala) welcomed him, duly honoured him in the name of Venkaṭapati Rāya,¹ sent him back and ruled happily.

In *Chikkadēvarāya Vijayam* by the same author we have the following version:—After the death of Rāma Rājayya,² Tirumala, his son, who was brought up by his uncle, Venkaṭa, succeeded³ to the Kanarese Viceroyalty. He was once sent to war⁴ with Madura. Having escaped from the war, he returned to Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa. At that time the local chiefs in Mysore who had been curbed by Rāja Waḍeyar, went over to the Telugu Rāja (Tirumala) with a view to wreak their vengeance on the former. Later the siege of Kesare by Tirumala took place and was followed by Rāja Waḍeyar's occupation of Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa and Tirumala's retreat to Mālingi.⁵

In the introductions to the *Māhātmyas* and *Śhaḷapurāṇas*⁶ written during the second half of the 17th century, we have the unanimous testimony of the authors as to how by diplomacy and

¹ It is noteworthy that Venkaṭa's plan of deposition of his nephew was consciously or unconsciously worked out by Rāja Waḍeyar himself.

² Inscriptions of Rāma Rājayya, the brother of Venkaṭa and the father of Tirumala, point to his rule as the Viceroy of Seringapatam down to 1578 (vide E.C. IV, ch. 23) and indicate that he predeceased Venkaṭa. From 1578 to 1584 we notice the administration of the viceroyalty by an agent, known in inscriptions as *Daḷavoy Venkaṭappa Nāyaka* (familiarly known in literary sources as *Remaṭi Venkaṭa*). This corresponds to the period of Tirumala's minority.

³ The first two inscriptions of Tirumala belong to the year 1585 (vide E.C. III, SR. 39 and 40) which indicate his succession to the viceroyalty in that year. The succeeding inscriptions of Tirumala further show that in the administration of the viceroyalty he was assisted by *Daḷavoy Rāmānujayya*, the successor of Remaṭi Venkaṭa (Rf. E.C. IV, Gu. 44, 40, HS. 36 etc.).

⁴ The sudden gap in Tirumala's inscriptions from 1594 to 1597 is very suggestive. It must have been somewhere in 1594 that the rebellion of and war with Virappa took place, followed by Tirumala's retreat and his attempt at reconciliation with his uncle, Venkaṭa II. This will be discussed fully in the following pages.

⁵ *Select Extract.*

⁶ Paschimarangakshētra Māhātmya, Yādavagiri Māhātmya, Kamalāchala Māhātmya, Venkaṭagiri Māhātmya, Munivamśābhyudaya, etc. The expressions '*Chaduratanadim*', '*Ati Chitrarachaneyim*', '*Souryaḍim*', '*Vichitrageṭiyim*', '*Ati kuṣalōpāyadim*', '*Tirumala Nripanam bhāriya jagaladi kenaki muridu...Śrī Rāngapurava sādhisidam*'—referring to Rāja Waḍeyar's diplomacy and prowess in the acquisition of Seringapatam from Tirumala by conquest, are very significant.

prowess Rāja Waḍeyar was able to conquer Tirumala, take possession of Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa and begin his rule from that place.

In the earliest contemporary historical poem¹ written in 1648 i.e., 38 years after the event, we have the following:—The chiefs of Kārugahalli having extended their boundaries as far as the Chāmunḍi hills, cultivated hostile relations with the princes of Mysore (Rāja Waḍeyar and Beṭṭada Chāma Rāja Waḍeyar). The latter, therefore proceeding against them, killed them, razed the township to the ground and had the land sown with oil-seeds.² The hostile chiefs of the surrounding territories, being much troubled with the progressive tendencies of the brothers, sought the protection of Tirumala Rāja of Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa.³

Shortly afterwards, Tirumala, forgetting that the kings of Mysore were his allies, became angry with them and decided to carry on an aggressive war against them. Accordingly he had palm-leaf letters addressed to the chiefs⁴ of different localities asking them to bring their forces to his help. Soon he gathered an army preparatory to the siege of Kesare which guarded the fringe of Mysore and which was the first point of attack.

Hearing about the attempts of the enemy at the capture of the interior parts of the country and fortresses, Beṭṭada Chāma, roused to a pitch of fury, addressed his eldest brother, Rāja Waḍeyar, thus: 'Without realizing that we are his friends and well-wishers, Tirumala having lent his ears to the insinuations of wicked persons, has contracted hostility with us. We put down his enemies, such as the lords

¹ *Kaṇṭhirava Narasa Rāja Vijayam*, by Govinda Vaidya, ch. III.

² This took place early in the reign of Rāja Waḍeyar, according to the Palace MS. (I, p. 23).

³ This corroborates the version in *Chikkadēva Rāya Vamsāvaḷi*, *supra*.

⁴ According to this work, the following chieftains are said to have rallied round Tirumala on the occasion of the siege of Kesare: Rāma Rājendra of Padināḍ (Hadināḍ), the lord of Rudragana (the chief of Piriyaṭṭaṇa), Nan-jendra of Talakūḍ, Timmanāyaka of Kereyūru, Bairēndra (son of Sāla Nāyaka), the lords of Narasimhapura (Hole-Narasipur) and Bēlūr, Dāsa Nāyaka of Nuggahalli, Kengēndra, the lords of Kōlāḷa (Kolar), Baḷalāpura (Baḷlāpur), Baṅgalore (Beṅgaḷūru), Timmappa Rāja, Pradhāna AppiSetti, Jakka, Pummāni Pāmi Nāyaka, Guṇḍi Nāyaka. The quota by the respective chieftains in horses, elephants and foot-soldiers is also detailed, while even the names of some leading elephants are mentioned, such as Rāyagajānkusa, Ganganagōḷu, Moṣasaragaṇḍa, Tiruvenkaṭanātha etc. A very vivid account of the siege and the defeat of Tirumala is given. Cf. the account as given in *C. Vamsāvaḷi supra*.

of Narasimhapura and Bēḷūr¹, and made them prostrate before him. Yet forgetting our services he is now at war with us. Further we curbed the power of the surrounding chiefs,² exacted tribute from them and made them his supplicants. He has not the courtesy to acknowledge even this. Hence we are justified in marching against him.'

Accordingly he collected his army and leaving his elder brother to guard the city of Mysore, proceeded towards the fort of Kesare where he met Tirumala. He turned upon the enemy and routed the forces, performing wonderful exploits against them. Shortly after this Rāja Waḍeyar, assisted by Beṭṭada Chāma³ took possession of Śrīrangapaṭṭana whereupon Tirumala retreated to Mālingi. Rāja Waḍeyar inaugurated his rule from Śrīrangapaṭṭana and Beṭṭada Chāma from Mysore.

It will be seen from the above gleanings from contemporary sources that the latest in composition among them belong to the latter half of the 17th century while the earliest one belongs to the first half of the same century, i.e. 38 years after the event, as already pointed out. It will also be seen that there is a remarkable divergence of version between these two sets of sources. Thus the later literary works of the period refer to the acquisition of Seringapatam by Rāja Waḍeyar by policy and prowess, dealing particularly with the conditions which made possible the event. The earliest contemporary literary work, on the contrary, refers to the event prominently as a work of conquest of Rāja Waḍeyar, assisted by his brother Beṭṭada Chāma. Here again the need for reconciliation is obvious. We cannot reject either the earliest version because it is wanting in

¹ These events are recorded to have taken place in 1585 and 1609 respectively (Pal. MS., p. 28). It was shortly after the subjugation by Rāja Waḍeyar of the chief of Bēḷūr that the siege of Kesare took place in the light of contemporary sources, while Rāja Waḍeyar's conquest of Śrīrangapaṭṭana followed early in 1610 A.D.

² Rāja Waḍeyar's services to the cause of the Viceroyalty obtained recognition at the hands of Venkaṭapati Rāya who, according to the Pal. MS. (I, pp. 28-9), bestowed upon him the villages of Āladur and Navalūru in Um-mathur principality belonging to Tāyūr Nāḍu. It is important to note that Rāja Waḍeyar's personal aggrandisement was the prime factor, and service to the Viceroyalty, the secondary factor, in his relations with the Emperor.

³ Beṭṭada Chāma's invaluable assistance to Rāja Waḍeyar in the conquest and occupation of Seringapatam is an interesting point to note. According to *Chikkadēvarāya Vamsāvali* (*supra*), Narasa Rāja, one of the sons of Rāja Waḍeyar, also took part in the enterprise.

details, nor the latest versions because they contain details not found in the former. Moreover, the former is a historical poem in which the author refers only *incidentally*, as an introduction to the story of his patron which is his main theme, to the conquest of Seringapatam by Rāja Waḍeyar to the exclusion of any other details relating thereto. The latter, however, particularly the works of Tirumalārya, are *quasi*, though not regular, historical works wherein, to a great extent, the genuine local tradition surrounding the event has found a fitting place.

Now the points for consideration arising out of a combined study of the versions (both later and contemporary) are : (1) The truth or otherwise of the story of the *Rājpora* and 'conditional transfer' and 'gift' theories of the acquisition of Seringapatam by Rāja Waḍeyar. (2) The probability of Tirumala's treachery against his uncle Venkaṭa II, leading to the latter's attempt at deposing him and Rāja Waḍeyar's acquisition of Seringapatam. (3) Rāja Waḍeyar's acquisition of Seringapatam as an act of conquest.

As regards the first, a comparison of the later versions with contemporary sources shows that it is purely a concoction. There is nothing in the contemporary sources to indicate that Tirumala was suffering from any disease at the time of Rāja Waḍeyar's occupation of Seringapatam or that he made any arrangement with Rāja Waḍeyar for the administration of the viceroyalty. The only elements of truth available for us in these versions are, the aggressiveness of Rāja Waḍeyar, his services to the cause of the viceroyalty and the apprehensiveness with which he was looked upon by the Viceroy. It is highly improbable that a progressive prince of the type of Rāja Waḍeyar would assent to the docile acceptance of the viceroyalty either as an act of conditional transfer or as a gift proceeding from the sweet will and pleasure of the Viceroy. Obviously, the versions represent a distorted justification of the event (i.e. Rāja Waḍeyar's acquisition of Seringapatam) from the point of view of the Viceroy, though the fact is otherwise, as we shall see presently.

Coming to the second point, we notice a corroboration of the story of Tirumala's treachery against his uncle in the contemporary sources also, though with slight differences regarding subsequent details, especially in the later manuscripts. Thus one of these MSS. refers to Tirumala's treachery leading to his deposition by his uncle, Venkaṭa II, and Rāja Waḍeyar's occupation of Seringapatam; the

other, while silent as to the ground¹ for deposition, refers to the deposition. While therefore Tirumala's treachery, his attempt at reconciliation with Venkaṭa, and the latter's *attempt at deposition* are probable, it is impossible to accept the story that Venkaṭa *himself* deposed him and that Rāja Wāḍeyar stepped into his viceroyalty apparently with the consent of Venkaṭa, as the expression goes, after curbing the obstructive elements. A critical study of these versions in the light of contemporary sources only shows that the former equally represent a *garbled* justification of the event from the point of view of the Emperor, Venkaṭa II: it is but natural that he (Venkaṭa) would not stoop to accept Rāja Wāḍeyar's acquisition as an act of conquest. Hence the versions.

It is held² that Tirumala retired to his Viceroyalty in a *rebellious* attitude, after accepting bribe from the Nāyaka of Madura. A closer study of the contemporary sources, particularly Tirumalārya's works, shows that Tirumala's treachery towards Venkaṭa II was due more to his incompetency as a general in the action against Virappa Nāyaka of Madura than to a spirit of rebellion³ on his part, for, at the time of the expedition against Madura, the trend of evidence points out, he was young and inexperienced, a circumstance which explains why he followed the other commanding officers in accepting the bribe from the Nāyaka of Madura.⁴ Further, there is nothing in the contemporary sources (literary and epigraphical) to indicate

¹ The view that it was Venkaṭa's interest to disgrace Tirumala before his subjects by showing him as incapable of defending Seringapatam against his opponent, Rāja Wāḍeyar (Prof. Heras, *op. cit.*, pp. 4 20), is hardly supported by the combined testimony of contemporary sources and later versions, as will be shown in due course.

² By Dr. S. K. Iyengar: Introduction to *History of the Nāyakas of Madura* (pp. 17 and 18).

³ In a note in the same work (p. 117) Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar further points out that "the *disloyalty of Virappa Nāyaka of Madura infected Tirumala*, the Viceroy-nephew of Venkaṭapati himself, who played an equally treacherous part against his uncle and retired to his own Viceroyalty." This is too far-fetched a view and unwarranted by the evidence on hand which only shows that Tirumala returned to the Viceroyalty not as a rebellious Viceroy but as a young and inexperienced general who incurred the displeasure of his uncle by accepting bribe from a recalcitrant feudatory.

⁴ Prof. Heras (*op. cit.*, p. 343) points out on the authority of inscriptions and the testimony of Anquetil du Perron that the *forcible submission* of the Nāyak of Madura took place before 1595 and accepts the story of Virappa's rebellion recorded in the *Chikkadēvarāya Vamśāvali*, rejecting, however, the story of Tirumala's retreat as a concoction of the poet for justifying Rāja

that he was throughout openly rebellious towards his uncle. Tirumala's cowardly retreat was looked upon by the Emperor as an act of disobedience and naturally led him to plot his deposition, a

Wāḍeyar's capture of Seringapatam and for extolling the real founder of the Mysore dynasty (p. 419). His grounds are:

- (i) that the poet speaks of the capture of Seringapatam as *immediately* following Tirumala's supposed treason in Madura (p. 343);
- (ii) that it is impossible that Venkaṭa would have waited for 14 (or 16?) long years to expel Tirumala if he were really rebellious against him (pp. 343 and 411);
- (iii) that Tirumala was too young (before 1595) at the time of the rebellion of Virappa Nāyaka to be a general of the imperial army (p. 343).

Prof. Heras' view of the affair is based on a summary of one or two extracts from the *Chikkadēvarāya Vamśāvali*. A detailed study of the text shows that Rāja Wāḍeyar's conquest and occupation of Seringapatam took place long after Tirumala's return to the Viceroyalty and that it followed the unsuccessful attempt on his (Rāja Wāḍeyar's) life and the siege of Kesare. Rāja Wāḍeyar was a staunch supporter of imperial interests as a cover for his aggression as we have already seen. His services to the cause of the Viceroyalty were such as would naturally make him resent the conduct of Tirumala during the siege of Madura. The pertinent passage referring to this indicates nothing but Rāja Wāḍeyar's sympathy for the Emperor. To regard it as the stepping stone for Rāja Wāḍeyar's *immediate capture* of Seringapatam is too extreme a view to stand a critical examination of the evidence,

As regards the alleged rebellious attitude of Tirumala towards his uncle, Venkaṭa II, even here Prof. Heras follows a view which is quite unwarranted by the trend of evidence available. Nowhere in the Kanarese work do we find any reference to Tirumala's rebellious attitude against his uncle. As pointed out elsewhere, his retirement to the Seringapatam viceroyalty was due not to any disloyalty or disaffection on his part but to his own incapacity as a general and his guilty conscience on account of his cowardly acceptance of bribe from Virappa Nāyaka of Madura.

Again, Prof. Heras' reference to the *forcible* submission of the Nāyaka of Madura by Venkaṭa before 1595, implies a previous attempt also in this direction, which tallies with the account of the affair given in the poem (*i.e.*, *Chikkadēvarāya Vamśāvali*).

He also points out that Venkaṭa was unwilling to allow Tirumala to go to his court (p. 414), that he had natural predilection for Ranga, the latter's younger brother (p. 411), that he was indifferent and had antipathy towards Tirumala (pp. 413-414), and that he was interested in disgracing him before his subjects (pp. 420 and 505) and the nobles as incapable of defending Seringapatam against Rāja Wāḍeyar of Mysore. He does not explain the reasons for this attitude of Venkaṭa towards his nephew, nor does the Jesuit testimony, to which he refers, in any way help one to discredit the Kanarese version of Tirumala's retreat to Seringapatam. He does not, again, explain why

scheme which had probably the countenance of Rāja Waḍeyar also, a feudatory of his, as a further examination of Tirumalārya's works shows.

The inscriptions of Tirumala refer to his rule over the Kanarese Viceroyalty of Seringapatam under the title 'Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara'. The earliest of these from 1585 to 1597,¹ unlike the records of the previous Viceroy, mention the name of Tirumala only. There is, however, a break in his inscriptions from 1598 to 1605.² The inscriptions of these latter years are grants by Venkaṭapati, the Emperor, in parts of the country under the Seringapatam Viceroy. One of these,³ in particular, refers, among other things, incidentally, to the ratification, by Venkaṭa, of certain lands granted by Tirumala to Beṭṭada Chāma, brother of Rāja Waḍeyar. It is important to note in this connection that Tirumala's name is relegated to the background, his name only—not his title—being mentioned and the grant being made by Venkaṭa himself. The other two records also emphasize this. The last inscriptions of Tirumala, belonging

Venkaṭa 'does not want either to name or to hear anybody talk of Tirumala' regarding the heirship to the Empire (pp. 505-512). It is reasonable to hold that the claims of Tirumala to the Empire were no doubt working in the mind of the Emperor, and it is probable that Venkaṭa wanted to steer clear of his nephew-Viceroy whom he considered unfit to succeed him. Hence his plan of deposing him.

Regarding the age of Tirumala, granting that he was about forty on the occasion of his retreat to Mālingi (1610) as pointed out by the Professor himself (*op. cit.*, p. 421 f. n.), he could not be more than 24 in c. 1594 at the time of the expedition against Madura. Further, a close study of the text shows that the young Tirumala was only one of the generals. There is nothing strange in a young prince being a general in an action. We have the instance of Chikkadēva Rāja, the crown Prince, helping his uncle Dēva Rāja in his campaigns in the southern country (down to 1669) when he was of the same age as Tirumala. Tirumala was no exception to this practice, judging from the conditions of the times.

Prof. Heras' criticism of the details in the poem subsequent to Tirumala's retreat to Seringapatam as untrustworthy (pp. 342-3) and inconsistent with other proved historical facts, is quite unfair and untenable. A critical study of the text proves the hollowness of these charges.

In these circumstances it is unsafe to assert that the poem presents a concocted account.

¹ E. C., SR. 39 and 40, 33, NJ. 141, MD. 25, Gu. 44. Ch. 30. Gu. 51 and 52, M.A.R. 1911-12, p. 52.

² M.A.R. 1911-12, p. 52, Ch. 62 and 82.

³ *Ibid.*

to the years 1607 and 1610,¹ do not also refer to Venkaṭa, the Vijayanagara Emperor. Thus, although there is no clear documentary evidence for proving that Tirumala was openly rebellious against his uncle, yet enough data is to hand to hold that his conduct and loyalty towards him, from the beginning of his reign as a Viceroy, were questionable, and that this attitude became more and more pronounced, especially after the failure of his attempt at reconciliation with the Emperor consequent on his (Tirumala's) cowardly retreat from Madura. It is therefore probable that Venkaṭa closely watched this attitude of mind of Tirumala, adopted a policy of indifference towards him and even *silently planned* his supercession to take its own course, so that he might not stand in the way of his project, *i.e.* proclaiming, as heir to the Empire, Ranga, the younger brother of Tirumala, for whom, according to Prof. Heras,² he had natural predilection in preference to the latter. No wonder, then, that Rāja Waḍeyar also, a feudatory of Venkaṭa, watched keenly the proceedings of Tirumala at Seringapatam to strike at the most opportune moment and win the approbation of the Emperor, for his act of aggression on the plea of safeguarding imperial interests. Hence no doubt the reference in the literary works of the 17th century to Rāja Waḍeyar's conquest of Seringapatam *by diplomacy and prowess*.

As regards the last point, we notice that particular emphasis has been laid on the ingratitude of Tirumala towards the aggressive princes (Rāja Waḍeyar and Beṭṭada Chāma), a significant fact not hitherto noticed. This was no doubt immediately responsible for the action of the latter against the former, culminating in the acquisition of Seringapatam by them, purely an act of conquest.

From an examination of all the available sources, it is clear that the acquisition of Seringapatam by Rāja Waḍeyar of Mysore was primarily an act of conquest aggravated directly by the

¹ E.C. IV, HS. 36, Gu. 13 and 40. Prof. Heras holds (*Op. cit.*, p. 421) that Tirumala must have lived as late as 1614, on the strength of a grant by him of that year (E.C., IV, Gu. 13). It is, however, found on verification that the Śaka date and the cyclic year mentioned in the record do not tally. Thus Ś 1529 corresponds to *Plavanga* and not *Ānanda*, as is doubtfully interpreted by the translator. Accordingly the grant belongs to the year 1607 A.D. It is a clear instance of an error of the cyclic year. We have at present no clear documentary evidence to show that Tirumala lived long after his retreat to Talakāḍ.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 411.

ingratitude of the Viceroy of Seringapatam (Tirumala) towards the Mysore princes (Rāja Waḍeyar and Beṭṭada Chāma) and indirectly by their progressive tendencies; it was secondarily the logical outcome of a plan carefully laid out by the Vijayanagara Emperor (Venkaṭa II) consequent on Tirumala's misdemeanour towards him, and consciously or unconsciously worked out by Rāja Waḍeyar himself. Thus rose the kingdom of Mysore. From the Viceroy's point of view Rāja Waḍeyar's acquisition was an act of conditional transfer or of gift; from the Emperor's point of view it was the result of a deliberate plan; from the popular point of view it was the filling in of a gap by a new power, while from the point of view of the "Mysore Royal House" it was nothing but an act of conquest. Looked at from these viewpoints, the episode historically gains absorbing interest. Thus becomes fairly explicable Wilks' theory of 'mysterious intricacy of intrigue beyond the reach of contemporaries to unravel', often referred to in the works on Mysore history.

II

The Acquisition of Seringapatam and After.

We have seen already that down to 1610 Rāja Waḍeyar was subordinate to the Āravīḍu dynasty of Vijayanagara through Tirumala, the Kanarese Viceroy of Seringapatam. There is no doubt about his loyalty to the Emperor throughout his reign, in spite of his aggressive policy. The Vijayanagara Viceroyalty of Seringapatam was, however, a thorn on his side in this respect. Its downfall as a result of his conquest was thus a landmark in the evolution of the kingdom of Mysore. With Seringapatam as the seat of government of Rāja Waḍeyar, and Mysore, the patrimony, ruled over by his brother, Beṭṭada Chāma Rāja Waḍeyar, as subordinate to Rāja Waḍeyar, the character of the administration of the kingdom of Mysore underwent a thorough change.

Rāja Waḍeyar continued his rule mainly as King of Mysore and secondarily as Viceroy of Seringapatam under Venkaṭa II, the Vijayanagara Emperor. The position of Rāja Waḍeyar was thus an anomalous one. In theory he was subordinate to the Emperor. In practice he was an independent prince and continued his systematic policy of expanding his kingdom. It was therefore as a

¹ *History of Mysore*, Vol. I, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

matter of sheer necessity and expediency that he continued to be a loyal feudatory of Venkaṭa even after 1610.

After 1610 we have Rāja Waḍeyar's inscriptions¹ of the years 1612, 1614 and 1615. That of 1612 refers to him as 'Śrīman Mahādhīrāja' which indicates that he was only a prominent feudatory or chieftain. An inscription of 1623² of the reign of Chāmarāja Waḍeyar refers to a grant in 1612 by Venkaṭa II, testifying to the ratification of *Seringapatam* and *Ummattur* as an hereditary estate acquired by Rāja Waḍeyar. Another inscription of 1614 refers to *Seringapatam* as an *Umbaḷi* (rent-free estate or territory) assigned by Venkaṭapati Rāya to Rāja Waḍeyar. A grant of 1615 likewise refers to Bannūr also as an hereditary estate granted by Venkaṭa to Rāja Waḍeyar. In all these records Rāja Waḍeyar refers to his overlord, a sure sign of his loyalty towards him. It is therefore significant that by this attitude Rāja Waḍeyar was able to obtain legal recognition of his³ conquests (under cover of free-grants) at the hands of the Emperor.

Under Chāmarāja Waḍeyar (1617—37), the grandson and successor of Rāja Waḍeyar, the position of Mysore in relation to the Vijayanagara Empire becomes more interesting. In his inscriptions of 1620,⁴ 1622,⁵ and 1623⁶ he refers to the suzerainty of Vīra Rāmadēva, the Vijayanagara Emperor. It is significant to note in this connection that Chāmarāja's policy towards the Emperor

¹ *E. C.* IV, ch. 200; III, SR. 157, TN. 116. *Note*: The first inscription specifically mentioning Rāja Waḍeyar is that of 1612 (ch. 200). Prof. Heras ascribes an inscription of 1604 to him (ch. 62) (*op. cit.*, p. 422). It is, however, found on examination that the record does not at all mention Rāja Waḍeyar's name!

² *E. C.*, III, TN. 62.

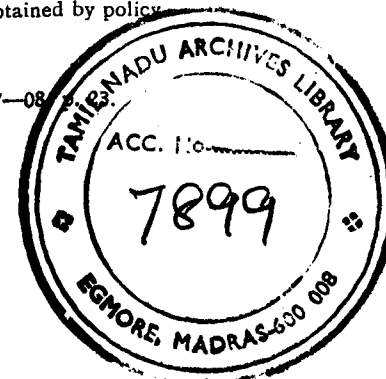
³ It is held that Rāja Waḍeyar's occupation of Seringapatam (apparently with the consent of the Emperor) is proved by his further grants (*op. cit.*, p. 421). This is erroneous. The records more clearly prove Rāja Waḍeyar's conquests than mere occupation of Seringapatam. Ummattūr, Seringapatam and Bannūr referred to in the inscriptions were all conquests.

Prof. Heras refers on p. 421 (*op. cit.*), to Rāja Waḍeyar's occupation of Seringapatam apparently with the Emperor's consent, and on p. 422 (*op. cit.*), to the ratification of the capture of *Seringapatam*, which is quite contradictory. Occupation followed capture of Seringapatam and it was for the conquest that ratification was necessary, which he obtained by policy.

⁴ *E. C.* III (i) My. 17.

⁵ " " Md. 17.

⁶ " " TN. 62; *M.A.R.* 1907—08.



during these years was directed to consolidate his own position against the latter under pretence of subordination to the imperial house. However, as early as 1623, we notice also the attempt on the part of Chāmarāja at the declaration of partial independence of the Vijayanagara Emperor, as is evident from the expression¹ 'seated on the jewelled throne of Bhoja in Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa'. This attitude is further borne out by the *absence* of Chāmarāja's inscriptions referring to the Emperor (from 1623 onwards) and by the *existence of inscriptions*² of private parties, agents and members of the Royal Family referring to Chāmarāja as an independent king of Mysore, ruling in Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa. The inscriptions of Chāmarāja of 1634,³ in particular, referring to settlement by him of religious affairs in Śravaṇabelagoḷa, do not at all mention his suzerainty and read exactly as independent records, as is evident from the titles, 'Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara', assumed by him. What is more, a record of 1635⁴ refers to *Birudentambaragāṇḍa* (Lord of those having such and such a title) and 'Bhūvarāha' (the earth and boar crest, an emblem of sovereignty of the world), which, for the *first time in Mysore history*, marks the culmination of the attempts at public declaration of independence of the Vijayanagara Empire, by the Mysore Royal House, ever since the acquisition of Seringapatam by Rāja Wāḍeyar. In the colophons to literary works⁵ written by Chāmarāja about 1635 A.D., all his titles appear for the first time, among them 'Birudentambaragāṇḍa', 'Gajabhēṇṭekāra' (Hunter of Elephants, referring to powerful enemies), 'Gandabhērūṇḍa'⁶ (the mythical double-headed eagle, referring to the destruction of mighty foes), and 'Dharaṇī varāha'⁷ ('the earth and boar crest,' referring to

¹ M.A.R. 1907—08, p. 23. It is also stated in this record that Chāmarāja was born from *Honnāmāmbā* by Narasa Rāja (son of Rāja Wāḍeyar).

² E.C., IV (ii) Hg. 21 of 1625; III (i) SR. 117 of 1625; III (i) TN. 13 of 1633.

³ E.C., II, SB. 250 (84); SB. 352 (140).

⁴ M.A.R. 1924, p. 22-3.

⁵ 'Chāmarājōkti Vilāsa' and commentary on the 'Brahmōttara Khaṇḍa'.

⁶ According to tradition, Rāja Wāḍeyar was the first ruler of Mysore to adopt the device of 'Gandabhērūṇḍa', but the earliest documentary evidence available, ascribes it to Chāmarāja Wāḍeyar. It is more likely that Chāmarāja was the first to adopt it, after consolidating his Kingdom, as pointed out above.

⁷ It is not clear that the 'Earth and Boar crest' was used as a *signet* or *seal* in the documents of Chāmarāja whose assumption of independence of

sovereignty of the world by right of conquest), being very significant, indicating as they do the adoption of Vijayanagara titles by the Mysore king as an independent prince. Again, the 'Immaḍi Kemparāyana Padagaḷu' by Venkaṭayya (written c. 1635 A.D.) goes to show that during the last years of his reign, Chāmarāja openly defied the Vijayanagara Emperor (Venkaṭa III) and ultimately made reconciliation with him, due to the efforts of Immaḍi Kempe Gowḍa of Bangalore.

• A study of all these sources clearly indicates that Chāmarāja was the foremost Karnāṭaka prince to take advantage of the precarious position of the Emperor to adjust his relations with him according as he prospered or declined. In this respect he continued strenuously the policy set up by his predecessor, Rāja Wāḍeyar. It is needless to say that it was mainly as a result of this policy that Mysore under Chāmarāja became a powerful kingdom² capable of holding her own against the southern and northern aggressive neighbours in the continuous wars of the 17th century.

The short but eventful reign of Immaḍi Rāja Wāḍeyar, (1637—8), the posthumous son of Rāja Wāḍeyar, is likewise famous for the continuation of the policy of conquests and annexations, as is evident from the literary and historical works³ of the 17th century; but Immaḍi Rāja Wāḍeyar died in the very prime of his life as a result of intrigue by Daḷavāy Vikrama Rāya, according to the Palace manuscript.⁴

Thus by 1638 the position of Mysore as a Kingdom was very strong, mainly owing to the judicious policy started by Rāja Wāḍeyar and worked out systematically by his successors, Chāma Rāja Wāḍeyar and Immaḍi Rāja Wāḍeyar, during the critical period in the history of the Karnāṭaka country.

Vijayanagara Emperor was thus only *partial*. The definite adoption of the 'Earth and Boar signet' as the seal of the Mysore Royal House, was in the reign of *Dēvarāja Wāḍeyar* who completely threw off the imperial yoke. (E. C. IV (ii) YD. 43 of 1667).

¹ A MS. of the Madras Oriental MSS. Library—Select Extract.

² Vide: *Chikkadēvarāya Vamsāvali* and *Chikkadēvarāya Vijayam* (Select Extracts); also Palace MS. (Extracts).

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ I, pp. 81—2.

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**KANTHIRAVA NARASA RAJA WADEYAR OF
MYSORE (1638-1659): A STUDY.**

BY N. SUBBA RAU, M.A.

(*Research Scholar, Department of History,
Maharaja's College, Mysore.*)

THE Seventeenth century was a turning-point in the history of Karnāṭaka, nay, of India in general and Mysore in particular. It was the period of great forces and memorable events, bringing to the forefront prominent personalities who, in various ways, moulded the destinies of their countries or kingdoms. Among them Kanṭhīrava Narasa Rāja Wadeyar of Mysore occupies an important place in the panorama of history. An attempt is made, in the following pages, to throw fresh light on some aspects of his reign from authentic sources.

I

Relations between Mysore and Bijapur.

(i)

The outstanding event of the early years (1638-1639) of the reign of Kanṭhīrava Narasa I was the advent of the Muhammadans to the Karnāṭaka and the siege of Seringapatam. Our main authority on this topic is the historical poem "*Kanṭhīrava Narasa Rāja Vijyam*" written in 1648 by Gōvinda Vaidya, a contemporary. The following is the account of the transactions culled from this poem:¹

¹ Chapters: xi to xv.

"Between Virabhadra Nāyaka of Ikkēri¹ and Hanumappa Nāyaka of Kenge there arose differences regarding the question of boundaries of their respective territories. The latter, unable to fight with the former, sent his men to the court of the lord² of Vijayapura (Bijāpur), seeking his help. They, having interviewed the Pādshāh, paid him tribute;³ and, holding out prospects of booty, proceeded with his army.⁴ Re-inforced by the levies of Hanumappa Nāyaka, the entire army, headed by Raṇadullā Khān,⁵ marched against Ikkēri and laid siege to it.⁶ Virabhadra

¹ Ś. 1552-1568 (A.D. 1630-1645): Vide "Keḷadi Nripa Vijayam" Ch. vi.

² Muhammad Adil Shah (1626-1656 A.D.): Vide Sewell: "Forgotten Empire" Appendix C. p. 408.

³ According to the Palace Historical Ms. (Vol. I. p. 86), Hanumappa Nāyaka sent his minister "Venkaṭapati Deo" to the Pādshāh's court, together with 30,000 Varahas and cloths and jewels. In the "Keḷadi Nripa Vijayam" (p. 97), the "*mischievous Venkaṭapati of Bāṇāvara*" is stated to have intrigued with the Pādshāh on behalf of Hanumappa. "Venkaṭapati" is thus identical with "Venkaṭapati Deo."

⁴ It is clear from the testimony of this writer that the petty differences and intrigues of the chieftains in the Karnāṭaka, were the main reasons or excuses for the intervention of the Bijāpūr Muhammadans in their affairs. Once they took advantage of these circumstances, their greed or love of conquest and plunder naturally followed suit, unsatiated.

⁵ In the Persian sources, referred to by Prof. Sir Jadunath Sarkar (vide: "Shahji Bhonsle in Mysore": Modern Review July 1929, p. 9), *Rustam-i-zaman* is stated to have led Muslim arms to the Karnāṭaka. The "Keḷadi Nripa Vijayam" (p. 98, 102-103) seems to distinguish Raṇadullā Khān from *Rustam-i-zaman*, though, of course, the distinction is not clear. The Bumlāpūr copper plate grant (1676 A.D.) of Raṇadullā Khān (vide M.A.R. 1922 p. 122-3) refers to him as "*Raṇadullā Khan Khan-e-Azam*." It is evident, then, that "*Raṇadullā*" is a Kanarese corruption of *Raṇadullā*. The trend of Kanarese evidence is in favour of the view that "*Rustam-i-zaman*" and "*Raṇadullā Khān*" were one and the same.

⁶ In the "Keḷadi Nripa Vijayam" referred to above (Ch. vi. p. 98), this event is dated: Ś 1560 *Īṣvara Puṣya-ba 10* (1st January 1638 A.D.)

Nāyaka, confused at the approach of the Turks, sought refuge in the hill¹ nearby. Meanwhile, the Turks took possession of the fort, captured women, smote off the heads of marble images of Gods, plundered the town, insulted the honour of virtuous ladies and slaughtered cows. Having joyfully taken possession of all the articles in the palace, Raṇadullā Khān posted guards over the town and returned, shortly afterwards, to the court of the Pādshāh, presenting the spoils to him.

Pleased with Raṇadullā Khān, the Pādshāh appointed him Commander-in-chief and sent him at the head of a vast army, with instructions to attempt the immediate acquisition of the Karnāṭaka.²

¹ Bhuvanagiridurga (*Ibid*): According to the abovementioned poem, this place of refuge was also besieged by the Khān; and, ultimately, Virabhadra Nāyaka, having decided to overthrow Hanumappa (his enemy) by diplomacy in due course, entered into a truce with the Khān, after which the Khan was sent back and Virabhadra returned to Ikkēri.

² The systematic attempts, on the part of the Bijāpūr Sultan, at the annexation of territories in the central and southern Karnāṭaka, after the battle of Tālikōṭa (1565), did not commence until the forties of the century following that battle (as is evident from this poem); for Bijāpūr was not quite free to pursue her policy in the South till then, involved, as she was, in the wars with Ahmadnagar and Golkonda, her rivals. There were, however, sporadic raids of the Bijāpūr army only on the fringes of the Karnāṭaka. Thus, in 1593 A.D., according to Firishtah, "*Munjum Khan, the Bijāpūr general, besieged Mysore, belonging to Venkaṭāḍri Nāyak accompanied by Arsappa Nāyak and Ganga Nāyak; and the place was reduced in three months and 20 fine elephants taken. Munjum Khan was proceeding rapidly in his conquests, when the rebellion of the king's brother in Belgaum occasioned his recall and left the affairs of Malabar once more in an unsettled state. . . .*" (Briggs: *Firishṭah*. Vol. III, p. 176.) (The italics are mine).

The siege of Mysore, referred to in the above passage, is incorrect: Mysore, in 1593, was yet a principality under Rāja Wāḍeyar, gradually becoming prominent by his aggressive policy. Its fort was, then, being strengthened by him. Moreover, Rāja Wāḍeyar was, about this time, a

Reaching Basavapaṭṭaṇa, Raṇadullā Khān made friends

feudatory of the Seringapatam Viceroy. That Munjum Khān, the Bijāpūr general, should come all the way to besiege the tiny principality of Mysore without taking Seringapatam or any other places in the central Karnāṭaka through which the army had to pass, is inconceivable indeed!

Mr. Sewell, relying upon Firishṭah, refers to the reduction of Mysore by the Bijāpūr Sultan, after a siege of three months. He considers *Venkaṭādri Nāyaka* as identical with *Venkaṭapati Rāya* (Venkaṭa II) of Vijayanagar, to whom, according to him "*Mysore belonged*." (*vide*: *Forgotten Empire*: pp. 218-19). The Rev. Prof. Heras also takes it to be the siege of *Mysore* itself (*vide*: *Āraṇḍa Dynasty of Vijayanagara*: p. 418).

A close reading of Firishṭah's testimony, however, convinces me that what he meant was a place near *Ikkēri* under *Venkaṭādri Nāyaka*. Moreover, since it is stated that Munjum Khān was obliged to go back immediately to Bijāpūr to attend to the Sultan's affairs, and since *Malabār* (probably *Malnād* or part of the country bordering it, is meant here) is mentioned as the scene of his operations, it is evident that the Khan's activities were confined to that part of the Karnāṭaka only, within which the place, referred to, lay. He could not have gone back to Bijāpūr immediately, if he had really been as far south as *Mysore* (as interpreted by the above authorities). The penetration of the Bijāpūr Muhammadans to the south (Seringapatam and Mysore) did not begin until 1639, as pointed out already. How are we, then, to explain the occurrence of the word "*Mysore*" in the above passage?

In "*Keladi Nripa Vijayam*" (Ch. V. p. 73), however, we have the following statement:

"*Venkaṭappa Nāyakam Rāmarāyar Pālbenpe umbaliṅḍu munnitta Māsūra simeyam kaṭṭi koḷalaidida Manjula Khānanam murida*."
Paraphrased, this means:—

Māsūra sime, granted as an-umbali (rent-free village or territory), for the supply of milk and butter, by Rāma Rāya (of Vijayanagara), belonged to *Venkaṭappa Nāyaka* (of Ikkēri: 1583-1630 A.D.); and its occupation was attempted by *Manjula Khān* (Kanarese corruption of Munjum Khan) who was repulsed."

Venkaṭappa Nāyaka, referred to here, is the same as *Venkaṭādri Nāyaka* mentioned by *Firishṭah*. He was also called *Hiri Venkaṭappa Nāyaka*. In his inscriptions (Tl. 56, 38 and 58), he calls himself

with *Puvala Hanuma*¹ (its chieftain), and, reinforced by the army of Karnāṭaka, proceeded further. On his way, the forces of the² lords of Harapanahalli, Kundurupe, Sonḍuru, Rāyadurga, Dodḍēri, Turugere (*Turuvekere*),

"*Venkaṭādri*." He cannot, therefore, be identified with *Venkaṭapati Rāya* (*Loc. Cit.*) *Māsūra sime* is also referred to in SA. 1, NR. 33 and SK. 324 (E.C. VII (i) and VIII (ii))

In the light of these sources, it is clear that what *Firishṭah* meant was *Māsūra* (near *Ikkēri* in Sagar Taluk of Shimoga District) and not *Mysore*. It is quite possible that "*Mysore*" was the corruption of "*Māsūra*," since *Firishṭah* wrote in the 17th century; while it is probable that "*Mysore*", referred to in the passage, was an error of translation or transliteration of the original Persian text. Accordingly, we have to correct the word as "*Māsūra*" and refute the theory that "*Mysore*" was the place meant.

¹ Same as *Hanumappa Nāyaka* of Kenge. According to "*Keladi Nripa Vijayam*," *Raṇadullā Khan's* army was led by *Virabhadra Nāyaka* of *Ikkēri* against *Hanumappa Nāyaka* of *Basavapaṭṭaṇa*, in December 1638 (*Bahudhānya*: *Mārgasīra*), to wreak his vengeance against him. *Basavapaṭṭaṇa* was besieged by the Turks and *Hanumappa's* brothers were taken prisoners. Later, the entire army of *Raṇadullā Khān* proceeded towards the territory of the *Mysoreans*. (Ch. VI. p. 99).

In the Persian sources, referred to by Prof. Sir *Jadunath Sarkar*, *Hanumappa Nāyaka* is stated to have been humbled, along with *Virabhadra Nāyaka* of *Ikkēri*, and heavily fined by *Rustam-i-Zaman* (*vide*, *Mod. Review*, July 1929 P. 9).

That *Hanumappa Nāyaka* was humbled (in 1638), is possible. It is also true, in the light of the poem dealt with here, that *Raṇadullā Khān* soon made friends with him. This friendship was, however, only a diplomatic one. The latter made the former only a tool in his ambitious projects. The evidence of Kanarese sources entirely supports this view. *Hanumappa Nāyaka* rebelled and was thoroughly beaten in 1640, as we shall see later.

² These details add considerably to our knowledge of the Historical Geography of the Karnāṭaka of the period after the battle of *Tālikōṭa*.

The greed and pettiness of these chieftains were, no doubt, the main reasons for the absorption of their forces in the Karnāṭaka army under *Hanumappa Nāyaka*.

Bēlur, Narasimhapura (Hoḷe-Narasīpur), Pālupare, and of Haṭṭi Virappa Nāyaka, Hiriyuru Tammaṇṇa Nāyaka and Baira Nāyaka of Chikkanāyakanahalli, joined the levies of Hanumappa Nāyaka. . . .

Equipped with all the necessities, the army of Raṇadullā Khān entered the heart of the Karnāṭaka country with great enthusiasm. On its way, it plundered *Sīrya* and killed its lord.¹ Stimulated by the success achieved thus far, the army proceeded further. Disheartened by the ravages of the Khan, the lord of *Tumakuru* (Tumkur)² abdicated his kingdom and retreated to the hill-fortress. The villages and towns which resisted, were stormed and taken possession of. Great, indeed, was the consternation of the populace at the march of the Khan's army.

Marching on, the Khān entered the *Morasa*³ kingdom, captured cows and terrified the populace, promising protection to the supplicants. Intending to curb the pride of *Kempe Gowḍa*⁴ of Bengalūru (Bangalore), he proceeded thither and encamped near *Śivaganga*.⁵ The lord of Bengalūru, on hearing of the success of the Khan, collected his forces and prepared himself for war. In the battle that followed, the army of Kempe Gowḍa being panic-stricken,

¹ Kastūri Ranga, according to Persian sources: It is stated that he was killed by Afzal Khan, one of the generals in Raṇadullā Khān's army, during an interview. (*Ibid*).

² No mention is made, in the Persian sources (*Ibid*), of Tumkur as having been *ravaged* by the Khan, on his way to the south. According to them, Tumkur was captured by the Khan later. The narrative of the Kanarese source is *more systematic* and *vivid*, and, *topographically*, *more accurate* than that of the Persian sources.

³ Corresponding to modern Bangalore district and parts of Kolar and Tumkur districts, which were ruled by petty Pallegars, among them the family of Kempe Gowḍa being prominent.

⁴ Immaḍi Kempe Gowḍa.

⁵ To the N.W. of Bangalore.

fled in different directions, while the Khān proceeded to take the fort. The Gowḍa, having given his son as a hostage to the Khan and being promised protection by the latter, delivered charge of the fort to the Khan and retreated to his place in dismay.¹

The Khan next took possession of Rāmagiri Durga² and proceeded to Kuṇigal sīme.³ The chiefs of Baḷḷāpura (Dodḍa Baḷḷāpura), Kolāḷa (Kōlar), Bijjavara, Chikka Baḷḷāpura, (Chikka Baḷḷāpura), Hoḷavanahalli, Hosakōṭē, Bāvaluru, Hosuru, Māsti, Dēvaṇḍapura (Dēvanahalli) and Siddalghaṭṭa (Siddalghaṭṭa)⁴—all these joined his camp in great panic. Shortly afterwards, in strict accordance with the instructions of the Pādshāh, the Khan conferred Bengalūru (Bangalore) on Sahaji⁵ and proceeded with his further programme.

The Khan's attention was next directed towards the acquisition of Śrīrangapaṭṭana. 'After we have first besieged and taken possession of the capital of the country with all our forces, it will be very easy for us to annex gradually the other territories,'—having thus deliberated, he encamped with the entire army in Rāmagiridurga. Assembling the Khan Khans, he gave them instructions regarding the march of the army against the capital city of Kanthīrava Narasa. Then a review of the army was held,

¹ Probably Māgaḍi (to the N.E. of Bangalore). According to the Persian sources referred to by Prof. Sir Sarkar (*Ibid*), Kempe Gowḍa yielded up Bangalore and entered *Bijāpuri service*. According to Kanarese sources, the family of Kempe Gowḍa was always noted for sturdy independence and perseverance; and Immaḍi Kempa, who was defeated by overwhelming odds, naturally retreated to his place to preserve his family traditions. The version of this poem seems to me to be more reliable than that of the Persian sources.

² and ³ In Tumkur district.

⁴ These are places in the modern Bangalore and Kolar districts.

⁵ Shāhji, the father of Śivāji.

after which it marched on to the next place of encampment.

Shortly afterwards, the news-carriers having informed the officers of the boundaries about the arrival of the Khān, they at once sent their spies to Nanjarājendra,¹ the Commander-in-Chief of Kanthirava Narasa. Thereupon, the Commander-in-Chief sent instructions to the officers regarding the careful guarding of the fortresses against the enemy's attacks. Meanwhile, the king, who was informed of the march of the Muslim army, addressing the Maṇḍalikas² and followers, said, 'Raṇadullā Khan, intent upon securing name and fame to his master, the Pādshāh, is rousing us, without realising the consequences. Let Nanjendra see that the forts of Paṭṭaṇa³ and other parts of the country are strengthened and kept in proper order, and that they are well guarded.' The latter did accordingly.

(Preparations for war). The arms, ammunitions, crackers and flags were a source of terror to the spectators. There were varieties of crackers, slings and stones. On the bastions were placed terrible guns... There were pistols

¹ Also called Nanjarājayya or Nanjendra. He was the eldest son of Kempa Bhūpa, lord of Hurapura. There were close and intimate relations between the Mysore Royal Family and the family of Hura. (vide : K. N. Vijayam, Ch. 4.) According to palace MS. (I. P. 82), Timmappa Nāyaka was the first Daḷavāy (Com.-in-Chief) of Kanthirava Narasa and was dismissed, in December 1640 (P. 97), on account of his inefficiency ; and, thereupon, Nanjarājayya was appointed Daḷavāy. It is unsafe to rely on this version in the face of the facts, that soon after his accession, Kanthirava appointed Nanjarājayya as his Commander-in-Chief (K. N. Vijayam, Ch. 4), and that the latter played a very prominent part in the siege of Seringapatam by the Turks, and held his office up to about 1646 A. D. The truth seems to be that, in or about 1639, Timmappa Nāyaka, who must have been an old man, was retired and his place conferred on Nanjarājayya.

² District or Divisional Officers.

³ Shortened form of Srirangapaṭṭaṇa.

also which could be fired from the interior. Here and there officers were placed, to guard the fort. The trenches, ramparts, bastions and the tiger-faced gates, were placed in charge of choice warriors. The array of chiefs and officers, holding in their hands, swords, shields, bucklers and halberds, was a picturesque scene indeed! The fort was well guarded day and night by well-armed men.

Meantime, Raṇadullā Khan, accompanied by his forces, marched on towards Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa amidst dins of war and the uproar of elephants. The army encamped near Chennapaṭṭaṇa. The surrounding villages and towns were plundered. Proceeding further, the entire army reached Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa and surrounded it. Puvala Hanuma, at the head of the Karnāṭaka forces, halted on the southern bank of the Kāvēri. The proud Morasās and the lord of Bēluru (Bēlur), with their innumerable forces, encamped on the northern bank of the river. In the other directions, the Mlēcchās (Turks) encamped.

Kanthirava Narasa reviewed the entire army from a convenient position; while, addressing him, one of the ministers said, 'Here is the heroic Raṇadullā Khan. Indeed, it is impossible for him and his men to oppose Kanthirava.' The Commander-in-chief, the lords of *Hurapura*, *Chennapaṭṭaṇa*, *Satyāgāla*, *Kōṭe* (Heggaḍḍēvankōṭe), *Chennarāyapaṭṭaṇa*, *Piriyapaṭṭaṇa*, *Maḷavalli*, *Nāgamangala* and *Mysore*— all these¹ espoused the cause of Kanthirava Narasa and said they would destroy the enemies, plunder their camp and offer the spoils as tribute to God Nrisimha. Pleased with their loyalty, the king rewarded them, while the Khan sent his men to him. Having done obeisance to the king, they said: 'Listen to us, O! King, By the order of our Pādshāh, we took possession of many a kingdom in

¹ These details throw a good deal of new light on the topography of the rising kingdom of Mysore under Kanthirava Narasa I.

the Karnāṭaka country; and, hearing of your prowess, have now come here. If you, however, out of friendship, pay us the *tribute we demand*, we will proceed with your army also to the conquest of the remaining territories. These are the words sent to you by our lord.¹

¹ According to the Palace Historical MS. (Vol. I, p. 86), Gurikār Channayya of Nāgamangala, who became a Mansabdār of 200 under the Pādshāh of Bijāpūr, carried tales to the latter to the effect that, as the King of Seringapatam (Kanthirava) put an end to Vikrama Rāya, the aged and able Daḷavāy and conferred the office on Timmappa Nāyaka, party feeling ran high in Seringapatam, and hence, it was the most opportune moment for the Pādshāh to attempt its acquisition. Accordingly, the Pādshāh directed Raṇadullā Khan to besiege Seringapatam (assisted by Channayya), after curbing the pride of Virabhadra of Ikkēri. Raṇadullā Khan did accordingly.

But, according to the contemporary poem under reference, the chief of Nāgamangala espoused the cause of Kanthirava Narasa during the siege of Seringapatam. In chapter XXV, he is named Muddiah.

Though, in the light of contemporary sources, love of conquest and annexation, and the exaction of tribute from the Mysore King, were the main reasons for the advance of Muslim arms against Seringapatam, it is probable that the defection and intrigue of Channayya of Nāgamangala were a contributory cause for it. There is reason to believe that the treasonable conduct of Channayya having been found out, he was dismissed and Muddiah made the chief of Nāgamangala by Kanthirava Narasa.

The truth about Vikrama Rāya's affair, according to the same manuscript (I, p. 81) is, Kanthirava, in the beginning of his reign, having found out that, in consequence of the administration of poison by Vikrama Rāya (the Daḷavāy) to his (Kanthirava's) predecessor, (Immaḍi Rāja Waḍeyar) the latter died, removed Vikrama Rāya from service and inflicted drastic punishment on his accomplices. Channayya took undue advantage of this affair to intrigue with the Pādshāh, according to the MS. (*Loc. cit.*) An inscription (E.C. III i, Nj. 9) records the setting up of a pedestal to Doddā Basava (big bull) in front of the Nanjunḍēśvara temple at Nanjangūd, by Kumāra Daḷavāyi Vikrama Rāya, son of [Beṭṭada] Chāma Rāja Waḍeyar, in 1643. [According to the Palace MS. also (I, p. 68), Vikrama Rāya was the son (Gāndharvaputra) of a concubine of Beṭṭada Chāma Rāja Waḍeyar.

On hearing these words of the Khan's servants, the King, with a smile on his lips, gave a spirited reply: 'We don't pay tribute nor agree to make friends with you either. If, however, you want to know or see the stuff of which we are made, ask your lord to go to war with us, together with all his forces. He thought, perhaps, that he would accord me the same treatment as he meted out to the poor kings of the surrounding kingdoms. Now that he has besieged my city, his prowess is dried up. So saying, he sent them back, and returned to the palace, instructing his commander-in-chief to keep watch and ward in the city.

Meanwhile, the Khan's servants stood before him with folded hands. 'Tell us what the King's idea is—whether he wants to make peace or war with us. What are the commander-in-chief and the warriors of Kanthirava going to do? Are they one with us or not? Tell me all this'—retorted he. They said in reply: 'It is not possible for us to describe or praise the King's prowess. Our attempts will be of no avail against him, and it is expedient to make peace with him.' As soon as he heard these words, the Khan was very much put out with his servants. He,

The sons by concubines (*bhangāradavaru*) were usually designated 'Kumāraru'. It is evident from this that Vikrama Rāya was allowed to live in some part of Nanjangūd Taluk, after his removal from service by Kanthirava in 1638. It is probable that he (Vikrama Rāya) had also a hand in the intrigues of Channayya with the Pādshāh.

In Ikkēri and Basavapaṭṭana there were intrigues in the forties of the Seventeenth Century A.D., as we have already seen. And Mysore was no exception to this rule, judging from the contemporary standpoint.

[The tradition, usually current, that Vikrama Rāya was assassinated by or under the orders of Kanthirava in the year of the latter's accession (*i.e.*, 1638, A.D.), has to be rejected in the light of the document referred to above, according to which Vikrama Rāya lived as late as 1643. After this date, not much is known about him in the present state of our literary or epigraphical knowledge.]

however, soon assembled the intimate officers (Khans), deliberated with them and decided to storm and take possession of the fort and city of Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa Addressing each Khan, he said: 'The King of Mysore, not being inclined to peace, is preparing for war with us. We shall, therefore, treat him with indifference and proceed to besiege the fort.'

The Khans and Vaziers hurried up to post their vast armies in all the four directions. Amidst great noise and uproar, Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa was besieged from all sides: On hearing the war dins, King Kanthīrava, followed by his forces, proceeded against the opponents. At the approach of the King accompanied by his heroic followers, the Khan was much amazed and told by Hanumappa Nāyaka thus: 'Here comes Kanthīrava Narasa Rāja Wāḍeyar of Mysore, followed by Nanjarāja, the Commander-in-chief, Nāyakas and others.' The Khan was also¹ advised by Hanumappa of Kenge to give up his project of besieging the City and make peace with the King. At this the Khan was much incensed. As he was bent on war, he proceeded with the siege. Operations commenced: The Khans, very much disheartened in the course of the siege, complained to Raṇadullā Khan about the impregnability of the fortress. The latter still persisted in his undertaking, while, beholding the advancing army, the King addressed his Commander-in-chief thus: 'Bring up the forces of our chiefs here, and obstruct the passage of the Turks. The entire army of the enemy will, thereupon, be taken by surprise and forced to retreat.' Accordingly, Nanjarāja brought forth the armies of all the chiefs of the country and ordered them to break open the guard, proceed immediately against the enemies,

¹ This is corroborated by the 'Chikkadēva Rāya Vamsāvali' of Tirumalārya, written about forty years after the siege of Seringapatam by the Muhammadans of Bijāpūr (Select Extracts.)

enter villages and towns, surround the army of the Turks and put them to rout. They followed their master's instructions to the very letter:¹ Marching, at night, upon the Turks who had encamped at *Arakere*², they fell on them, cut off the noses of several of them and performed wonderful exploits. Another party proceeded against the Turks who had halted near *Hoḷalu*³ and routed them, chopping off the noses of many of them. The warriors from *Channapaṭṭaṇa* obstructed the passage of many of the Turks, pursued and killed them, mutilating the noses of a great number of them. Those from *Madduru* (Maddur) likewise routed the Turks. The enemies, who had encamped near *Yādavādri*,⁴ were similarly obstructed on their way, and many of them lost their noses. The men from *Nāgamangala* pierced their opponents, mutilating the noses of a good many of them. Those from *Chennarāyapaṭṭaṇa* divided the mighty army of the Turks, cutting off the noses of several men. The warriors of Mysore fell upon the vast array of the forces which had encamped near the *Chāmundi hills*, and presented to the King the heads of many men slain. . . .⁵ In

¹ The details given here bring forth a graphic picture of the situation. The position of both the parties is vividly sketched.

² N. E. of Seringapatam.

³ N. W. of Seringapatam.

⁴ Mēlkōṭe: N. W. of Seringapatam.

⁵ S. E. of Mysore. Cf. also the Palace Manuscript Version. (I.p. 89).

⁶ The reference to 'loss of noses in war' is significant: Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar writes, '*The war of the noses*, obviously took place in the last years of the reign of Kanthīrava Narasa and of Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura. The feature of the cutting off of the noses is not mentioned in connection with any other Mysore war either with the Pāṇḍyās or with other powers. . . . (Vide: '*History of the Nāyakas of Madura*' by Mr. Satyanatha Iyer. P. 136, Foot-note) [The italics are mine]

This view needs revision in the light of the contemporary source dealt with here.

spite of the calamity which attended his army at the very outset, Raṇadullā Khān was bent upon taking the fort; and, in a frenzy, assembled the Khans and Vaziers, and appointed them to their respective duties. . . .

The siege went on apace amidst dins of trumpets, bugles and other instruments. Many packets of black powder and arrows were discharged by the besiegers at the bastions with great force. The Khans made holes and passages in the fort-walls, slaughtering their opponents. . . . The Khan's warriors placed a number of ladders, in each direction, and attacked and pierced the spikes of the fortress from all sides. They got up the bastions, whence they began to make a regular volley of iron-balls, crackers, arrows and gun-shots. . . . The men got up the fort-walls amidst uproar begging description. . . . On all sides, the fort was surrounded and stormed by the Khan's army.

That many men in the Bijāpūr army lost their 'noses' (in 1639) in the course of the war with Mysore, is a fact: Gōvinda Vaidya, the poet, says, that, subsequently, 'they all proceeded, in great agony, to Vijayapura; and, approaching the Pādshah, reported what had happened, whereupon, the latter, stupefied at their tale, bowed down his head and bestowed *umbāḷis* upon them (probably as compensation for the loss of 'noses').' He even goes to the extent of saying that the Pādshah of Bijāpūr got constructed a new street in the city, called the '*Street of the noseless*' which was, according to him, 'seen with astonishment by the pilgrims passing by way of Bijāpūr' (K.N.V., Ch. XIII).

The war with the Bijāpūr army is the first instance, so far as we know from authentic sources, in which the barbarous method of mutilation of the 'noses' (of the enemies) was employed by Kanṭhīrava Narasa's men. Such an exemplar punishment, though repugnant to modern notions of warfare, seems to have had the good effect of deterring the enemies from appearing again on the field of battle; and won the general approval of contemporaries in the military and political ethics of the times. The evidence of Kanarese sources tends to show that the custom of mutilation of noses was freely made use of in warfare only by the Mysore army throughout the XVII century A.D.

Meanwhile, King Kanṭhīrava, taking out his sword, ordered Nanjarājēndra, the Commander-in-chief, thus: 'Assembling the chief officers of our kingdom, rout away the army of the Turks, with their help.' Accordingly, Nanjarājēndra posted them to all the four directions and fought out valiantly with the enemy. The lords of *Chennapattāna*, *Belluru* and *Madduru*¹ were sent in one direction with vast numbers with the aid of which they held their own against the Turks. The chiefs of² *Nāgamangala*, *Chennarāyapattāna* and *Hosaholalu*³ fought out heroically in another direction. Those of *Tippur*, *Kannambāḍi* and *Maḷalavāḍi*⁴ slaughtered incessantly the wicked mlēchchas who had climbed the fort-walls. The fierce lords of *Pattāna*, *Mysore* and⁵ *Terakaṇāmbi* proceeded straight and wrought havoc among the opponents on the fort-walls. The mighty chiefs and nāyakās of *Haradana-halli*, *Satyāgāla*,⁶ *Maḷavalli* and *Talakāḍ*⁷ put the enemies to rout. Several other chiefs also drove away the besiegers. The groups of forces getting up the fort-walls with the aid of the ladders, were severely dealt with. . . . The Khans were pierced through with sharp knives, and felled down reeling. There was a terrible onslaught in the ranks of the Turks: In all directions, the heroic chiefs and the men maintained by king Kanṭhīrava knocked down the advancing Khans and their followers. . . . The army of the enemy, which had enthusiastically got up the fort-walls with a view to take the city,

¹ To the north of Seringapatam.

² *Ibid.*

³ To the N.W. of Seringapatam.

⁴ Of these places, the first one is situated to the N.W. and the last two to the S.W. of Seringapatam.

⁵ To the S.W. of Seringapatam.

⁶ These two places are situated to the S.E. of Seringapatam.

⁷ East of Seringapatam.

ultimately lost its balance and began to run in different directions in confusion . . . The Karnāṭaka forces were almost brought to an end in their attempts to take the fortress. The Khan's army was repulsed with great slaughter . . . Having secured the fort from the enemy's attacks, the good warriors of Kanthirava proceeded towards the city to guard it against further attacks.

The Khān-Khāns, who had attempted the siege of the fort, fled in different directions, their ranks broken up; and halted at a distance of three miles from the city . . . As they were trying to recuperate their strength during night, Nanjendra despatched spies to their camp to reconnoitre their position. They did accordingly, and returned soon, telling the Commander-in-chief that it was the most opportune moment for scaring the enemy away . . . The latter, thereupon, reported to the king that his forces were ready for driving out the enemy's army at day-break. The king, having directed him to commence the attack, proceeded to the field of battle, seated on the royal horse. He divided the forces into two portions under the charge of Nanjarājendra and Lingendra¹ to his right and left respectively. He was also followed by the chiefs, maṇḍalikas and nāyakas. In his army there were many fine horses and mighty elephants whose neighing and roaring were a source of terror on the battle-field. The atmosphere was enveloped by the lustre of various weapons such as swords, shields, pick-axes, etc. The attack began: king Kanthirava's army surrounded the enemies. The lancers fell on the opponents' forces. Thereupon, the heroic Raṇadullā Khan, amidst great shock, got up his horse

¹ Also called Lingarājayya. He was the younger brother of Nanjarājayya. According to the poem, he was appointed as Commander-in-chief of the Mysore army after the death of the latter (in c. 1646).

ready for war. He made every possible effort to collect the scattered forces and rouse the Vaziers and Mulukas. 'Our big army having fled at the approach of the small force last time, now is the time for us to capture the Goddess of Victory'¹—so saying, the Khān-Khāns stood ready for war. Amidst great uproar they fell upon the forces of the lord of Mysore, causing confusion among them in the darkness. The titular khans discharged arrows at the Mysoreans causing havoc on the field. The guards on horse-back arrested the march of the warriors (of Mysore), roaring out 'you are attacking us knowing that ours is the force which has sustained considerable loss at the siege of the city . . . yet we are prepared to fight out desperately with you and take off your heads.' In the war that followed, the warriors in the king's army attacked the Turks fiercely. Many were killed horribly. There was a regular river of blood of the enemies slain. The Turks began to take to flight in utter confusion. The scene of the dead on the field of battle was a source of positive horror to the spectators . . . There were, besides, carcasses of horses and elephants with their accoutrements shattered to pieces. The remnant of the Karnāṭaka army who constituted a portion of the Khan's forces, retreated from the field. In that terrible onslaught a good many Khans, vazirs and foot soldiers lost their lives. In the Karnāṭaka army also countless men were slain. Many were wounded, and lost their noses. The Turks began to retreat in great panic . . . Kanthirava was victorious over the enemies. Immense, indeed, were the spoils of war (elephants, horses, ornaments, arrows, arches, powder, guns and other accoutrements) which were

¹ This passage is significant from the standpoint of efficiency of the Mysore army and its knowledge of local conditions which stood it in good stead against the Muslim overwhelming odds.

collected and heaped before the king by his warriors. King Kanthirava, having bestowed gifts of good jewels and other things on the prominent chiefs and warriors, returned to the city with the laurels of victory.

Meanwhile, Raṇaduḷḷākhan, in great sorrow on account of the calamity, *retreated*, with the remnant of his forces, from the field of battle. The army, which had besieged the fort, having thus shared its miserable fate, the king performed expiatory ceremonies (*Samprōkshana*). The Brahmins were sumptuously fed and innumerable charities made, in commemoration of the Victory. "¹

The utter defeat and repulse of the Turks so vividly

¹ The Version of the Persian sources, referred to by Prof. Sir Sarkar (*Vide*: Modern Review: July 1929. p. 9), that "*Kanṭi Rai submitted after one month of fighting and saved his kingdom by paying 5 lakhs of hun*" finds a complete refutation in the Kanarese contemporary sources and traditions, all of which are unanimous in the statement that Raṇaduḷḷā Khan's force was *repulsed with great slaughter and heavy loss*.

According to the Palace Historical MSS. (Vol. I. p. 87-90), Raṇaduḷḷā Khan was unable to take possession of the fort of Seringapatam, in spite of the intrigues of Channayya of Nāgāmangala. He was thoroughly defeated and, following the advice of Hanumappa Nāyaka, arranged for a truce with the king of Mysore, through Kāvēri Hebbārava and Minchu Hebbārava (the king's intimate councillors), according to which, *the territory to the south of the Kāvēri belonged to Kanthirava Narasa and the territory to the north of that river to the Pādshah of Bijāpūr, and that, however, the king of Mysore should pay the revenues arising out of the latter's territory to Bijāpūr, after deducting the necessary expenses incidental thereto*. The king having consented to these terms, Raṇaduḷḷā Khan retreated with the remnant of his army to Bijāpūr, placing some forces in this part of the country (i.e. north of the Kāvēri) and instructing Hanumappa Nāyaka to see to the actual working out of the terms of the truce.

The poet, in his enthusiasm to bring out, prominently, the king's success over the Muslim army, ignores this aspect of the question. The truce, referred to, is probable, but the king of Mysore does not

described in the contemporary poem, find a definite corroboration from inscriptions also: A record of 1639, issued shortly after the event, refers to Kanthirava Narasa "¹ "as a destroyer of the demons, the race of the Yavanās," and to his prowess on the field of battle; and records the grant of a village named Narasarātpura to the Brahmins together with taxes and revenues pertaining thereto. Another record refers to Kanthirava "² "as God Nrisimha incarnate, born on the earth to destroy the Turushkās"; and records that "when he went forth to war, the mlēnchchās fell down in a swoon . . . "

(ii)¹

"Shortly after the event, Raṇaduḷḷā Khan retraced his

seem to have abided by it, since he conquered a portion of territories to the north of the Kāvēri, after the event of 1639, as we shall see later.

As regards the period assigned for the *siege* of Seringapatam, the trend of transactions sketched in the contemporary poem goes to show that it lasted *only for a few days*. This finds a definite corroboration in the Palace Ms. (Vol. I p. 86-90), according to which *the siege lasted for three days and on the fourth day the truce was concluded by Raṇaduḷḷā Khān, after which he retreated*. [The dates mentioned in the Ms are: ¹*Bahūdhānya-Puṣya-ba. 8. Friday—to ba. 10. Sunday: Siege of Seringapatam and Raṇaduḷḷā Khan's defeat, 2 Puṣya-ba. 11 Monday: Truce = 18th January 1639 to 21st January 1639 A.D.*] In the light of these data, it is unsafe to rely on the version of the Persian sources referred to above, tinged, as they generally are, with bias against the Hindus. (Compare also. Firishtah's accounts of war between Bijāpūr and Vijayanagar. *Vide*: Sewell: Forgotten Empire, also, Briggs: Firishtah.)

¹ E.C. III (i) Nj. 198: ' . . . *Ātmōdbhavōr Naraharī Narasakṣhitīndra Sākshādya ēṣa Yavanānvaya dāitya bhēdī*. . . ' The grant is dated *Pramāthi, Chaitra, Śu 15*. Corresponding to 8th April 1639 i.e., about 2½ months after the event.

² E.C. III (i) SR. 103 (1647 A.D.): ' . . . *Mlēnchchānām hananād bhujaprabalato . . . Kanthiravakshmāpatih. . . mlēchchāstē, parimūrchitassamaḥbavan yasyājirangāṅkaṇē*. . . '

³ K N.V: Ch. XVI.

steps to Vijayapura and met the Pādshah. The latter, disinclined to see his face, sent for his minister and said, 'This Khan, who was sent to Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa with the object of annexing it to our territories in the Karnāṭaka, has now brought infamy upon us by sustaining defeat and a heavy loss.' The Pādshah blamed the Khan for the defeat. Where upon, he (Khan) narrated what had happened, laying stress upon the efficiency and prowess of Kanthīrava's men on the field of battle and feeling sorry for his own peculiar misfortune. Ultimately, however, he was excused and sent by the Pādshah with instructions to proceed again to the acquisition of the Karnāṭaka by first curbing the pride of Puvala Hanuma against whom an army had already been sent in aid of the chief of Ikkēri. . . . Commanding vast forces, Raṇaduḷḷa Khan proceeded against Kengēndra (Hanumappa Nāyaka) and soon crossed the river (Bhadrā) at Hebbe. Meanwhile, the latter collected his forces. Raṇaduḷḷa Khan marched at once to Basavapaṭṭaṇa. He besieged and took possession of it, captured Hanumappa Nāyaka and curbed his pride.¹

The Khan proceeded further. While he stayed in Bangalore, the king of Mysore, hearing about the advance of the Turks, sent his Commander-in-chief Nanjēndra with

¹ According to the Persian sources, the place was taken after 4 hours' fighting; 3,700 of the enemy were slain, and Kenge Nāyak submitted, giving up the fort and 40 lakhs of hun (*vide*: Modern Review-July 1929 p. 9.) This event is dated 1640 (*Ibid.*)

The reason for the action against Hanumappa Nāyaka of Basavapaṭṭaṇa, according to Persian sources, (*Ibid.*) is, his rebellious attitude. The Kanarese sources also agree with this. According to the Palace MS. (I. p. 94-96), his failure to collect the amount (agreed upon in the truce) from the King of Mysore, and his consequent misdemeanour brought about his death in the war with Khan Khan in 1640 A.D. This must have been shortly after his submission to Raṇaduḷḷa Khān, as stated above,

his forces, to take possession of Rāmagiri Durga¹ from the Muhammadans. After hard fighting, the Mysore general stormed and took the place.

The Khan was obliged to retreat from Rāmagiridurga. On his way he captured Bēlur. He next took possession of Chikkanāyakanahalli with the help of the Vaziers.²

Meanwhile, Kanthīrava drove away Abdullākhān³ and his forces from Huliurudurga,⁴ capturing a number of horses and forcing him to retreat from his camp in great confusion and dismay.

Later, intent upon striking terror to the Khan, Nanjārājēndra proceeded with his army to the occupation of Bāgur⁵ from the Muhammadans under instructions from the king. The fort of Bāgur was taken by him after strenuous fighting. The Muhammadans were forced to retreat. Guards were stationed over the place.

The fort of Turugere⁶ (Turuvēkere) was next taken, after hard fighting, by the Mysore general, from the Muhammadans. Many horsemen were slain and a number of men taken prisoners. The Turks were pursued for a distance of about nine miles. Several horses and elephants were also captured.

Thus, in all the directions, the king was victorious over the mlēchchas."⁷

¹ The Persian sources maintain a discreet silence over this affair. (*Loc. Cit.*)

² 'Tumkur, Ballāpur and Kuḷihal (Kuṇigal)' were also conquered by the Khan in 1640 (*Ibid.*). These places were overrun by him in 1639, as pointed out already (*vide*: K.N.V: Ch. XI.)

³ Probably a Kanarese corruption of Afzal Khan of the Persian sources. (*vide*: Mod. Review: *Loc. Cit.*)

^{4, 5, and 6} *Vide*: Foot-note 1 *supra*.

⁷ According to the Palace Ms. (I. pp. 82, 96-99), these events are recorded to have taken place between 1640-2:

(a) 1640: Khān-Khān sent to Mysore; killed Hanumappa

(iii)¹

"Information having reached the Pādshah of Vijayapura that Kanthirava Narasa had gained possession of *Piriyapaṭṭaṇa*² by besieging it during day, he spoke to the khans and vaziers about the king's heroism, recounting his victory over the Turks and the southern powers. At the same time, he questioned them if there were any among them who would again lead an army against Kanthirava. Thereupon, *Mustafa Khan*³ stood up and offered his services to the Pādshah. Accordingly, he was sent with an army by the latter, with instructions to annex the territories in the Karnāṭaka. The Khan proceeded; and, within a short time, encamped near *Turugere*.

The King of Mysore, on being informed of the advance of the Bijāpur army, sent Nanjarājendra to grapple with the situation. Meanwhile, Mustafakhan secured his position to meet the Mysoreans. Nanjendra, dividing his army into nine convenient portions, proceeded against the Mlēnchchās. A fierce fight ensued between the two forces. Mustafakhan, on seeing that his men were retreating at the

Nāyaka; repulsed by Nanjarājayya; returned to Bijāpur without effecting anything against the King of Mysore.

(b) 1641: Mustafakhan sent to Mysore for the first time; repulsed by the Mysoreans.

(c) 1641: Vēmāji Panth sent to Mysore along with Abdullā Khan. They, too, were repulsed.

(d) 1642: Bāgūr and Turuvēkere occupied by Kanthirava, from the Muhammadans.

¹ K.N.V.: Ch. XIX.

² In 1645 (Palace Ms. I. p. 83) The interval of 3 years from 1642 to 1645 must have been occupied by Kanthirava's first raids on the southern kingdoms, and the curbing of the recalcitrant local pallegars (other than the chief of Piriyapaṭṭaṇa.)

³ He must have been sent to Mysore a second time in 1646, after a lapse of 5 years.

approach of the warriors of Mysore, proceeded himself against them, and attacked them with the help of his followers. The Turks were, however, repulsed with great slaughter and forced to retreat in all the directions. Fighting out, heroically, against innumerable odds, Nanjarājendra fell dead on the field of battle.

News of these incidents having been communicated to the king, he eulogised the virtues of Nanjarāja. On an auspicious day, Lingarāja (Nanjarāja's brother) was appointed Commander-in-chief by Kanthirava."¹

(iv)

The narrative of transactions connected with the relations between Mysore and Bijāpur, is thus brought down to the year 1646, in the contemporary poem. For the account of subsequent relations (up to 1652), we have to rely on other sources of information. According to Persian sources,² Kanthirava Narasarāja Wāḍeyar of Mysore 'was humbled into a tributary vassal by Khan Muhammad by about 1650.' The evidence of Kanarese inscriptions, however, goes to show that, during the years 1646-1650, Kanthirava Narasarāja Wāḍeyar was ruling a peaceful kingdom. Two of these records,³ dealing with the erection of

¹ Evidently in 1646, a year after the acquisition of Piriyapaṭṭaṇa by Kanthirava Narasarāja Wāḍeyar.

² Vide: Prof. Sir Jadunath Sarkar's article: 'Shahji Bhonsle in Mysore'. (*Modern Review*: July 1929 p. 12)

³ E. C. V (i) Cn. 160 & 165 (dated 1648.)

(1) ' . . . Turukara rāja kāryadalli kalla kōṭeya kaṭṭisidaru. . . '

(2) ' . . . Vijayapurada pāṭṣāravara rāja kāryadalli kalla kōṭeya kaṭṭisidaru. . . '

Mr. Rice translates these passages as, 'In the service of the Turukarāja,' 'In the royal business of the Pādshah of Bijāpur.' He also writes, 'The building of the fort in 1648 must have been in accordance

some monuments, refer incidentally to the building of the fort at Channarayapattana in 1648 by the chief of that place (who, as we have seen already, was the subordinate of Kanthirava Narasa) probably in preparation for a war against the Turks of Bijapur. We are not, however, in a position to know what exactly were the results of that war or the understanding, if any, arrived at between the two parties, nor is it safe to assert, on the basis of the Persian sources only, that the Rājah of Mysore was reduced to a subordinate position, for the trend of available evidence (both contemporary and traditions) goes to show that Kanthirava Narasa was always aiming at independence of all external control, of which the striking of coins in his own name was the first proof, as will be shown later. It is, however, possible that somewhere about 1650¹ he sustained a temporary defeat at the hands of the Muhammadans in the vicinity of Channarayapattana probably on account of the inexperience of the new commander-in-chief who succeeded Nanjarājendra; and entered into a truce or agreement with the Bijapur Sultan, but, during the next two years again, he recuperated his position, as is evident from his conquests, of Muhammadan 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 the dominions.' (E.C. V (i) Introduction, p. XXXV).

The expressions '*Turukara or Pātāhara rāja kāryadalli*' also mean 'in the course of the action of the Mysore King in the politics of the Turks or the Pādshah of Bijapur'. Considered in this light, the agreement or treaty, referred to, must have been the result of a war and entered into somewhere in 1650 A.D.

¹ Curiously enough, the Palace MS. is silent about the affairs (of 1649-50) relating to Bijapur.

² Cf. Chikkadēvarāya Vamsāvali (Selected Extracts); also the Palace MS. (I.P. 83-4);

(i) 1651: Acquisition of Yelahanka Nādu, Soolekere durga, Channagiri, Basavapattana etc. (from the Muhammadans)

possessions, of those years. From 1652 and onwards up to the close of his reign, his position in contemporary politics was unassailable, so far as his relations with the Muhammadans were concerned; and he was free to devote his attention to internal administration and further aggrandisement in the south.¹

II

Relations with the later Vijayanagara Emperors.

Kanthirava Narasa Rāja Wāḍeyar was the contemporary of Venkaṭa III and Śrī Ranga III, the Vijayanagara Emperors of the Āraṇṇya dynasty. The policy of the Wāḍeyars of Mysore towards the later Vijayanagara Empire was always fluctuating or varying according to the circumstances of the times.² Kanthirava's policy, in particular, is very interesting as a phase in the evolution of independence of the kingdom of Mysore during the critical period of the century following the battle of Tālikōṭa (1565).

In his³ first inscription, issued in 1639, Kanthirava refers to himself as ruling his Kingdom under 'Rājādhirāja rāja paramēśvara Śrī Vīra Venkaṭapatidēya Rāya on the throne of Ghaṇaśaila (Penukonda)'. It is also stated in it that he granted the village Narasārātpura together with vrittis to the Brahmins,⁴ after having secured the Rāya's

(ii) 1652 " " Dharmapuri, Ratnagiri, Pennāgara, Denkanikote, Kengere, Virabhadranadurga etc. (*Ibid*)

¹ This will form the subject of a separate article.

² Vide: N. Subba Rau: *Dēva Rāja Wāḍeyar of Mysore, a Retrospect* (Sec.2) (Mysore University Journal, January, 1929).

³ E.C. III (i) Nj 198.

⁴ (*Ibid.*) '... Venkaṭapatirāya anumatīyinda Narasa bhūpālānu Koṭṭa tāmra Sāsana.' Mr. Rice translates this passage as 'King Narasa bestowed the Village on the Brahmins, having informed his lord, the heroic King Venkaṭa of the same.'

The expression '*anumatīyinda*' in the above passage, however,

consent. This record was issued shortly after Kanthirava had repulsed the Turks, as we have seen already. Kanthirava Narasa naturally desired to have recognition of this fact by the Emperor during the latter's last years of rule, and to secure his support for his acquisitions of Muhammadan possessions in the portion of the Karnāṭaka north of the river Kāvērī. It was, therefore, as a matter of policy—not with any genuine feeling of subordination—that he acknowledged the supremacy of the Āraṇḍu Emperor.

In his second inscription¹ issued in 1640, he calls himself 'the great ruler of Mysore,' while acknowledging at the same time the suzerainty of Venkaṭa III. In that year he acquired some places from the Muhammadans in the central Karnāṭaka, as pointed out already, and consolidated his position against them. Simultaneously, he wanted to play off the Emperor and secure his good-will. Hence, no doubt, the apparent acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Vijayanagara Emperor.

His² third record (of 1642) is, however, conspicuous by the absence of the name of his suzerain. It is clear, therefore, that, from the beginning of his reign, Kanthirava Narasa was aiming at gradual independence of imperial control.

His attitude towards Śrī Ranga III, the unfortunate successor of Venkaṭa III, is equally interesting: In his inscription of 1643, he refers to Śrī Ranga as "Rājādhirāja Paramēśvara," thereby indicating his subordinate position under him.³ What is more, he even calls himself as more appropriately means 'with the consent of' or 'having secured the consent of.'

¹ E. C. IV. (ii) Gu. 10. . . . *Śrīman Mahā Maisūra adhipa Narasaraṇa ayyanavaru.*

² E. C. V (i) cn. 163.

³ E. C. iv (ii) yd. 5 'Chitrabhānu Samvatsara Phālguna 30 (Friday)' (S. 1564): 10th March 1643. (Date of the record). 1642, the original date given for this record, is found, on verification, to be wrong.

the¹ 'Prop or support of Śrī Ranga III in the South,' which is very significant. Kanthirava was, as we have seen already, gradually consolidating his position, as a feudatory of the Vijayanagara Emperor, by a series of conquests and annexations, ever since the memorable defeat and repulse of the Turks (in 1639). He thus not only saved his kingdom from the danger of Muhammadan invasion but also arrested the progress of their advance towards the south. He, therefore, wanted to pose himself as a loyal feudatory of the new Emperor, ostensibly to secure his support in maintaining a sort of barrier or balance of power between the southern Kingdoms and the Muhammadans, but really to carry on his aggressive policy in the south as well, as is evident from his first raids in that direction during 1642-1645. Hence the adoption of the title and the acknowledgment of the Emperor's suzerainty. Kanthirava seems to have continued this policy down to 1645.

By 1645, just after his memorable victory² over the chief of Piriyaṭṭana, Kanthirava's position was quite strong and secure against his enemies in all the directions, so much so that he found it politically expedient to openly throw off the imperial yoke. This spirit found fitting expression in the issue of coins³ also in his name (Kanthirāyihams). All his epigraphical records, from 1645 and onwards

¹ (Ibid) ' . . . *Śrīmadrājādirāja paramēśvara Śrī Ranga-rāyaru Sukhadim rājjam gayyuttiratāgi taddakshiṇa bhuja danda nāda Mahisūra Narasaraṇa bhūpālaru . . .*

Mr. Rice translated the expression 'taddakshiṇa bhuja danda' as 'Śrī Ranga's right hand.'

In the light of the contemporary poem dealt with in the course of this article, however, I think the literal meaning of the expression, i.e. 'Prop or support of Śrī Ranga III in the South' (*tasya* and *dakshiṇa bhuja danda* where, 'tasya' refers to 'Śrī Ranga'), is more appropriate.

² K.N.V. : Ch. xviii ; also Pal. Ms. I. P. 83.

³ Vide : next section of this article.

up to 1653, mention him as an independent ruler. This period is thus very important from the standpoint of the evolution of independence of the kingdom of Mysore under Kanthirava Narasa Rāja Wodeyar.

A noteworthy feature of Kanthirava's records after 1645 is, not merely the absence of the name of the Vijayanagara Emperor, but also the avoidance of use of any high-sounding titles implying imperial ideas. This shows that Kanthirava was keenly watching the vicissitudes of Śrī Ranga III throughout this period, and his policy towards him was directed by the needs of the times and tempered by shrewdness and foresight. It was only a phase in the evolution of independence of his kingdom, not the consummation of it. In the absence of epigraphical records of Kanthirava from 1653 up to 1659, we cannot say anything definite about his policy towards Śrī Ranga III during those years.¹

(To be continued.)

¹ As regards the asylum offered by Kanthirava Narasa to Śrī Ranga III (*Vide* : 'History of the Nāyakās of Madura' by Mr. Satyanatha Iyer. P. 132-3; Dr. S. K. Iyengar's note on the subject), we have, at present, no contemporary evidence, on the Mysore side, to throw light on this topic. But, alone among the later Manuscript Versions, a Historical MS. (*Mysūru rājara charitre*, by Venkatasomanayya: *Select extracts*) written somewhere about 1800 A.D., and which seems, on the whole, to be faithful to the traditions of the country (written, as it is, by the local Shanbhag of Seringapatam, of the period), tells us that 'Kanthirava Narasa promised protection to Śrī Ranga who appeared before him.' This must have been somewhere in 1653, since it is also stated that this took place after the restoration, by Kanthirava, of Ratnagiri (dated 1652 : Pal. MS. I. P. 83-4). We are not, however, in a position to know what exactly was the nature of the protection offered and how long it lasted, for all the authorities, on the Mysore side, are silent on these points. Anyway, it seems probable that, after a short stay in some part of the kingdom of Mysore, Śrī Ranga III left it, having found out that Kanthirava's policy was directed towards enhancing his own prestige and the acquisition of independence of his kingdom.

**DEVA RAJA WADEYAR OF MYSORE (1659-1673):
A RETROSPECT.**

BY N. SUBBA RAU, M.A.

(Research Scholar, Department of History, Maharaja's College,
Mysore).

AS a ruler of Modern Mysore, Dēva Rāja Waḍeyar has not been properly appreciated. He is shrouded in a veil of confusion and obscurity. He is misunderstood and misinterpreted and meagre accounts based on an incomplete study of the materials have been given of him. An attempt is made here to present him in a clearer and newer light, with special reference to some aspects of his reign.

1

Who was the actual successor of Kanṭhīrava Narasa Rāja Waḍeyar I? What was his relationship to the Mysore Royal Family? These questions confront the Historian of Mysore as soon as he has passed through the reign of Kanṭhīrava Narasa Rāja Waḍeyar; for, the authorities are conflicting and confused in dealing with these matters.

Nagara Puṭṭiah Puṇḍit upon whose Manuscript,¹ among others, Col. Wilks has based his History of Mysore, states that a certain Dēva Rāja Waḍeyarayya² became King of Mysore after Kanṭhīrava Narasa I in 1659 (S. 1581. Vikāri. Bhādrapada. Śu. 2.-3rd August.) He does not give any details regarding the Pedigree of this

¹ "Mysūru Dhoregaḷa Pūrvābhūdāya Vivara"—A Kaḍitam (p.27.)

² Wilks, however, makes the successor of Kanṭhīrava Narasa the fourth son of Muppina Dēva Rāja and calls him "Dud Deo Rāj" (Mysore I. p. 35-6).

ruler. According to another Historical Manuscript,¹ Kanthirava Narasa Rāja Wāḍeyar died in 1659 (S. 1581. Vikāri. Śrāvaṇa. Ba. 8=25th July.) and was succeeded by Doḍḍa Dēva Rāja Wāḍeyar, grandson of Bōḷa Chāmarasa Wāḍeyar and son of (Muppina) Dēva Rāja Wāḍeyar (Dēva Rāja Wāḍeyar, the old) on the 3rd August 1659 and that he was in turn succeeded by his brother Chikka Dēva Rāja Wāḍeyar in 1673 (S. 1594. Parīdhāvi Phālguna. Śu. 12=17th February). Again, another Manuscript² refers to the death of Kanthirava Narasa I on 25th July 1659 (Vikāri Śrāvaṇa. Ba. 8) and to the coronation in the same year (Bhādrapada Śu. 2=3rd August 1659) of Doḍḍa Dēva Rāja Wāḍeyar, son of Dēvappa Rāja Wāḍeyar (same as Muppina Dēva Rāja Wāḍeyar) and grandson of Bōḷa Chāmarasa Wāḍeyar. The same Manuscript also refers to Chikkadēva Rāja as the successor of Doḍḍa Dēva Rāja without, however, mentioning the exact relationship between them. Lastly, the Palace Historical Manuscript has its own version: "Kanthirava Narasa Rāja Wāḍeyar feeling indisposed, sent for Hampa Rājayya the Commander-in-chief and other intimate followers, and told them that as he had no issue he would adopt Dēva Rāja Wāḍeyar, the third son of Muppina Dēva Rāja Wāḍeyar (his uncle, i.e. his father's half-brother) who was then in the Village of Gundlu. He ordered them all to crown him and act according to his (Dēva Rāja's) orders. Having thus instructed them and having brought Dēva Rāja Wāḍeyar with royal honours to Sri Rangapattana and adopted him in the cyclic year Vikāri, Śrāvaṇa. Ba. 8 (22nd July 1659), he died shortly afterwards. (Śrāvaṇa. Ba. 8=25th July 1659)". The same Manuscript,

¹ "Mysuru Samsthāna Dharmaśāstra Pāṭṭaṇṇa Kaiḥyat" (folio 12).
² "Mysuru Rājasthāna" by Venkatarājanayya (Select Extracts).
³ Select Extracts, (P. 103-104) Muppina Dēva Rāja was the "Bhin-nāḍara Sahodāra" (half brother) of Rāja Wāḍeyar.

however, seems to ignore this Dēva Rāja Wāḍeyar and makes, on the contrary, Doḍḍa Dēva Rāja Wāḍeyar the actual successor of Kanthirava Narasa Rāja Wāḍeyar.¹ Tradition also is in favour of the view that Doḍḍa Dēva Rāja Wāḍeyar was the successor of Kanthirava Narasa I.

Thus far, all the Mss. agree in regard to the date of death of Kanthirava Narasa Rāja Wāḍeyar. They differ considerably only regarding his actual successor and the latter's pedigree. The reconciliation of these conflicting versions with the evidence of the more reliable sources forms an important topic in historical reconstruction.

Let us now turn our attention to the contemporary sources of the History of Modern Mysore and see how far the Manuscript versions and popular tradition are corrected or corroborated by them:

Chāmayya writing about 1670 A.D.² clearly refers to Dēva Rāja Narēndra of Mysore, of Atrēya Gōtra, ruling from "Śrīrangapattana protected by God Paśchima Ranga-dhāma." Vēnugōpāla Varaprasāda tells us in his work³ in a significant passage that Dēva Rāja (also called Dēva Nripāla) ruled the kingdom magnificently for fourteen years devoting himself at the feet of his eldest brother

¹ Ibid.

² "Dēva Rāja Sāngatya." A very much injured and incomplete palm leaf Ms. (select extract).

³ "Chikka Dēva Rāja Vamsāvali" (quite distinct from another work of the same name by Tirumalārya) (select extracts).

" Rāmana pādūkādvayamanarchisi yentadanittukondu bhūrāmeya nālpa nēntu Bharatam padinālku mahābda mante suksēmāde Doḍḍa Dēva Nripānanghriya bhaktiyōlālāda nindra bhōga mita bhōgya Dēva Nripa mōḷi Chaturdasa Varṣa-murviyam" Dēva Rāja's devotion to his eldest brother Doḍḍa Dēva Rāja is compared to that of Bharata towards Śrī Rāma. Dēva Rāja's rule for fourteen years is compared to Bharata's rule during Rāma's absence. This is corroborated by inscriptions also, as we shall see later.

Dodḍa Dēva Rāja Waḍeyar. He gives the pedigree of this Dēva Rāja thus: "To Dēva Rāja (same as Muppina Dēva Rāja) brother of Rāja Bhūpāla,¹ were born four sons, namely, Dodḍa Dēvēndra, Chikka Dēva Rāja, Dēva Rāja and Mari Dēvēndra . . . To Dodḍa Dēva were born two sons Chikkadēva Nripāla and Kanthīravēndra, by his queen Amritāmbā . . . Of the four brothers, the third, Dēva Rāja succeeded Kanthīrava Narasa Rāja . . . " Timma Kavi writes:² "To Rāja Waḍeyar's brother, Dēva Nripa (i.e. Muppina Dēva Rāja), were born four sons, — namely, Dodḍa Dēva Rājēndra, Chikka Dēva Rāja, Dēva Rāja and Mari Dēva. The eldest of these, Dodḍa Dēva, had by his wife Amritāmbā two virtuous sons by name Chikka Dēvēndra and Kanthīrava . . . Dēva Rāja the brother of Dodḍa Dēva Nripati ruled the Kingdom piously . . . He was succeeded by Chikka Dēvēndra . . . " The same poet in another work³ says: "Of the four brothers, Dodḍa Dēva Nripāla ruled the earth . . . by his grace, policy, and prowess . . . " Chikkupādhyāya writes:⁴ "Kanthīrava Narasa was followed by the family of Dēva Mahipati,⁵ the surviving brother of Rāja Waḍeyar. To that Dēva Kshitipāla four sons were born, namely, Dodḍa Dēva, Chikka Dēva, Dēva Kshitipāla and Mari Dēva . . . Of these, the eldest Dodḍa Dēva Nripāla lived in peace . . . Dēva Rājēndra, brother of Dodḍa Dēva Rāja, ruled the kingdom magnificently like Indra, showering favours on the twice-born." In another work⁶ by the same author it is stated that Dēva Rāja, the brother of Dodḍa Dēva Rāja,

¹ "Rāja Waḍeyar—Vide Appendix A.

² Paścīma Ranga Māhātmya. Introduction.

³ Yādavagīri Māhātmya. Introduction.

⁴ Kamalāchala Māhātmya: Introduction.

⁵ Same as Muppina Dēva Rāja. Vide Appendix "A."

⁶ Hastigiri Māhātmya: Introduction.

ruled the kingdom in happiness and peace. Again, the same author in another work¹ writes thus: "To Dēva Rāja (Muppina Dēva Rāja), the half-brother of Rāja Waḍeyar, were born four sons, namely, Dodḍa Dēvēndra, Chikka Dēva, Dēva Rāja and Mari Dēva. Of these, the first son Dodḍa Dēva had two sons by name Chikka Dēva Rājēndra and Kanthīravēndra. His (Dodḍa Dēva's) own brother, Dēva Rāja, ruled the kingdom piously and became famous." Chidānanda Kavi writes:² "On the death of Kanthīrava Narasa Rāja Waḍeyar after his glorious rule, Dēva Rāja Waḍeyar (styled Vira Śīrōmaṇi—'Ornament to the galaxy of heroes') brother of Dodḍa Dēva Rāja Waḍeyar, was crowned king amidst grandeur begging description." Another contemporary work³ referring to Dodḍa Dēva Rāja, brother of Dēva Rāja, says: "Dodḍa Dēva Rāja Waḍeyar of Mysore was a royal sage. He was the foremost among the kings of Mysore to attain that distinction. He performed pilgrimages and made gifts. He ruled from Śrī Rangapaṭṭana the Capital City, seated on the jewelled throne and favoured by God Nārāyaṇa."

Again, of the two published contemporary literary works, the Chikka Dēva Rāja Vamśāvali of Tirumalārya has the following: "of the four sons of [Muppina] Dēva Rāja, the brother of Rāja Waḍeyar, Dodḍa Dēva Rāja, the eldest, ruled his subjects justly and in peace. He had two sons by his virtuous queen Amritāmbā. Being old, however, he crowned his brother Dēva Rāja king, made another brother Mariya Dēva Rājarasa, the latter's bodyguard and Chikka Dēva (his own son) Yuvarāja, and placing him and Kanthīravayya (his another son) under Dēva Rāja's charge and admonishing him (Dēva Rāja) as to his kingly

¹ Divya Sūri Charitre: Introduction.

² Munivamśābhyaṇdaya: Ibid.

³ Rāja Charitre by Tirumalārya. (Select Extract).

duties, proceeded on a pilgrimage to the banks of the Kaundini in the south where he stayed for sometime in meditation and ultimately attained beatitude. Dēva Rāja, thus anointed by his eldest brother, ruled the Kingdom."¹ In Chikka Dēva Rāja Vijayam,² the author says: "Following the advice of his friend Aḷasingārya, Doḍḍa Dēva Rāja anointed his brother Kempa Dēvayya³ king, making Mari Dēvayya, the youngest brother, his bodyguard. He also appointed Chikka Dēva Rāja (his son) Yuvarāja with Kanthiravayya (his younger son) his body-guard, making arrangements for the succession of Chikka Dēva Rāja after Kempa Dēvayya. As regards himself, he decided to leave the capital accompanied by his first brother Chikkadēvarasa, on a pilgrimage to holy places. While proceeding from the capital he admonished Dēva Rājarasa to rule the kingdom well. The latter did rule accordingly."

All the contemporary literary sources referred to, with the exception of the works of Tirumalārya, are unanimous in the statement that Dēva Rāja was the actual successor of Kanthirava Narasa, thus correcting the later Manuscript versions. As we have seen already, the literary works of Tirumalārya, though they refer to Dēva Rāja as the ruler, make him succeed only Doḍḍa Dēva Rāja Wāḍeyar, who, according to them, succeeded to the sovereignty of Mysore immediately after the death of Kanthirava Narasa in 1659 A.D. The question to be considered now is, whether Doḍḍa Dēva Rāja Wāḍeyar succeeded at all to the throne of Śrīrangapaṭṭana after the death of Kanthirava Narasa, and whether he was the actual ruler for sometime, as is alleged by the works of Tirumalārya.

¹ Select Extracts.

² *Ibid.*

³ Dēva Rāja was also called Kempa Dēvayya as will be shown later. (*Vide Appendix A*).

The historical poem "Kanthirava Narasa Rāja Vijayam" by Gōvinda Vaidya,¹ goes to show that after the acquisition of Śrīrangapaṭṭana by Rāja Wāḍeyar (1610 A.D.) the members of the main line of kings of the Mysore Royal Family always ruled from Śrīrangapaṭṭana with control over Mysore which was administered by a member of the Royal Family as Yuvarāja, subordinate to the main line of princes. Thus, Beṭṭada Chāmarasa, the younger brother of Rāja Wāḍeyar, ruled Mysore as a Prince of the blood royal, while Rāja Wāḍeyar ruled from Śrīrangapaṭṭana. Whenever there was failure of issue in the main line of kings, attention was turned towards the junior branch of the line of Princes ruling in Mysore and the best available member selected or adopted. Thus, Kanthirava Narasa, son of Beṭṭada Chāmarasa, was selected as the ruler when there were no heirs in Rāja Wāḍeyar's line, especially after the death of Immadi Rāja Wāḍeyar. Thereupon, the patrimony of Mysore fell to the share of Muppina Dēva Rāja Wāḍeyar, the half-brother of Rāja Wāḍeyar and Beṭṭada Chāmarasa. There is clear epigraphical evidence² to prove that this Muppina Dēva Rāja Wāḍeyar, the father of Doḍḍa Dēva Rāja and other three sons, was ruling Mysore from Gundlu Terakanāmbi, after the death of Beṭṭada Chāmarasa, in subordination to the main line of Kings in Śrīrangapaṭṭana, that he lived up to a very ripe old age dying somewhere during the reign of Kanthirava Narasa I and that, thereupon, his eldest son Doḍḍa Dēva Rāja, who helped him in his old age, succeeded³ to the patrimony of Mysore.

¹ Chapter III: Select Extracts.

² E. C. III i Nj. 56. E. C. XII. Kg. 4.

" " Nj. 81.

" " SR. 13.

" " SR. 117.

³ E.C. IV ii Hg. 57; GD. 105. Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.

Kanṭhīrava Narasa Rāja Wāḍeyar who had no issue, naturally turned to the family of Muppina Dēva Rāja for a heir to succeed him. The possible claimants to the throne were: Doḍḍa Dēva Rāja and his three brothers as also Doḍḍa Dēva's own son Chikkadēva (a boy of 14¹). The shrewd Kanṭhīrava Narasa, however, selected and adopted Dēvarāja (a young man of 32²) in preference to Doḍḍa Dēva Rāja, who was too old, and in preference to Chikkadēva, the latter's son, who was too young. Moreover, Dēva Rāja was a promising young man, as is evident from the descriptions given of him in Tirumalārya's works and inscriptions.³ The adoption referred to in the Palace Manuscript is also corroborated by an inscription recording a grant⁴ of some lands to Brahmins by Dēva Rāja, for the merit of Narasa Rāja, his adoptive father. The adopted son, Dēva Rāja, as we naturally expect, was the actual ruler of Mysore after the death of Kanṭhīrava Narasa, though, of course, the works of Tirumalārya in particular, do not explicitly say so. This Dēva Rāja was of a proper age at the time of Kanṭhīrava's death and there is no reason why

¹ Chikka Dēva Rāja Vamśāvali and Chikka Dēvarāja Vijayam (Select Extracts).

Also, Palace Manuscript (loc. cit.) corroborates the above.

According to these sources, Chikkadēvarāja was born in the cyclic year Pārthivā (A.D. 1645).

Wilks' theory that Chikkadēva was 32 at the time of Kanṭhīrava Narasa's adoption in 1659, has to be revised in the light of these Sources, (I. P. 36).

² Palace Manuscript (Extracts). Dēva Rāja was born in the cyclic year Prabhava (S. 1549) 1627 A.D., and this agrees with Wilks (I. p. 36) who, however, out of confusion, makes both the uncle and the nephew 32 years of age in 1659! The trend of thought of Tirumalārya's works goes to show that Dēva Rāja was an adult, (aged 32) and that his nephew (Chikka Dēva Rāja) was only a lad of fourteen in 1659. (See fn. 1 above).

³ E. C. XII. Kg. 37. III (i) SR. 13. IV (ii) YD. 54.

⁴ M.A.R. 1920, P. 40.

he should not be the actual ruler. How is it, then, that Doḍḍa Dēva Rāja is made to succeed Kanṭhīrava Narasa for a short time only, according to Tirumalārya? This is a problem to be solved with reference to epigraphy.

There is no epigraphical record of the reign of Dēva Rāja to support the view that Doḍḍa Dēva Rāja actually ruled in Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa. He was the eldest son of Muppina Dēva Rāja, who, as we have seen, survived Beṭṭada Chāmarasa and lived up to a very old age. There is reason to believe that this Doḍḍa Dēva Rāja Wāḍeyar always stayed with his father in his patrimony of Mysore and ruled that part of the country with headquarters at Hangala in Terakaṇāmbi and that after his father's death, he was ruling Mysore independently.¹ The trend of thought of Tirumalārya's works and Dēva Rāja's inscriptions regarding Doḍḍa Dēvarāja is to show that he was very peaceful, mild, contemplative and religious minded, a type of king hardly suited to preside over the destinies of a rising kingdom, surrounded, as it was, by hostile neighbours following an aggressive policy. It is probable that Dēva Rāja who, though adopted by Kanṭhīrava Narasa, was not crowned immediately, looked upon his eldest brother (who had, however, ripe experience of administration, as a ruler of Mysore, his patrimony,) for assistance in the administration of the kingdom, on account of his inexperience. He had great respect and regard for him, as is evident from literary sources and inscriptions.² An epigraphical record in particular, refers to him as actually ruling his kingdom in peace under the orders of his eldest brother. Dēva Rāja thus allowed himself to be governed and taught the art of Government

¹ Loc. cit.

² E. C. III i SR. 14. M. A. R. 1911-12 P. 56-7

³ M. A. R. 1911-12. P. 56-7

by Dodda Dēva Rāja for a short time after the death of Kanthirava Narasa. Tirumalārya's testimony therefore implies that while the *actual* ruler was Dēva Rāja,¹ Dodda Dēva Rāja acted for a while as his regent,² ostensibly on the ground of the former's inexperience, and in that capacity ruled from Śrīrangapaṭṭana seated on the jewelled throne, retaining, however, his hold on Mysore as well. The coronation of Dēva Rāja by Dodda Dēva Rāja referred to by Tirumalārya, was only the consummation of the wish of Kanthirava Narasa, who adopted the former but did not live long enough to see this happy ceremony. Dodda Dēva Rāja, according to Tirumalārya, renounced the kingdom in favour of his brother (Dēva Rāja) on the ground of old age and on that occasion arranged with the latter, that his eldest son Chikka Dēva Rāja should succeed him. This tends to show that the rejection of his claims along with those of his son, by Kanthirava Narasa, was working in his (Dodda Dēva's) mind, and that he was resolved that his son, who was at that time quite young, should occupy the throne of Śrīrangapaṭṭana after Dēva Rāja. It was, no doubt, primarily for the realisation of this aim, that he espoused the cause of Dēva Rāja and helped him in the administration of the country during the early years of his (Dēva Rāja's) reign. The absence of epigraphical records of Dodda Dēva Rāja is due to the fact that he was only a nominal ruler of Śrīrangapaṭṭana for a short time, helping his brother Dēva Rāja, the actual ruler. The circumstance that there are no epigraphical

¹ This closely agrees with the passage referred to in Venugopāla Varaprāsāda's work. (Loc. cit.)

² The view that "Kempa Dēvayya (Dēva Rāja), the third son of Muppina Dēva Rāja, ruled for a short time in the name of his eldest brother and then in his own name" (Dr. S. K. Iyengar; Ancient India, P. 295) has to be revised in the light of the sources examined here.

records of Dēva Rāja also earlier than 1662 A. D. i.e., for three years after the death of Kanthirava Narasa, tends to prove that, till then, there was a sort of regency and that the coronation of Dēva Rāja, referred to by Tirumalārya, took place in that year. The first two inscriptions¹ of Dēva Rāja, of 1662 A. D., inaugurating his independent rule, refer to him as Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Dēva Rāja, Wāḍeyar, ruling in Śrī Rangapaṭṭana. It therefore stands to reason that Dēva Rāja succeeded Kanthirava Narasa in 1659, though his actual coronation did not take place till three years afterwards, under circumstances discussed above.

All the inscriptions of Dēva Rāja's reign refer to him as king of Mysore, seated on the jewelled throne of Śrī Rangapaṭṭana. Two records² of 1663 tell us that Muppina Dēva Rāja, brother of Rāja Wāḍeyar, had four sons, all named Dēva Rāja and the third of whom succeeded as king Dēva Rāja. Another record³ of the same year refers to him as Dēvabhūpāla. According to another inscription⁴ Dēva Rāja Mahīpāla was the son of [Muppina] Dēva Rāja Wāḍeyar and grandson of Chāma Rāja Wāḍeyar (i.e. Bōla Chāma). An inscription⁵ of 1664 refers to him in similar terms. The Bhērya Copper Plates⁶ of Dēva Rāja (1666) tell us that he was the son of Muppina Dēva Rāja by his wife Kempamāmbā, whence he was also called Kempa⁷ Dēvayya. The first two records of Dēva Rāja

¹ E.C. III. i. Nj. 56 and 81.

² E.C. XII. Kg. 37 and 38.

³ M. A. R. 1908-09. My. 114, Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol. (E.C.)

⁴ E.C. XII. Kg. 33.

⁵ E.C. XII. Kg. 46.

⁶ E.C. IV ii YD. 54.

⁷ Vide Appendix A, also Tirumalārya's Works. Wilks, who, by confusion, makes Kempa Dēvayya the fourth son of Muppina Dēva Rāja (iP. 36), writes that Kempa Dēva was so called because of his red-

already referred to, record the grant of an endowment (of some villages) and the performance of a work of charity respectively by Dēvajamma (Dēva Rāja's stepmother) on her husband (Muppina Dēva, Dēva Rāja's father) attaining heaven. These epigraphical records of Dēva Rāja not only corroborate the evidence of contemporary literary sources, but also tend to establish that it was somewhere about 1662 A.D. that the arrangement, referred to in Tirumalārya's works, was effected by Doḍḍa Dēva Rāja, and that from that time onward Dēva Rāja was a full blown administrator, free, as he was, from all control.

Again, an inscription of 1670¹ of Dēva Rāja records the grant of a village named Bilugūr (also named Kanthirava Pura) by Kanthirava Arasu (younger son of Doḍḍa Dēva, the brother of Dēvarāja Waḍeyar), on the anniversary day of the death of his father Doḍḍa Dēva Rāja Waḍeyar. This record is significant, as it clearly shows that in or about 1669 Doḍḍa Dēva Rāja Waḍeyar, who had renounced the kingdom about 1662 (as we have already seen) on the apparent ground of old age, in favour of his brother, had died. It is quite possible that during this interval of seven years he was absorbed in prayer and meditation on the banks of the Koundini² in Gundlu Teraknāmbi Sīma, according to the testimony of Tirumalārya and inscriptions. The version of the palace manuscript, that Doḍḍa Dēva Rāja Waḍeyar actually ruled from 1659 to 1672 A.D. has therefore to be rejected in the light of these reliable records and corrected accordingly.

From an examination of all the available sources, it is evident that Dēva Rāja Waḍeyar was the actual successor of Kanthirava Narasa. This view has to be revised in the light of this inscription.

¹ E.C. IV ii Hg. 119.

² M.A.R. 1911-12, p. 56-7.

of Kanthirava Narasa, and that he was quite distinct from Doḍḍa Dēva Rāja Waḍeyar. In some later historical manuscripts, however, Dēva Rāja has been called Doḍḍa Dēva Rāja possibly to distinguish him from his successor, Chikka Dēva Rāja (his nephew). This is also due to the confusion arising from the names of the sons of Muppina Dēva Rāja, all of whom were called Dēva Rāja. The Palace Manuscript, in particular, as we have seen, appears to ignore Dēva Rāja the actual ruler, though it states that he was adopted by Kanthirava Narasa, a point corroborated by epigraphy. On the contrary, it seems to substitute Doḍḍa Dēva Rāja (the father of Chikkadēva Rāja) who, according to it ruled for thirteen years, when he was succeeded by his son.¹ There seems to be some purpose in expunging a rightful claimant and shifting on the credit of whatever he did, to his eldest brother who, as we have seen, lived only up to 1669! Perhaps, the court chroniclers shortly after Dēva Rāja's death wanted to magnify the father of the illustrious Chikka Dēva Rāja, rather than his uncle Dēva Rāja, the actual ruler, whose attitude towards his nephew, as will be pointed out and discussed later, must have been the main reason for it. An inscription of Chikka Dēva Rāja² which is the solitary record, in which Doḍḍa Dēva is stated to have succeeded Kanthirava Narasa and sat on the jewelled throne of Śri Rangapattana (contrary to the evidence of all the strictly contemporary records of Dēva Rāja), strongly lends colour to this view. Unless, therefore, we correct the version of the Palace Manuscript with reference to the original sources examined above, it is very unsafe to rely upon it for historical reconstruction. The popular tradition or belief that Doḍḍa

¹ In fact, however, the Uncle and the Nephew ruled Mysore successively. (Vide: cont. sources; also Appendix A.) i.e. Dēva Rāja and Chikka Dēva Rāja.

² M.A.R. 1918, p. 58.

Dēva Rāja was the predecessor of Chikka Dēva Rāja is also to be rejected on the ground that it is only a concoction of later times, totally at variance with the hard facts of contemporary records.

In the light of all the sources considered thus far, we have to conclude that Dēva Rāja, also called *Kempa Dēvayya*, the third son of Muppina Dēva Rāja Wāḍeyar by his second wife Kempamāmbā, was the actual successor of Kanthirava Narasa Rāja Wāḍeyar, that he ruled the kingdom for fourteen years (1659-1673 A.D.)—three years under the control of his eldest brother as a regent and the rest independently, and that his coronation took place three years after his accession.¹

2

Dēva Rāja Wāḍeyar's political position at the time of the inauguration of his independent rule is indicated by his first two² inscriptions which refer to him as "Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara." This expression signifies that he was a subordinate Prince under the Vijayanagara Emperor (Śrī Ranga III) of the Araviḍu dynasty. This was, however, only in theory and not in practice. Dēva Rāja's predecessors, from the time of Rāja Wāḍeyar up to Kanthirava Narasa Rāja Wāḍeyar, sometimes acknowledged the suzerainty of the Vijayanagara Emperor as his "feudatory" and at other times openly threw off the imperial yoke, as is evident from a study of their epigraphical records. The Wāḍeyars of Mysore, like their contemporaries, the Nāyakās of Madura, watched keenly the trend of imperial politics and adjusted their relations with the later Vijayanagara Emperors accord-

¹ Appendix 'A' based on a study of all the sources referred to in the course of this article, contains details of genealogical succession and a summary of results, to which reference is invited.

² E.C. III i Nj, 56 and 81.

ing to their (Emperors') character and the circumstances in which they were placed. Needless to say, this attitude of the Mysore Princes (in their capacity as feudatories in general, of the Vijayanagara Empire, and agents, in particular, to the Karnāṭaka Viceroyalty of the Empire—for, that was their exact position ever since the acquisition of Śrīrangapaṭṭana by Rāja Wāḍeyar) towards the decaying Empire was one of the factors in the rise to political importance of the kingdom of Mysore.

In the period of Dēva Rāja's first grants, Śrī Ranga III, the Vijayanagara Emperor, was a helpless fugitive, driven out as he was by his enemies from his successive Capitals and he naturally turned his attention towards his Southern feudatories for help against the Muhammadans to regain his position. Śrī Ranga's activities in the south in this connection naturally alarmed Dēva Rāja who, true to the policy of his predecessors, acknowledged his supremacy as a temporary necessity.

The third record¹ of Dēva Rāja which refers to a grant of some dues to the God Mahadēśvara of Moḷagāla, is about 8 months later than the first two. In it Dēva Rāja styles himself as "Rājādhirāja." This shows that by about that time in the same year Dēva Rāja's anxiety regarding Śrī Ranga in the South, having been cleared, he was practically independent of imperial control.

Again, in another record of 1664² issued shortly after the victorious operations of the Mysore army against Ikkēri, Dēva Rāja mentions the name of the Vijayanagara Emperor, as his suzerain. The presence of Śrī Ranga III in Karnāṭaka from 1663 and onward ever since he was offered shelter by Śivappa Nāyaka of Ikkēri, no doubt alarmed Dēva Rāja who was a "little apprehensive as to the course events might take

¹ E.C. IX KN. 94.

² „ XII KG. 46.

and acknowledged Vijayanagara as a matter of policy in order to be on the safe side."¹ Hence, the appearance of the name of Śrī Ranga III in Dēva Rājas's inscription of 1664 A.D.

An inscription of 1665² records a grant of a village by Dēva Rāja to a certain svāmi during the reign of Rājādhirāja Vīra Pratāpa Vīra Venkaṭapati Rāyarayya. The mention of this Vijayanagara Emperor indicates that by 1665 after the failure of his (Śrī Ranga's) attempts to regain his power, Śrī Ranga III had ceased to be a force in South Indian politics, and that he was succeeded to the nominal charge of the dismembering empire by a scion of the Āraṇḍa Dynasty. Mysore had by this time become quite independent of imperial control. The mention of Venkaṭapati Rāya in this record, however, suggests the traditional form of acceptance of imperial authority, rather than the actual recognition of the same, the shadow rather than the substance of imperial power. The year 1665 is thus a land mark in the evolution of the independence of Mysore as a kingdom under Dēva Rāja.

The Bhērya copper plates³ refer to Dēva Rāja as "seated on a secure throne in the city of Śrī Rangēśa in the Karnāṭaka Country." These expressions are significant. They imply that by 1666 Dēva Rāja's position, as King of Mysore, was firm, free, as he was, from imperial control and from the attacks of his enemies. All his epigraphical records from 1666 and onwards up to the close of his reign refer to him as an independent ruler. In one of these records⁴ he

¹ E.C. XII Rice: Introduction P. 17.

² E.C. IV ii Gu. 64.

³ " " ii Yd. 54.

⁴ E. C. III. 1 T. N. 54.

"Vīra Pratāpa-Śālī Chakravartī; Maṣṭra-Pura-Varādhīśvararāda; Dakṣiṇa Simhāsana Srirangapattanaḥ Kartaṛāda."

Note.—The word "Karta" literally means "agent" or "deputy"

calls himself "Emperor, master of the city of Mysore, master of Śrīrangapattana, the throne of the South." Another record¹ refers to him as "the worthy occupier of the throne of Paśchima Rangadhāni."

A study of all these records goes to show that during this period (1666-1673) the Vijayanagara Empire had completely lost its hold on Mysore, being itself in the throes of dissolution. The attainment of independence by Mysore under these circumstances was indeed a legacy of Dēva Rāja to his nephew and successor Chikkadēva Rāja Wāḍeyar. Apart from the policy of his predecessors, Dēvarāja's masterly grasp of the political conditions of the times and his consistent attitude in securing his country's independence, entitle him to the position of a maker of Modern Mysore. Like Kanthirava Narasa Rāja Wāḍeyar, Dēva Rāja Wāḍeyar left to his successor a close and compact kingdom (extended by conquests and annexations) independent, internally and externally. Troubles were, however, brewing in the South as usual, and the final attempts in this direction were left by Dēva Rāja to the care of his nephew and successor.

3

True to the arrangements effected by his eldest brother, Dēva Rāja ruled the kingdom along with his nephew Chikka

which was exactly the position of the Mysore Kings in their relations with the later Vijayanagara Empire, ever since the acquisition of Śrīrangapattana by Rāja Wāḍeyar in 1610, as pointed out elsewhere. This literal meaning is not, however, consistent with the previous title "Vīrapratāpa Śālī Chakravartī" (Emperor). Hence, the interpretation of the term under reference, as "Master of Śrīrangapattana the throne of the South" is in close keeping with the context.

[It may merely mean that the older title 'Karta' of Śrīrangapattana under Vijayanagara was also still retained 'as Dēvarāja had assumed the imperial titles by 1669.—S. V. V.]

¹ M. A. R. 1920. P. 40.

Dēva Rāja, the crown prince (Yuva Rāja).¹ The latter was of considerable assistance to him in the course of his campaigns, particularly in the East and the South.² The evidence of epigraphy establishes that by 1667 the wars of Dēva Rāja were over. It is exactly at this point that the narrative of Tirumalārya stops abruptly. Inscriptions are the only authorities for the history of the next 22 years of Dēva Rāja's reign. These records during this period do not refer to any conquest but consolidation and peaceful administration of the kingdom, furnishing at the same time some clue regarding the attitude of Dēva Rāja towards Chikka Dēva Rāja, his eldest nephew, the crown prince.

Dēva Rāja's inscriptions bear out that from 1662 up to 1669 he was ruling his kingdom from both Śrīrangapatana and Mysore. The crown prince Chikka Dēva Rāja, as we may naturally expect, was not set over Mysore, since he was engaged in an active military career. Dēva Rāja, therefore, found it politically expedient to assume the dual role (king and subordinate prince) himself to preserve the family traditions.

The epigraphical records of Dēva Rāja from 1669 and onwards up to the close of his reign, however, strike a new line. They mention him as ruling the kingdom along with Kanthirava Arasu (Kanthiravayya), another nephew of his who is referred to as a subordinate prince. This indicates that Kanthirava Arasu ruled Mysore (the patrimony) under the authority and control of his uncle ruling from Śrīrangapatana.³ This sudden departure from the original arrangement, effected by Dodda Dēva Rāja

¹ Chikkadēva Rāya Vijayam, V. Canto. (Select extracts.)

² *Ibid.*

³ E. C. IV ii Hg. 119; Hs. 139; Hg. 120; Hg. 57

„ III i Ml. 63.

Wadeyar, is significant. The reason for this is to be explained by the circumstance that there was some domestic trouble to Dēva Rāja in 1669, shortly after the death of Dodda Dēva Rāja Wadeyar. It seems quite reasonable to suppose that Chikka Dēva Rāja, the crown prince, was elated with his achievements during his uncle's wars and resented the assumption of high-sounding titles¹ by the latter. Moreover, young and ambitious as he was, he must have been waiting for an opportunity to overthrow the rule of his imperious uncle. He could not do so, so long as his father was alive, for, in that case, he would only be corrected by him and put again under his uncle. So, immediately after the death of his father, Chikka Dēva Rāja must have rebelled against his uncle Dēva Rāja who must have promptly kept him under restraint. Consequently, Dēva Rāja preferred the mild and submissive younger nephew, Kanthirava Arasu, to the overbearing Chikka Dēva and accordingly made him Yuva Rāja, setting him over Mysore. Hence, the appearance of the name of Kanthirava Arasu as a joint ruler² in the later records of Dēva Rāja's reign. There is reason

¹ M. A. R. 1908-09. My. 114;

E. C. III (i) T. N. 23;

SR. 13.

„ IV. (ii) YD. 53.

„ XII Kg. 33.

M. A. R. 1911-12. P. 56.

Ex.: Mūrumaneyara Gaṇḍa (champion over three chiefs), parārāya bhayankara (dreaded by enemy kings), Hindurāya Suratrāpa (Sultan of Hindu Kings); "Chatussamudrādhiśvara" (Lord of the world as far as the four oceans); Rājādhirāja; nānā varṇa makuta maṇḍalikara gaṇḍa (champion over chiefs of many coloured crowns), etc.

These titles were those of the Vijayanagara Emperors. The substitution of 'Manneyara' and 'Maṇḍalikara' (Provincial Chieftains) for 'Rāyara' (Kings) is significant.—S. V. V.

² *Ibid.*

³ M. A. R. 1920. P. 40.

to believe³ that Dēva Rāja, who had no issues, wanted his younger nephew to succeed him under these circumstances.

The evidence of the first inscription¹ of Chikkadēva Rāja (1673) tends to show that during the last four years of his uncle's reign, he was virtually a prisoner and that he had some troubles in gaining the throne. Epigraphical evidence² also points to the view that there must have been a sort of civil war or feud between the two brothers Kanthirava Arasu and Chikkadēva, in which the mild Kanthirava was deposed and Chikkadēva succeeded unopposed as the lawful claimant as originally arranged by his father. A grant of Kanthirava-arasu of 1676³ indicates that after his deposition he was allowed to live in peace in some part of the kingdom. After this date we know nothing about him (Kanthirava) in the present state of our epigraphical knowledge.

The actual circumstances connected with the confinement of Chikka Dēva Rāja, are, however, involved in obscurity.⁴ Literary sources are silent on this point. But the evidence of epigraphy only tends to show that Chikka Dēva Rāja was kept under restraint between 1669 and 1673. It was perhaps this attitude of Dēva Rāja towards his nephew, which was later on responsible for his (Dēva Rāja's) being neglected at the hands of the court chroniclers.

¹ M. A. R. 1920, P. 40. The Hullamballi copper plate inscription:—

"It is stated as a reason for the grant that the Prasāda (remains of holy offerings) of God Mallikārjuna of Śrī Śaila presented by the Swāmi of the Maṭha (of Hullamballi) enabled him to gain undisputed possession of the kingdom." (Mr. R. Narasimhāchār.)

² E. C. III, T. N. 96.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ (1) The Palace Ms. version (Rf. Extracts) that in 1662 Chikka dēva Rāja was married and sent to Hangala by his father Doḍḍa Dēva Rāja, for being educated and kept there in strict discipline and control, lest he should fall into evil ways (if he stayed in the capital),—is at

Dēva Rāja continued the policy of his predecessors regarding patronage of literary men: Chāmayya was his Court Poet and wrote the "Dēva Rāja Sāngatya." In this work the poet gives us some account of his patron and describes the Karnāṭaka country and Mysore as an eye-witness. His poem is, however, incomplete. Apart from this, we do not at present know any other works written during Dēva Rāja's reign under his patronage. Dēva Rāja was the contemporary of the galaxy of brilliant poets, who, under his successor, enriched Kannāḍa literature to a remarkable extent. Tirumalārya, Chikkupādhyāya, Timma Kavi, Vēṇugōpāla Varaprasāda and Chidānanda refer to his rule as already pointed out. From the tenor of some of the numerous grants¹ of Dēva Rāja it is evident that some of these authors were encouraged by him. From this standpoint it is reasonable to regard him as having prepared the way for the literary Renaissance under his illustrious successor.

variance with the evidence of literary sources and epigraphy, according to which he stayed in the capital and ruled with his uncle as Yuvarāja till 1669. Hence, it is unsafe to rely upon it.

(2) The "Kaifiyat" clearly says that Chikka Dēva was kept in confinement during Dēva Rāja's reign. It is, however, silent regarding the date and the actual circumstances connected with it.

(3) The view that Chikka Dēva Rāja was, with his father, placed in confinement at Hangala (*Wilks. I., P. 36; Rice I., P. 365*), is erroneous: A legend must have grown up in later times after the renunciation of Doḍḍa Dēva Rāja and his departure towards the south (Gundlu-Terakanāmbi region) accompanied by his first brother Chikka Dēva Rāja (according to Tirumalārya). This must have led to the notion that both of them were in prison. Since, out of confusion, no distinction was made regarding the names of sons of Muppina Dēva Rāja, the tradition that both father and son were in prison crept into later Manuscripts.

¹ E. C. III, T. N. 23; IV, ii YD. 43 and 54.

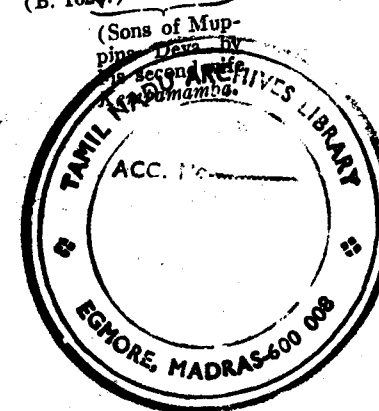
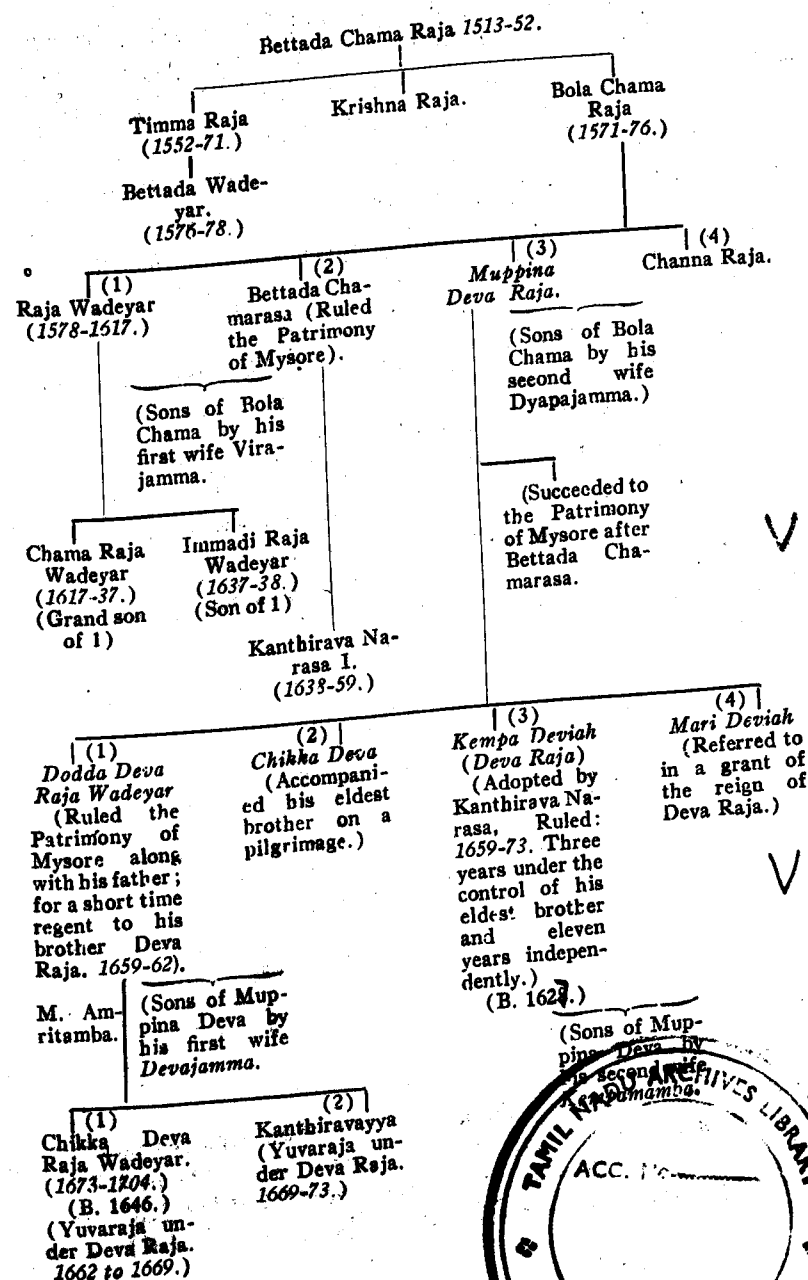
It is held by all the authorities that Dēva Rāja (known by confusion and mistake as Doḍḍa Dēva Rāja) ruled Mysore for thirteen years (1659 to 1672). According to Vēnugōpāla, a contemporary, Dēva Rāja ruled the kingdom for fourteen years (1659 to 1673). His testimony is supported by an inscription¹ recording a grant of three villages by Rājādhiraṇa Rājaparamēśvara Dēva Rāja-bhupāla Mahārāya for the decorations, illuminations and offerings to his family Goddess Chāmundēśvari (Mahiṣāsura Mardini). The grant is dated² Pramāḍīcha, Śrāvaṇa, Śu. 15. This corresponds to 19-7-1673 A.D. The first grant of Chikkadēva Rāja Wāḍeyar is dated 2nd August 1673. (Pramāḍīcha, Śrāvaṇa Ba. 30.) It is therefore evident that Dēva Rāja Wāḍeyar died somewhere between these dates. In the light of these records the usually accepted date (1672) for the death of Dēva Rāja, has to be rejected.

¹ E. C. XII, TP. 106.

Also cf. Vēnugōpāla Varaprasāda's account of his reign (Extracts).

² E. C. III, i T.N. 54 also refers to Dēva Rāja's rule in 1673 (S. 1594, Paridhāvi. Māgha Śu. 7 Wednesday-15-1-1673). It was about 7 months later, that Dēva Rāja died. (E. C. XII, TP. 106).

APPENDIX A.



CHIKKADEVARĀJA WAḌEYAR OF MYSORE AND HIS SUCCESSORS (1673-1761)

BY N. SUBBA RAU, M.A.

THE political history of Mysore during the period 1673-1761 is known to readers from Wilks' *History* and other works. Yet, for a proper appreciation of the history of this period, it is necessary to treat the subject afresh with special reference to the original data available.

I. The Background of Chikkadevarāja's Reign

It has been shown¹ that Chikkadevarāja Waḍeyar (1673-1704), son of Doḍḍa Devarāja Waḍeyar by Amritāmbā, was the *nephew* and *successor* of *Devarāja Waḍeyar* (younger brother of Doḍḍa Devarāja), the actual ruler of Mysore after Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Waḍeyar I. It has also been pointed out that there was some difficulty connected with Chikkadevarāja's accession to the throne consequent on the intricate succession question which arose during the last year of Kanṭhīrava's reign. Chikkadevarāja not only over-awed opposition but also established himself as the foremost independent prince in the Karnāṭaka country [cf. his inscriptions²]. This position was the outcome of two causes: firstly, the extinction of the imperial sway of the Āraṇṇīḍu dynasty of Vijayanagara; secondly, the gradual loosening of the hold of the Muhammadans on South India in general and Mysore in particular, owing to the rise of the Marāṭhas on the one hand and the pressure of the Moghuls on the other. Although much of the ground for the political advancement of Mysore had been prepared by Devarāja Waḍeyar, it is certain that Chikkadevarāja took full advantage of the favourable atmosphere in the country at the time of his accession, not only to deal effectively with the turbulent

¹ Vide *Devarāja Waḍeyar of Mysore*, (1659-73), in the *Half-Yearly Journal of the Mysore University*, Vol. III (i).

² *M.A.R.*, 1920, p. 40; 1911-12, pp. 56-7; *E.C.*, XII, Kg. 7 etc.

elements in all directions but also to plan earnestly and work out systematically the reorganization and adoption of measures of administration which has made him famous in history. Judged from this standpoint, the inauguration of Chikkadevarāja's rule is very significant.

II. Chikkadevaraja and his Contemporaries

Chikkadevarāja was a contemporary of the Marāṭhas, the Deccani Muhammadans, the Moghul Emperor (Aurangzebe), the Nāyaks of Madura and numerous chieftains or Pallegars of the Karnāṭaka country. Of his relations with these powers, we have some accounts in literary, epigraphical and other records. In his conquests he was considerably helped by his Commanders-in-Chief, Komārayya and Doḍḍayya who, according to a manuscript,¹ 'were sincere supporters and establishers of the Royal House'.

A copperplate inscription² dated November 22, 1674, has the following: "When the heroic Chikkadevarāja went

¹ *Mysūru Rājara Charitre*, by Venkaṭaramaṇayya.

² *M.A.R.*, 1911-12, pp. 56-7; for the text, see *Ep. Car.*, Mysore Dt., Suppl. Vol.

In view of the importance of this inscription historically, it is noticed here in some detail:—

(i) *Date, Language, Author, etc.*: The inscription, in 9 plates, is dated Ānanda-Mārgasira ba. 3, corresponding to November 22, 1674. It is mainly Sanskrit, only the concluding portion being Kannaḍa. The characters are Nāgari and Kanarese. Rāmāyaṇam Tirumalārya was the author of this inscription which records the grant to Brahmins of 16 villages divided into 80 Vrittis in the Mādalanāḍu in the Karnāṭaka country. The information relating to the contemporary event is incidentally given while describing the king's qualities, achievements, titles, etc. The record is impressed with the figure of a Boar (Varāha mudrā), the crest of the Mysore Waḍeyar dynasty; and is authenticated by the King's signature. The genuineness of the document is beyond doubt.

(ii) *Relevant passages:*

(a) Plate No. 3 (A): (Sanskrit)

.....Marāṭha varshman dādoji jaitaji mukham nihanti saharischikha-
deva mūrtih | Sambustambhita vikramah kutupsāho S sou hatāso hatādikkeri-
basavopi dhikkrtimagālēkōji rekōjani | dādoji bhidi jaitaji jatsuvatosarvāṅga
nāsāchhidi | Sri Vira Chikadevarājani pato yuddhāya baddhādare ||

forth for war, Sambu lost his valour, Kutub Shah was disappointed, Ikkeri Basava was put to scorn, Ekōji was left alone, the Marāṭha warriors with Dādoji and Jaitāji were slain, and Jaśavant sustained loss of nose and limbs. Chikka-
devarāja had the following among other titles: 'Emperor of Karnāṭaka', 'Champion over the enemies, the prominent and mighty Marāṭha leaders such as Jaitāji, Dādoji, Haraji, Sambuji, Śahaji, Ekōji and Śivāji', 'Unparalleled hero'."

(b) The important titles, including the names of the Marāṭha leaders, occur in a passage, in plate 9 (A), not hitherto noticed:

.....Karnāṭaka chakravarti....jayitaji dādoji haraji sambuji śahaji
ēkōji śivāji pramukha prabala mahārāṣṭra bhūpāla jāla ripu vijaya kalila
durdānta sāmanta makuṭa māni....apratimavira naraṇpati, chikkadevarāja
waḍeyaravaru....

(iii) *Note*: Mysore, under Chikkadevarāja, began her aggressions against Ikkeri in 1674, and it is possible while doing so came into contact for the first time with a portion of the Marāṭha and Golkonda forces on the territorial borders of their ally—Ikkeri. It may be doubted whether all the persons mentioned in these passages were present on the occasion, but it would be clear that Chikkadevarāja had a knowledge of them all as early as 1674. *Sambu*: The reference here is to Sāmbāji, son of Śivāji. The prominence given to Sāmbāji in passage (a) would indicate that he led a portion of the Marāṭha forces in Canara in 1674, Śivāji being otherwise engaged in the Deccan (during July-October 1674). *Kutub Shah*: The ruler of Golkonda. The mention of this name would suggest that already in 1674 he was allied with Śivāji. According to Wilks (I. p. 80) Śivāji exacted a contribution of three lakhs of pagodās from Golkonda concluding an alliance between him and Bijāpūr and Golkonda against the Moghuls in 1672. Golkonda was an ally of Ikkeri also, a buffer State in those days. A new alliance between Śivāji and Golkonda and Bijāpūr for the conquest of the Karnāṭaka was formed in 1677. It was probably when the old alliance still continued that in 1674 the Marāṭhas, Golkonda and Ikkeri came into contact with the Mysore army on the borders of Ikkeri. *Ikkeri Basava*: The circumstance of Ikkeri or Bednur forming the starting point of Śivāji's contemplated new kingdom (Kincaid and Parasnīs: *Marāṭhas*, I, p. 253) would indicate that its ruler Basappa Nāyaka (Basava), countenanced such an idea, being the hereditary enemy of Mysore. According to *Kcṇadi Nriṇa Vijayam*, there was friendship between Ikkeri and the house of Śivāji. By Chikkadevarāja's opposition it was natural that Basappa 'was put to scorn'. *Ekōji* (Venkoji): Half-brother of Śivāji. The allies seem to have been prevented from joining Ekōji who retired to Bangalore. Hence the expression 'was left alone'. In 1675 Ekōji took Tanjore from *Aḷagiri* (vide *History of the Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 167). *Dādoji, Jaitāji* (also called *Dādoji Kākada* and *Jaitājighāt* in literary works), *Jaśavant* (Yaśvant Rao), Marāṭha generals; cutting off noses was a feature of warfare in the Mysore army, though, here, it is somewhat exaggerated. We have

This information is neither corroborated nor contradicted elsewhere. Details as to the date when, and the place where, the Mysore army fought against the Marāṭhas, Muhammadans and the Nāyaka of Ikkeri in 1674 are not to be found in this inscription. However, we know¹ that in 1674 the Mysore army under Daḷavoy Komārayya was in Ikkeri. We can thus infer that as early as 1674 Chikkadevarāja had a knowledge of the Marāṭha leaders of the time including Śivāji and that the Mysore army on the borders of Ikkeri opposed a portion of the forces of the Marāṭhas, Golkonḍa and Ikkeri (probably during the monsoon season—July to October) causing some loss of life among the enemies. The event seems to have been very important from the point of view of Mysore since Chikkadevarāja was the foremost ruler in the Kanarese country. Though in his title Chikkadevarāja claims victory over Śivāji, it is clear that he did not actually come into contact with him since the latter was at that time in the Deccan, engaged as he was against Bahadur Khan, the Moghul General.² Yet as a possible rival to Śivāji in respect of his design³ 'to win a new kingdom which would stretch right across South India from Bednore to Tanjore,' Chikkadevarāja assumed the titles, *Karnāṭaka chakravarti* and *Apratimavīra*, and began his aggressions in all directions shortly after 1674.

many such instances in Mysore history. *Sāhaji*: The reference here is to Shāhji II, son of Ēkōji, and not to Shāhji, the father of Śivāji and Ēkōji, who died in January 1664. *Haraji*: Śivāji's lieutenant; afterwards became Governor of Ginji. *Sivāji*: In the monsoon season of 1674 Śivāji was engaged against Bahadur Khan, the Moghul General, in the Deccan. One of the conditions of the alliance of 1677 between Śivāji and Bijāpur and Golkonḍa, namely, that Śivāji 'was to have a free hand against the Hindu chiefs of the South' (Kincaid and Parasnis: *Marāṭhas*, I. p. 254), would go to show that he had some knowledge of the South, the Marāṭhas having come into contact with the Mysoreans in 1674. It is, however, clear that Śivāji himself did not take part in the event of 1674 in the South (i.e., near Ikkeri).

¹ *Keladi Nriṣa Vijayam*, p. 133.

² J. Sarkar: *Aurangzeb*, 4, 209.

³ Kincaid and Parasnis: *Marāṭhas*, I, 253: the design is said to have been conceived by Śivāji shortly after his coronation (6th June 1674).

It is accepted that Śivāji was in the Karnāṭak during 1677 when he not only took his ancestral possessions¹ there, but also conquered the eastern, central and northern plateau in Mysore.² We are told that by November 1677 the whole of the Karnāṭak was 'peeled to the bones' by Śivāji's system of organized plunder and exaction, and the turbulent Pallegars were repressed.³ In August 1677 shortly after his famous interview with his brother, Venkoji (Ēkōji), at Tanjore and the acquisition of Ginji in the Upper Carnatic, we learn 'It is believed, he robbed Seringapatam and carried away great riches from there'.⁴ The available evidence on the Marāṭha side does not specifically mention Śivāji's advance to Seringapatam in August 1677, nor do the Jesuit letters. On the other hand, though there is a paucity of more reliable sources of evidence on the Mysore side, we have the following in Kanarese contemporary literary sources⁵: 'The rulers of the countries around Agra, Delhi and Bhāganagar (Hyderabad) had

¹ Ārṇi, Bangalore, Hoskote, Balapur and Śira (Kincaid and Parasnis: *Marāṭhas*, I, 258; J. Sarkar: *Sivāji*, 394).

² Śivāji, after these conquests, marched from Śira to Kopal, then to Gadag and Laksmēśvar, then Bankapur and from there retraced his steps northwards arriving at Belgaum in March 1678 (Sarkar: *Aur.*, IV, 218; 231-32; *Sivāji*, 394).

³ Sarkar: *Loc. cit.*

⁴ Orme: *Historical Fragments*, p. 233 (Quoted in *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 175). Letter dated 24-8-1677 (Bombay Factory Records).

⁵ Chikkadevarāja Binnapa: *Gītā Gōpāla*; commentary on the Mahābhārata; Colophons.

(Old Kannada): *Bhayadindāgara ḍiḷḷi bhāganagara prāntaṅgaḷḷuḍḍugar jayajaya yendidiritta kappalodavim pemperi banda, Kannada nādam pokka Sivājiya sorkam muridikki apratimavīrabhikṣyam tālḍidam.*

Note.—Śivāji's depredatory activities in Agra, Delhi, Bijāpur, Golkonḍa and Bhāganagar went on for a decade (1667–1677). He was at Bhāganagar in February 1677, after which he entered the Karnāṭak (Sarkar, IV, 216). The passage speaks of Chikkadevarāja as though meeting Śivāji immediately after he entered the Karnāṭak, which is impossible in the light of known facts; Śivāji first entered the Madras plains, and proceeded as far as Tanjore, acquired provinces north of the Coleroon, and by November 1677 had conquered the eastern, central and northern Mysore plateau, finally reaching Belgaum in March 1678. He could have approached Seringapatam only in August 1677 shortly after his acquisition of Tanjore and Ginji.

with fear brought tribute, and placed it before Śivāji saying 'Victory, Lord'. Swollen with pomp, the famous Śivāji entered the Kannada country. Chikkadevarāja humbled his pride and gained the title of *Apratimavīra*.¹ The *Apratimavīracharitam*, a work on *alamkāra* (rhetoric) attributed to Chikkadevarāja, is a poetical expression of the same version. The title *Apratimavīra* occurs in almost all the records¹ of Chikkadevarāja's reign; and the version is found repeated in an epigraphical record of as late² as 1722. Of these the selection from the Bombay Factory Records quoted above refers only to a belief or hearsay statement unconfirmed by other sources. As regards the literary version on the Mysore side, it is not clear when and in what place Chikkadevarāja and Śivāji met each other and how the title (*Apratimavīra*) was acquired. We know, however, that the title *Apratimavīra* was not acquired or gained, but only assumed by Chikkadevarāja in 1674. Chikkadevarāja's direct contact with Śivāji in 1677 was, therefore, possibly clothed in literary flourishes by the court bards of the time.

An examination of all the available sources thus far would lead us to the following view. It is probable that Śivāji in August 1677 on his way from Ginji proceeded as far as Seringapatam with a view to plunder or exact tribute from the Rāja, since he had already a knowledge³ of the latter's state and resources during his march to Tanjore. It is to be doubted whether Chikkadevarāja, already a powerful ruler, readily submitted⁴ at all to Śivāji who must have found in him a very formidable opponent. It is possible that Śivāji, equally a powerful protagonist with a record of

¹ SR. 94, NJ. 41, MI. 16, TM. 45.

Ag. 2 dated 8th May 1677 is a *nirūpa*: refers to *Apratimalla*, as a title of Chikkadevarāja indicating that he was an unequalled or unparalleled champion.

² SR. 64: Tonjanur copperplate of Krishnarāja I of Mysore.

³ Sarkar: *Sivaji*, p. 389.

⁴ The statement that Śivāji in 1677 advanced to Seringapatam and exacted tribute from the Rāja (Satyanatha Iyer: *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 177), is not borne out by the available sources.

uninterrupted success in South India, might have been ultimately bought off by the Rāja who,¹ while remaining unsubdued, obliged him to turn towards other places in the Karnāṭak. The irruption of Śivāji could only have been a passing incident in the history of Mysore, for during 1677-80 Chikkadevarāja became more and more prominent, since Śivāji, the two Muhammadan Kingdoms of the Deccan and the Moghul lieutenants found in one another 'opponents too powerful to admit of their attending in the manner required to the gradual and skilful encroachments of the Rāja'.²

Chikkadevarāja viewed with alarm the predatory activities of the Marāṭhas under the successors of Śivāji and dealt tactfully with them in the consolidation of his position in Mysore. In 1680 Sāmbāji, son of Śivāji, shortly after the latter's death, advanced on the Karnāṭaka country on his way to the South to claim his father's inheritance in Ginji and Tanjore. Chikkadevarāja at first arrested³ his progress on Mysore. But Sāmbāji marched on the South at a time when the Mysore army under the celebrated general Komārayya was engaged in the siege of Trichinopoly. In 1682, a combination of Venkoji (Ēkōji), Sāmbāji and Chokkanātha of Madura was formed against Komārayya. When the latter was negotiating with Chokkanātha to drive out Venkoji and Sāmbāji and revive Nāyaka rule in Ginji and Tanjore, the Mysore General's letters to the Rāja for additional help were intercepted, and Komārayya was defeated and captured by Haraji (called also Arasumalai)⁴, the Governor of Ginji and the Commander-in-Chief of Sāmbāji, along with 2,000 horse.⁵

¹ The omission of Southern Karnāṭak (the country of the Rāja of Mysore) among the conquests of Śivāji (Sarkar: *Aur.*, 4, 218, 231-32) is significant indicating probably that that part was not subdued, the Rāja having proved a formidable rival to Śivāji.

² Wilks: I, 91.

³ *Chikkadevaraja Binnaṇa*, etc.:

Sivaji suta Sāmbāji yelgeya nurbukorbūmam teḷḷanegaida nadbhuta parākrāmadim.

⁴ History of the Nāyaks of Madura, by Satyanatha Iyer, pp. 181-83.

⁵ Sarkar: *Aur.*, V, p. 53: The event is dated March 1683 in this work, but we have a Jesuit letter of 1682 referring to it (Bertrand: Letter No. 7, Appendix: *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 288).

The ruler of Trichinopoly was forced to submit to the Ginji government, and Sāmbāji established himself there. It was a complete success over the Mysore armies who were driven from 'the provinces and citadels' they had taken from the Nāyaka of Madura. Between 1682-86 Sāmbāji, assisted by the Nāyaks of Ikkeri, Canara and the Shah of Golkonḍa, is said to have 'mercilessly conducted war against Mysore,' desolating the country and forcing the Rāja to apply for help to the Moghul, and exact money from the provinces to provide money for the expenses of war. This, we are told, brought about a revolt of the subjects against the Rāja in 1686.¹ It was, however, put down with an iron hand, and law and order restored in the land.² In 1686 Chikkadevarāja retrieved the honour of Mysore by paying off³ Sāmbāji and obtaining the release of the General, thus bringing to an end 'the atrocious wars between Mysore and Sāmbāji'. Not only this. The diplomacy of Chikkadevarāja succeeded in detaching Sāmbāji from Golkonḍa and Bijapur and enabling Aurangzebe to capture them⁴ (1686-87). Chikkadevarāja also subdued the Morasa, Tigula, Koḍaga and the Maleyāla chieftains who had proceeded against him relying on the Marāṭha alliance.⁵

¹ Bertrand : Letter No. 7 (*ibid.*).

² *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 194.

³ *Vide* No. 17 f. n.

Mattamā sambhojige kappavittum kūṭamam kaḷuṇi.

Note :—This passage is significant. The object in paying off Sāmbāji was evidently to ransom Komārayya, the Mysore General. In the light of what we know from other sources, *Kappam* in this passage cannot be literally taken as tribute.

Kūṭa refers to the large crowd of the Marāṭhas, assembled to receive the ransom, preparatory to the release of the General.

⁴ *Ḍiḷḷiyāḷva mahāpādushāhanenisiwa avaranga sāhanam barisi | Avanin-divara (Golkonḍe Bijāpuradavara) deṭa koṣaḷam kaisēregonḍu ||*

Note :—In averting an attack of the Marāṭhas on Mysore, Chikkadevarāja held up Sāmbāji in the South, enabling Aurangzebe to crush Bijāpur and Golkonḍa, equally enemies of Mysore. It was subsequently easy for Aurangzebe to deal with Sāmbāji.

⁵ *Mattaniā marāṭarāṭopamam nambi mumbaridu eḍa baḷadoḷinisiṃ pūnarda morasa tigula koḍaga maleyāla nāḍa manneyaram bannam baḍisi.*

This passage is interesting, throwing as it does light on the heterogeneous elements of the Marāṭha army in the seventeenth century.

An interesting feature of Chikkadevarāja's connection with the Deccani Muhammadans was the extension of the sphere of influence of Mysore in the North. His defeat of Raṇadullā Khan¹ in 1675, accompanied by the acquisition of Ketasamudra, Kandikere, Handalakere, Gūlūr, Tumkur and Honnavalli in the modern Tumkur district, was an important event in this connection pointing to the dwindling of Muhammadan power in the Karnāṭaka-Bijapur-Bālaghāt. A record² of Raṇadullā Khan dated 1676 indicates that the administration of the Muhammadan possessions in this region was in the hands of Hindu and Muhammadan officials. In the same year Chikkadevarāja acquired Bommasamudra from Hussein Khan,³ another General. The wars between the Mughals and Bijāpur and Golkonḍa during 1674-75 naturally diverted the attention of the latter from their Karnāṭaka possessions, of which Chikkadevarāja was the first to take the fullest possible advantage in the consolidation of his position.

To turn to Chikkadevarāja's relations with the Karnāṭak Paḷlegars, we know that already in 1674 he put 'Ikkeri Basava to scorn'. In 1675 he smote the Keḷadi kings,⁴ with the Yavanas, took Sakleśpur and Arakalgud, defeated in battle Mushtika (Narasappa Waḍeyar) who was aided by the *Morasas* and *Kirāṭas*, seized Jaḍakanadurga and changed its

¹ *M.A.R.*, 1908-09, p. 26. We know nothing of Raṇadullā Khan from other available sources, especially after his first invasion of Seringapatam in 1638-39. It is possible that he was allowed to live in his fief in the Tumkur district, till late in the seventeenth century.

² *Ibid.*, 1922, pp. 122-23.

³ *Palace History* : Extracts.

⁴ *M.A.R.*, 1908-09, p. 26. It has been assumed that Chikkadevarāja was a contemporary of Śivappa Nāyaka I of Ikkeri (1646-1661) (*vide Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 172). Śivappa was, however, a contemporary of Devarāja Waḍeyar of Mysore (1659-73). Chikkadevarāja's reign coincided with that of Channammāji of Ikkeri (1672-1698) who ruled assisted by her adopted son, Basappa Nāyaka, eldest son of Śivappa Nāyaka II (*vide Keḷadi Nriṇa Vijayam*). Hence the reference to *Keḷadi Kings*. Mysore was the bone of contention between Ikkeri (or Keḷadi) and Madura, and the aggressive wars between these powers were waged with varying degrees of success in the seventeenth century. The Mysore armies were termed *Māyāvigaḷ* (enchanters or deluders) by the Nāyaks of Ikkeri.

name to Chikkadevarāyadurga. He also took Doḍḍadeva-gaganagiri from Chikkappa Gauḍa, another Pallegar, in the same year. In 1679 Chikkadevarāja penetrated the interior of the modern Tumkur district taking Maddagiri, Miḍigeśi, Bijjavara and Channarāyadurga, having conquered Tim-mappa Gauḍa and Rāmappa Gauḍa.¹ In 1686 he was again victorious over the army of the Keḷadi kings capturing the elephant, Gangādhara, and took the impregnable and celebrat-ed fortresses of Hassan and Sakkarepatna.² In 1690 he took Bāṇavar, Kadur, Chickmagalūr and Belūr from Vēṇkaṭādrī Nāyaka.³ His activities in the Karnāṭaka continued down to 1694 resulting in the extension of territorial jurisdiction in the modern Tumkur, Hassan and Kadur districts.

In the country to the east and south of his kingdom Chikkadevarāja's activities began as early as 1673⁴ continu-ing off and on down to 1698; but his aggressions in these directions began definitely after 1674. In the inscription of that year we are told that he was 'a bitter foe to the Pāṇdyas, Chōlas and Keraḷas' also. In 1675⁵ he defeated Chokkanātha, the Nāyaka of Madura (1659-82), seizing Tripura (Trichino-poly), Muttānjattī and Anantagiri. We are also told that he was 'victorious over the lord of Madura in the Erode country, slew Dāmarlaiyapendra, his general, put to flight Anantoji, captured the elephant, Kulasekhara, and took by assault Sāmballi, Omalūru and Dhārāpuram.'⁶ In a later inscrip-tion⁷ we note that Chikkadevarāja 'emulated the sports of Krishṇa in conquering the lord of Madura'. Erode was taken

¹ SR. 151.

² SR. 14: This *coup d'état* followed probably after Chikkadevarāja got rid of the attacks of Sāmbāji, with whom Ikkeri had been allied.

³ Venugopālavaraṇasada: *Chikkadevarāja Vamsāvaḷi. Palace History: Extracts.*

⁴ *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 171; Chikkadevarāja, as Yuvarāja, also took part in his uncle Devarāja Waḍeyar's campaigns in the South (1662-1669). [vidé: *Devarāja Waḍeyar of Mysore in the Mys. Uni. Jour.*, III (1).]

⁵ *M.A.R.*, 1908-09, p. 26.

⁶ SR., 14.

⁷ SR., 64 of 1722.

from Makkāji Redḍi and the chief was pardoned; and Torenāḍu in the South was occupied.¹ The Jesuit letter of 1676 speaks of Mysore fortifying the citadels taken from the Nāyaks of Madura.² In 1677 Anḍūr was taken from Ghaṭṭi Mudaliar.³ In 1682 Trichinopoly was lost by Mysore, being taken by Sāmbāji. Mysore retained a portion of the Madura kingdom in the South, and during 1682-86⁴ the power of the Rāja there is said to have been on the wane, on account of the depredations of Sāmbāji.⁵ The extent of Chikkadeva-rāja's kingdom in 1686 is clear from the establishment by him of inns (satras) to the east from Sakkarepatna, to the west from Saleyapuram (Salem), to the south from Chikkanāyaka-napura (Chikkanāyakanahalli), and to the north from Dhārā-puram, at every yōjana (about nine English miles) on every road.⁶ Mysore soon recovered from the crisis. In 1689-90 Chikkadevarāja renewed his activities. Āvaniperur, Coimba-tore, Mannārguḍi and Kunturdurga were acquired. By 1694 Salem, Satyamangalam, Nāmakal and a large part of Bārā-mahal were recovered from Chinnappa Nāyaka. Between 1694-96 Salem and Coimbatore were again invaded and the local chiefs subdued. In 1697 Daḷavoy Komārappa was sent a second time by Chikkadevarāja to lay siege to Trichinopoly. The Daḷavoy is said to have vowed not to return to Mysore without capturing that city, but an attack of the Marāṭhas (under Jayāji Ghat and Nimbāji Ghat) on Mysore in that year occasioned the recall of a portion of his army, and he returned to Mysore in 1698, having probably effected nothing.⁷

In 1687 Chikkadevarāja acquired Bangalore by purchase (for three lakhs of rupees), as is well known. In the same year while negotiations for the transfer of Bangalore were

¹ *Hastigiri Māhātmya*: Introduction.

² *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 162.

³ *Palace History*: Extracts.

⁴ Corresponding with the reign of Muttuvīrappa Nāyaka III (1682-89).

⁵ Bertrand: Letter No. 7 (p. 288, *ibid.*).

⁶ SR. 14.

⁷ *Palace History*: Extracts, *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 207.

proceeding, Haraji, the Governor of Ginji, and Kāsim Khan, the Moghul General, the two competitors, simultaneously proceeded against the place, but Haraji's detachment soon retired without any opposition and Bangalore was invaded (in June) by the Moghuls. Kāsim Khān remained as the Governor of the uplands with Sira as his headquarters. Bangalore was handed over to Chikkadevarāja on payment of the stipulated sum. It remained, however, as the base of operations for the Moghuls in South India.¹ The Moghul arms proceeded as far as Tanjore and Trichinopoly in 1691 levying tribute from those places. The kingdom of Mysore, though not conquered by them on grounds of policy, became coterminous with the Moghul Empire. In October and November 1695 the Karnāṭaka was raided by the Marāṭhas under Śāntaji Ghorpaḍe, and the Moghul Deccan was infested by Marāṭha Captains.² The Moghul arms under Kāsim Khan sustained some reverses. There was no peace in the South until Śāntaji's death in June 1697 when the Moghuls were left undisputed masters of the Deccan. About this time when the Mysore army under Daḷavoy Komārayya was engaged in the renewed siege of Trichinopoly, two Marāṭha Generals by name Jayāji Ghat and Nimbāji Ghat, provoked by the aggressions of Chikkadevarāja, passed towards the western country in support of Ginji and Drāviḍa, and attacked Seringapatam with Marāṭha auxiliaries. They were skilfully and successfully repulsed by a portion of the Mysore army under Daḷvay Dodḍayya (son of Komārayya), and the Marāṭha Generals killed, their heads being paraded in Seringapatam.³ The Marāṭha menace to Mysore during the reign of Chikkadevarāja was at last over.

It was two years later that an important event took place in Mysore—the embassy of Chikkadevarāja to the court of Aurangzebe. We have at present no details on the Marāṭha side, and our main sources of information are the manuscripts

¹ Wilks, I, 91-92.

² Sarkar : *Aur.*, V, 110, 126-27.

³ *Palace History* : Extracts ; Wilks, I, 95-96.

relied upon by Col. Wilks and the *Palace History*. The details narrated in these sources indicate the rise of the Rāja of Mysore in the estimation of the Emperor on account of his services to the cause of the Moghul Empire, particularly in making the path clearer to the Emperor by arresting the progress of the Marāṭhas. While it is possible that Chikkadevarāja's ulterior aim was to secure or win the goodwill of the Emperor, it is certain that the Rāja's main object in repulsing the Marāṭhas was to keep his own kingdom free from their encroachments, as we have already seen. The object with which the embassy (under Karṇik Lingannaṃyaya, the Vakil of Chikkadevarāja) was sent was, according to *Palace History*, 'to strike terror to the mischievous Pallegars (who, out of jealousy of the Rāja's position, were plotting against him) by cultivating friendship with the Emperor.' Such a policy was justified from a local point of view. A general knowledge of the conditions of the time would, however, show that Chikkadevarāja appears to have had other considerations also. He had watched keenly the trend of Moghul affairs from the fall of Bijapur and Golkonda (1686-87) down to the death of his 'friend and protector,' Kāsim Khan, the Moghul General, in 1698. The latter event was a great blow to the Rāja and he anticipated trouble to his kingdom from Kāsim Khan's successors, the Moghul Emperor, once friendly, being now probably jealous of the Rāja's position, and the Moghul arms also being powerful in the Deccan between 1698-1701. To save Mysore from a possible, and perhaps long-deferred, Moghul invasion, Chikkadevarāja appears to have found it politically expedient also to despatch a timely embassy and offer of friendship to the Emperor in 1699 to the latter's court at Ahmदनagar.¹ The embassy returned to Mysore in 1700 with the title, *Rājā Jagadev* (engraved on the signet ring), and permission to sit on the ivory throne, said to have been conferred by the Emperor on Chikkadevarāja. Although the embassy does not seem to

¹ Cf. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar's statement in *The Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 198, f.n.

have profoundly impressed Aurangzebe, as stated by Wilks,¹ its effect was spectacular, judging from the splendid reception accorded to the Khillats from the Moghul Court. The prestige of Mysore was enhanced locally: the Rāja, an independent ruler, became a power friendly with the Moghul Empire and secure from any internal or external troubles and introduced in Mysore new administrative institutions based on Moghul practice and procedure.

By assuming the titles *Karnāṭakachakravarti* and *Apratimavīra* as a possible rival of Śivāji and a representative of Hindu imperial traditions, Chikkadevarāja established himself as an important ruler in the Karnāṭaka country—especially over the turbulent Pallegars; by his varied activities in the southern country he became famous as *Tenkanarāya*² (Lord of the South); and by his relations with the Deccan kingdoms, the Marāṭhas and the Moghul Empire, he raised the status of Mysore during the critical period of the seventeenth century. He was thus able to check the encroachments of his contemporaries on his growing kingdom and build it on a sound basis. He also established an effective centralization over the conquered chiefs and reorganized the administration of the places occupied by him. At his death in 1704 his kingdom extended in the east as far as Salem and Baramahal, in the west as far as the modern Hassan and Kadur districts, in the south up to Coimbatore and Dhārāpuram and in the north as far as the modern Bangalore and Tumkur districts. Looked at from all these standpoints Chikkadevarāja's relations with his contemporaries have an abiding significance in the making of modern Mysore.

III. The Dalavoy Regime

The period of rule of the successors of Chikkadevarāja Wāḍeyar down to 1761 may be conveniently termed as the *Dalavoy Régime* or the *régime* of the Commanders-in-Chief of Mysore. As long as the strong hand of the king controlled the affairs of the State, the Commander-in-Chief was only a

¹ Wilks, I, 99-100.

² *Mysūru Rājara Charitre*: Extracts.

secondary element in the politics of the kingdom and, with a few exceptions, his services to the cause of the country were laudable.

With the accession of Kanṭhirava II (1704-14), son of Chikkadevarāja, however, a change set in. The Dalavoy of his reign seem to have taken advantage of his limitations and for the first time paved the way for their ascendancy.

Of Krishṇarāja Wāḍeyar I (1714-32), son of Kanṭhirava II, we have accounts in inscriptions and literary works; but he was, like his predecessor, essentially a pious and peaceful ruler. The administration of Mysore was carried on by Dalavoy Devarājayya assisted by Sarvādhikāri Nanjarājayya—both of them the king's close relatives. Thus the king gradually played himself into the hands of the Dalavoy and paved the way for retrogression in royal authority.

The short reign of Chāmarāja Wāḍeyar (1732-34), the adopted son of Krishṇarāja I, was characterized by an extreme preponderance of the Dalavoy and the officials over the administration of the kingdom. The deposition of Chāmarāja was followed by the rule of Krishṇarāja Wāḍeyar II (1734-66), another adopted son of Krishṇarāja I. During his period of office the actual administration was conducted by the Dalavoy, Devarājayya and Karāchuri Nanjarājayya, Sarvādhikāri Nanjarājayya, Venkatapathiah, Dewan Khande Rao and Hyder Ali Khan, while the king was occupied mostly in religious piety. This feature of his rule coupled with the constant bickerings among the officers was ultimately taken advantage of by Hyder Ali.

Although it might be held *a priori* that the Dalavoy was responsible for the historic *interregnum* of 1761, an examination of the evidence proves the contrary. The Dalavoy of the period, whatever their motives in the assumption of predominance over the administration, had the political advancement of the kingdom at heart. The Dalavoy of Kanṭhirava II's reign extended the Mysore frontier by their brilliant achievements. Dalavoy Devarājayya was instrumental in the acquisition of Kolar to Mysore during the reign

of Krishnarāja Wāḍeyar II. A letter¹ of his, dated 1751, details the transactions in this connection: "Ummāji Paṇḍit of Kolar has sent word to Daḷavoy Devarājayya of Mysore through Sābāji Nāyaka that in case assurance was given with regard to the maintenance of rights and privileges of the *Deshmukh*, *Deshpāṇḍe*, *Nāḍugauḍa* and others as heretofore, as also with regard to the expenses of the establishment, the salary of 400 Ōlekārs of Somaiya and the villages to be granted to himself, he would arrange for the transfer of Kolar to Mysore Government and send his own younger brother to Seringapatam. Devarājayya wrote to him in reply that he need not feel the least anxiety about any of the matters mentioned above in case the place was transferred to Mysore Government, and asked him to effect the transfer, looking upon the assurance given by Gōpālarājayya and Sābāji Nāyaka as assurance given by himself." This letter is sufficiently illustrative of the sincerity of Devarājayya's intentions in regard to the extension of the sphere of influence of Mysore over the territories occupied by the Marāṭhas. Devarājayya also conquered and annexed *Māgadi* from Mummadi Kempe Gowda.² His brother Karāchūri Nanjarājayya (of Kaḷale) acquired *Dhārānagara* and *Ballāpūr* for Mysore.³ The brothers also consolidated the position of Mysore in various parts of the country. There is thus enough data testifying to the energy and whole-hearted devotion of the Daḷavoys to the cause of the Kingdom of Mysore.

The *Bhāshāpatra* (deed of promise) and the *Nambuge Nirūpa* (Order of Assurance), the two important political documents⁴ executed in 1758 by Krishnarāja Wāḍeyar II in favour of Kaḷale Nanjarājayya by way of reconciliation with the latter prove clearly the evil of excessive devolution of power on the Commander-in-chief, of which advantage was

¹ *M.A.R.*, 1909-10, p. 42.

² *Kakudgiri Māhātmya* by Nanjarāja: Introduction, also *M.A.R.*, 1922, p. 16.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *E.C.*, IV (ii), N.J. 267 and 268.

later taken by the third party, Hyder Ali. The real force behind these documents was Hyder Ali himself, for it was he who, out of a diplomatic move, arranged for the reconciliation between Nanjarāja and the King.

For what followed after 1758, it is not fair to throw the entire blame on the Daḷavoys. The absence of strong personal rule of the King followed by its corollary, the prevalence of endless court intrigues, as also the lack of critical appreciation of the forces of the time, contributed, to a great extent, to the rise of Hyder Ali to power in 1761.

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