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The Hon. Mr. G. S. S. R. S. Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Madras with the best compliments of the author

MYSORE UNDER THE WODEYERS.

CHIEF SECRETARY
13. OCT. 1899
GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

BY

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYENGAR,

Of the Mysore Educational Service.

Reprinted from the "Madras Review."

Madras :

PRINTED BY THOMPSON AND CO., AT THE "MINERVA," PRESS,
POPHAM'S BROADWAY.

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MYSORE UNDER THE WODEYERS.

THIS paper is a historical outline of the origin and growth of the State of Mysore under the present dynasty up to the time of Hyder Ali. This period of the history of Mysore, is hardly touched at all in any history except Col. Wilks', who was not in possession of the historical material now available to the student of history. The errors he has fallen into are rather serious but quite excusable in one who wrote so early in the century as he did, and who obtained all the information then possible. The publication of the volumes of inscriptions in Mysore by Mr. Rice is likely to throw a flood of light upon Mysore History and that of some other contemporary kingdoms. This and the lately published works of Pradhan Tirumala Iyengar are the main authorities on which his paper rests for its information. The History of Mysore in Kannada prose compiled at the direction of His late Highness though not of much value as a historical composition still is of good use as a corroborative evidence of what is otherwise found to be the truth. It is not as an authoritative composition that the following paper is given to the public, but simply as a humble contribution which may eventually lead to the writing of a good history of Mysore of which this may but be an imperfect sketch of a period of nearly two centuries.

In the epoch-making battle of Talikota, in which, the Musalmans and the Hindus contended for supremacy in Southern India and which ended in the complete victory of the Mahomedan coalition, the Emperor Rama Raja, the last real one, fell. His only surviving brother Zere Timmaraja fled with the wreck of the army to Vijayanagar and finding it impossible to sustain himself any longer there against the conquerors, he shifted his capital to Ganagiri (Penkonda). Here he died leaving three sons, Sriranga Rayeel, Rama Raja, and Venkatapathi Raya. The division of the empire was made during the father's lifetime in accordance with which, Sriranga Rayeel ruled from

Penkonda, nominally at least, the whole of the Telugu country ; Rama Raja has for his share the Kanada country with his capital at Srirangapatna ; Venkatapathi Raya ruled from Chandragiri over the largest portion as would appear, *viz.* : —over the Tonda, Chola, and Pandya Mandalams. But that this rule was anything more than nominal is matter for doubt as would appear from the sequel. As it was, however, the Vijayanagar Empire extended from the banks of the Northern Pennar, if not the Thunga Bhadra to Cape Comorin ; and was divided in 1597 into the Viceroyalties of Penkonda, Ginjee, Tanjore, Madura, Channapatna, and Srirangapatna, the first one and perhaps nominally the whole under Sriranga Rayeel, the next three under Venkatapathi Raya and the last two under Rama Raja.

About this time, Sriranga Rayeel died issueless, and Rama Raja also followed leaving Tirumal Raya, his son, a minor ; so that the whole empire devolved upon Venkatapathi Raya. Tirumal Raya lived with his uncle, leaving at Srirangapatna as Vice-regent Remati, Revati or Simati Venkata, the general of Rama Raja. The Viceroys, aware of the weakness of the central authority, bore the yoke rather lightly and waited for an opportunity to shake it off when an incident happened to accelerate the natural tendencies to disruption. This incident is reported as follows by Pradhan Tirumala Iyengar who lived in the latter half of the seventeenth and the earlier half of the eighteenth centuries, occupying all along a commanding position in the courts of successive rulers of Mysore : "The Madura Naik revolted and Venkatapathi Raya sent his nephew (probably now a Major) to put down the revolt. Instead of

Chikka Deva Raja
Vijayam, 2nd Canto.

doing this, his plain duty, Tirumala Raya received bribes from the rebellious satrap and marched with all his army to Srirangapatna, thereby bringing on himself a deserved retribution and showing to on-lookers the hollowness of the empire."

Chikka Deva Raja
Vamsavali, pp. 1—
16.

It was under these circumstances that there arose a particularly clever ruler in Mysore who turned them all to his advantage and laid the foundation of the present Mysore State.

We shall now proceed to enquire who this personage was and

what his position. There seems to have been in use in the territory of Mysore (and even outside it), ever since the dawn of history, the designation of Wodeyers signifying a certain feudal status. What the amount of the land was, the possession of which gave this honorific title to the possessor, is very hard to determine now. There have been Wodeyers whose possessions varied from a village or two to thirty or forty. The Wodeyer of Karoogahally owns himself master of only one village ; and Raja Wodeyer of Mysore at about the same time was lord of twenty-three villages. But the term Wodeyer is also largely used in another sense being simply equivalent to 'lord.' This is the term used in addressing priests among the Lingayets. It may be a combination of both when applied to the members of the ruling family. But Yadu Raya is said to have been requested by his wife to assume this title as a mark of gratitude to a Lingayet priest who helped him in taking possession of Mysore from the usurper Dalawayi Maranayaka. Whatever may be the value of this story, the title seems to have retained both the above meanings as applied to the Mysore family.

This family traces its descent from a certain Yadu Raya who is believed to have reigned from 1399 to 1423. He is said to have come to this province from Dwarka. The object of his journey to Mysore with his brother Krishna, is differently given by different authorities ; some giving the worship of God Narayana of Melukote as the object, and others that of the Goddess Chamundi of the Mysore Hill. Whatever the

This view seems
to receive support
from the author of
copper plate*No. 64
of Srirangapatna.

Vide page 23
translation.

Epigraphia carna-
taka, Vol. 1., Part 1.

motive of these brothers, they appear to have been fugitive princes of the lately overthrown Bellala family which had its capital at Dwara-vathi (the modern Halebede), and which claimed to belong to the Chandra Vamsa as well. But Wilks mentions them as Yadava fugitives from the Court of Vijayanagar, which seems very likely. They came to Mysore where circumstances favoured their founding a family. Here again accounts differ, but the one given in the Palace History looks more probable than that of Wilks. A certain Chama Raja Wodeyer of Mysore died leaving behind him his widow and an only daughter. The Dalawayi Maranayaka assum-

ed the regency which he tried eventually to convert into royalty.

Palace History, p. 9, *et seq.* The widow and her daughter appeared to have been helpless in his hands. Perhaps he would have married the daughter and thus

given an appearance of legality to his usurpation; but his unpopularity and the discontent among his officers came to a head in a conspiracy against him. The palace party seems to have had the sympathy of the people and the conspiracy against the usurper was gaining in strength till Yadu Raya was found to play his part by heading the conspiracy. Success attending the conspiracy, Yadu won the hand of the Wodeyer's daughter and he succeeded to her father's estate as was agreed to before. It was a "jungam" priest that negotiated the treaty and hence the title Wodeyer attached to the princes of the family as mentioned above.

This is the historical founder of the family, and he ruled over Mysore town and a few villages about it. What the actual extent of this pigmy state was, we have no means of ascertaining now. He settled upon his brother an estate which he took from one of his father-in-law's relatives, and died in 1423.

His son Hiri Betad Chama Raja Wodeyer succeeded him in 1423. Nothing is known of this personage except his name. He was in turn, succeeded by his son Timma Raja Wodeyer in the year 1458. His son Hiri Chama Raja Wodeyer ascended the throne of the little kingdom, if we may call it a kingdom at all, in the year 1478. This ruler's son was Betad Chama Raja whose

Vide Srirangapatna, No. 64, No. 100 and others. (Epigraphia Car.).

reign began in the year 1513 and it is this person that has the honour of being mentioned in the inscriptions and copper-plates next to Yadu, the intervening names being omitted. Betad Chama Raja is credited by the Palace History with having constructed a big tank in Mysore; and by Wilks with having repaired the

fort of Mysore 'till then known Puragury.' He is also said by the same authority to have removed the Capital to Mysore, probably from

Hadana, the place conquered by Yadu. This account, of course, differs from what is adopted above. All the authorities referred to agree in giving this person three sons, Timma Raja, Krishna Raja, and Chama Raja the bald. During his life-time, he arranged, as seems customary, to settle Hamen Halli upon Timma Raja, and Kembala upon Krishna Raja. Timma Raja was, however, to succeed his father,

Palace History, pp. 18 and 99.

Chama Raja the bald, ruling after him. This is probably what is referred to by Wilks as the portion of the estate. But it is better to regard it as a settlement only since all the other parties appear to have been subject to the ruler at Mysore. This is borne out by the settlement made at his death by Raja Wodeyer. Before leaving Betad Chama Raja, it deserves to be mentioned that this was the person who is regarded to have, by his prowess, earned the title of 'Antembara Gauda' (the man of those that say they are so and so) mentioned in the inscriptions.

Chikka Deva Raja Vamsavali, pp. 56, *et seq.*

This ruler was succeeded in 1552 by his son Timma Raja according to the testament of his father. Timma Raja is reputed to have acquired the undoubted and sole right to the title of 'Antembara Gauda' by defeating other Wodeyers who laid claim to it likewise during a visit to Nanjanagudu. He followed up this victory by the conquest of Ommatur and Sinduvalli. During his time, Mysore territory must have been very small in extent as he had to take permission of other independent Wodeyers to pass through their territory to Nanjanagudu.

Wilks, vol. i., p. 22. Palace History, p. 19.

This ruler was succeeded by his youngest brother Bole Chama Raja or Chama Raja the bald. This was no doubt the wish of the father, but why his elder brother Krishna Raja was passed over is not quite clear. Can it be that he died before 1571? This Chama Raja then ruled for five years 1571—76, and is credited by Wilks with having evaded the tribute due to the Viceroy at Srirangapatna.

Vol. i., pp. 22 & 23.

It is now not ten years after the battle of Talikota which took place in 1565. The Viceroy is said to have besieged the Fort of Mysore, and it is recorded that his Dalawayi Ravati, Remati or Simati Venkata was defeated and forced to cede Kottagala. This shows the efficiency of the viceregal Government.

Chikka Deva Raja Vamsavali, p. 45, *et seq.*, Srirangapatna 64 and others.

About this time, also, Akbar had made himself almost master of Hindustan and was turning his attention to the southern side of the Vindhya. This new element of disturbance and the resistance which it provoked in the Musalman powers of the Dekhan gave to the further south comparative peace, even the Vijayapur and Golconda princes having had to divide their attention. It was only the imbecility of the Vijayanagar rulers

that gave these petty Wodeyers an opportunity for rising to greatness. Rama Raja, the Viceroy, was dead leaving behind him the minor Tirumal Raya mentioned above, whose treason cost him his viceroyalty.

Bole Chama Raja left at his death four sons, Rajadhi Raja, Betad Chama Raja, Muppin Deva Raja and Chama Raja. Here, there is a disagreement

Vide genealogical table No. 3.

among the authorities which appears hard to reconcile. There is a confusion in Wilks between Betad Wodeyer, Timma Raja's son, and Betad Chama Raja Wodeyer, Bole Chama Raja's son. Wilks makes Raja Wodeyer, the son of Timma Raja, in opposition to all the other authorities. He is evidently wrong as there is an inscription, dated 1614 (Raja Wodeyer died in 1617) which represents him as the son of Dodda Chama Raja Wodeyer of Mysore. But before going to

Raja Wodeyer, we have to dispose of a Betad Chama Raja Wodeyer who ruled for two years (1576-78). The Palace History makes

him the eldest son of Chama Raja the bald. But the inscriptions and other works referred to, make him the younger

brother of Raja Wodeyer. Wilks, on the other hand, makes the successor of Bole Chama

Raja, a Betad Wodeyer, his nephew. He seems to be in the right because the inscriptions and the works of Tirumala Iyengar above referred to, make no mention of this ruler. Besides, since both the cousins bore nearly the same name there is room for confusion, and the short duration of the rule of Betad Wodeyar has rather a suspicious air of forced abdication than of voluntary retirement. The idea of a younger brother superseding the elder to get over financial em-

barrassment or of the compulsory retirement of the latter by the elders of the land seems to be not in keeping with the traditions of

Indian rulers. The father Timma Raja having ruled, Betad Wodeyer naturally wished to succeed him, but his uncle came in the way with the authority of the testament above mentioned. At his uncle's death, he succeeded in the absence of a previous arrangement and was probably persuaded to retire in favour of his cousin Raja Wodeyer on the ground of the settlement of Heman Halli upon his father, Mysore falling to the lot of Chama Raja the bald. According to Wilks, there is nothing

strange in Betad Wodeyer's quiet retirement or in his accepting the office of Dalawayi under Raja Wodeyer. Palace History, pp. 47 and 48. There is nothing worthy of mention in this reign of two years.

In 1578, there came to the throne of Mysore a ruler, at once capable and politic, who laid the foundations of its greatness and consolidated to a certain extent the disintegrating viceroyalty of Srirangapatna; this was Raja Wodeyer who, for reasons given above, might be considered the eldest son of Bole Chama Raja of Mysore. The minority of Tirumal Raya of Srirangapatna gave ample scope to the aggrandizement of the Wodeyers generally; and Raja Wodeyer benefited most of all. A glance at

Palace History, pp. 22 and 23, Wilks pl. i; p. 28.

the lists of his conquests shows that there were many powerful Wodeyers along with him under the nominal suzerainty of the Viceroy at Srirangapatna. These Wodeyers can be roughly divided into two classes with respect to Raja Wodeyer. Many of them were connected with him by marriages or otherwise; while there were others who, having suffered at his hands, kept aloof from him and intrigued at the Viceroy's court. To the former class belonged the Wodeyers of Kalete, Bilugula, Bilikere, Hura, Hullanahalli, Mugur, etc. To the latter class belonged the Wodeyers of Ammachavadi, Kaniambadi, Talakad, Karoogahalli, etc. Each

Chikka Deva Raja Vamsavali, pp. 15-26.

member of the above two classes seems to have been independent and did not always look up to the Viceroy for help as is evidenced by the alliances and treaties entered into independently. Each one seems to have thought only of making what use the name and prestige of the Viceroy could afford him. At the commencement of his reign, Raja Wodeyer is said to have been master of twenty-three and a half 'townships' with a revenue of three thousand Honnus (a Honnu = a rupee and a half). This territory was divided among 300 Jagirdars each with a headquarter town of his own. The principal sources of revenue were, taxes derived from this estate, plunder got from war, and tributes paid by other Wodeyers. With these means, at his disposal, he seems to have been a troublesome neighbour, first attacking the Wodeyers of the Channapatna Viceroyalty, and letterly under some pretext or other those of Srirangapatna itself. For all the conquests thus made, he appears to have sought the authority, at least after conquest,

Chikka Deva Raja Vamsavali, p. 26, et seq.

of his suzerain. But the suzerainty was at this time divided between the traitorous Tirumal Raya and his uncle Venkatapathi Raya. Raja Wodeyer, in his aggressive conduct against the Viceroy of Srirangapatna, received the moral support of Venkatapathi Raya, the nominal ruler of the Vijayanagar empire. Venkatapathi Raya, at about this time, made a number of grants

Srirangapatna 157
Tirumakudlu Nar-
sipur 116. Compare
Chikka Deva Raja
Vamsavali, pp.
17-20.

Chikka Deva Raja
Vamsavali, pp. 17
and 20, Wilks, vol.
i., p. 25.

to Raja Wodeyer which appear to have been conquests rather than grants. This growth of power and territory of the Wodeyer naturally alarmed the Viceroy at Srirangapatna who tried to canvass the death of Raja Wodeyer. War was thought of, but stratagems were voted better by his vassal councillors. A general muster of the Viceregal army was ordered

under pretence of a review for the Dusserah and Raja Wodeyer was invited to pay a friendly visit. Raja Wodeyer, in his turn, and at the advice of his brothers, Betad Chama Raja and Deva Raja, assembled his army, having been previously informed by his spies, of the real state of feeling at Srirangapatna. He thought it better, however, to leave the army under Betad Chama Raja and paid his visit to the Viceroy with his brother Deva Raja and a faithful body of followers. The

Chikka Deva Ra-
ja Vamsavali, p. 33,
et seq.

Viceroy received him with apparent cordiality, having previously arranged an ambushade to take Raja Wodeyer prisoner while going out for a ride. But, luckily for Raja Wodeyer, a petty incident thwarted the project. As soon as Tirumal Raya turned his back on Raja Wodeyer's quarters, after his visit, the Wodeyer's attendants began, as usual on all public occasions, to repeat his titles, among them 'Antembara Gauda' so fruitful of quarrels in Mysore History. Tirumal Raya sent word that this one of all the titles might be given up by both parties as neither of them could lay claim to it as a hereditary title. This was resented. Raja Wodeyer with his faithful retainers marched out through the army of the Viceroy which is computed as follows. The contingents of Ballapur, Kolatala, Bangalore, Magadi, Punganoor and other Morasa countries were twenty elephants, two thousand horse, twenty thousand foot; of Talakad, Yalandur, Ammachavadi, Tirukanambi and other interior nads (states), ten elephants, five hundred horse, ten thousand foot; of Kalele, Belur, Keladi, and other Malnads

(hill-states), twenty elephants, two thousand horse, twenty thousand foot; of Chintanakal, Chikkanayakanahalli, Banavara, Basavapatna, Sira and other Beder nads (hunter

Chikka Deva Raja
Vamsavali, pp. 26-
33.

states), five elephants, five hundred horse, ten thousand foot. Rana Jaga Deva Rayeel, Kereyoor Timma Naika and other 'Ravuta Payakas' (cavalry and infantry officers) supplied contingent of fifteen elephants, four thousand horse, twenty-four thousand foot. With the reserve force of thirty elephants, three thousand horse, thirty thousand foot, the total runs up to hundred elephants, twelve thousand horse and one

In the states de-
pending on Vijagu-
pur and Golconda
were maintained
200,000 horse.

Foot-note 2 at p.
58, vol. i. of Wilks.

hundred and fourteen thousand foot. This is really napoleonic indeed to be defeated by Raja Wodeyer! It is not probable that these were the actual numbers on the field; but the above computation shows the miscellaneous composition of the army and what little common interest they could have had in fighting for the Viceroy. The Viceroy resolved after due deliberation to lay siege to the fort of Kesaregonte and not as originally proposed to Mysore. The first seems to have been, at the time, unfit for standing a siege, situated somewhere between Srirangapatna and Mysore. Betad Chama Raja Wodeyer held out till a relieving force approached from Mysore; and the miscellaneous Viceregal army was put to flight easily. Tirumal Raya, the Viceroy, was already meditating flight from Srirangapatna when some of the Wodeyers who formerly counselled the advance of the army, now persuaded him to stand siege and encamped with their forces on the northern side of the fort. These were again defeated by Narasa Raja, the eldest son of Raja Wodeyer, and Tirumal Raya now fled to Talakad leaving his family behind. This event is generally regarded to have taken place in 1610. But

Wilks, vol. i., p. 26.

Raja Wodeyer is recorded to have received Srirangapatna as a grant from Venkatapathi Raya in 1612. It would thus appear that Raja Wodeyer obtained the sanction of Venkatapathi Raya for keeping possession of what he actually conquered. On the flight of Tirumal Raya, the treatment accorded by Raja Wodeyer to the wife of the ex-Viceroy is variously related. According to Tirumala

Chikka Deva Raja
Vamsavali, pp. 31-32.

Iyengar Raja Wodeyer pointed out to her the desirability of accompanying her husband and

provided her with an escort to go to Talakad, and this authority calls her Sriranganayaki. But the Palace History gives a different version which appears to be nearer to the truth. The lady is named Alamalumanga, and she went to Malangi after her husband. Raja Wodeyer, at the instance of the priest of Ranganayaki, the Goddess, sent for some jewels belonging to the Goddess in the possession of the Viceroy's wife at the time, with a

Pp. 31 and 32.

threat that the jewels would be taken from her by force if she did not surrender them at once. She refused to surrender them all on the score that they were her own though she very often lent them for the decoration of the Goddess. Having said this, and being afraid of her own safety, she drowned herself in a well at Malangi. But the popular tradition is that Raja Wodeyer hounded her to death for the sake of her jewels and perhaps of her person too. She is said to have pronounced a curse at her death which may be rendered as follows: "May Malangi be no more than a tank; may Talaka be buried under sand; may the Raja of Mysore have no issue left." And Raja Wodeyer is believed to have lost all his four grown-up sons on account of this. It is customary even now in the royal family to perform an expiatory ceremony on the ninth day of the Dussarah to appease the angry spirit of this injured lady. From this last it would appear that, whatever might have been the cause of her death, Raja Wodeyer thought himself responsible for her tragic end in having arranged for this ceremony. Thus was Srirangapatna mastered once and for all; but Raja Wodeyer in spite of the grant of Venkatapathi Raya in 1612 does not appear to have assumed full sovereignty. In all the inscriptions of his and his grandson's reigns, the Vijaynagar Emperor is introduced as the ruling sovereign, the grants being

Srirangapatna 103, pp. 29 and 30, Translation (Epi. Car.).

Nanjanagudu 198, pp. 115-116, Translation, (Epi. Car.).

On the overthrow of the Viceroy at Srirangapatna, Raja Wodeyer received an ambassador named Gambira Raja Virupanna from Venkatapathi Raya conveying his master's congratulations to the former on his victory over the Viceroy. Raja Wodeyer

Chikka Deva Raja Vamsavali, pp. 55 and 56.

made in his time. The first inscription in which this kind of introduction is dispensed with, is one dated 1646, during the reign of Kantirva Narasa Raja Wodeyer, while another of the first year of this ruler duly acknowledges the suzerainty of the Vijaynagar ruler.

was probably then appointed to succeed Tirumal Raya by the Emperor, thus perhaps making the appointment a virtue of necessity. Raja Wodeyer then ruled for a period of five or six years nominally Viceroy, but actually sovereign in his territory, which with the additions he made to it embraced nearly the whole of the present Mysore District and a part of Hassan.

But before closing his history, a word need be said as to his administration. He appears to have been careful to take the actual administration of the conquered territories into his own hands appointing his own officers. He is also reputed to have celebrated the Dussarah festival on a grand scale and made the rule that, in future, the death even of the closest relatives of the royal family should not interfere with the festivities. This question had to be discussed by experts in his reign on account of the death of his eldest son Narasa Raja. The appointment of a Dalawayi, discontinued ever since the usurpation of Maranayaka, was now revived owing, as Raja Wodeyer is made to say, to the vast additions to his estates; and the first appointment appears unsatisfactory as many of them were throughout. The first Dalawayi under the present dynasty was Raja Wodeyer's nephew Karikala Mallarajayya of Kalele of the same family as the Dalawayi brothers who brought about the downfall of the ruling dynasty and the rise of Hyder Ali.

Palace History, p. 45.

Mallarajayya resigned shortly after his appointment and was succeeded by Betad Wodeyer. This Betad Wodeyer must have been the same as Raja Wodeyer's cousin who was superseded by him, this act of trust on the part of the latter flattering the feelings of the former who quietly abdicated before. Previous to the appointment of a Dalawayi, Raja Wodeyer's army appears to have been uniformly led by his brother Betad Chama Raja Wodeyer; and therefore this could not have been the new Dalawayi. Raja Wodeyer, by this time, had lost all the four of his grown-up sons and his youngest brother Chama Raja. He settled the succession therefore in consultation with his two surviving younger brothers, Betad Chama Raja and Deva Raja, on Chama Raja Wodeyer, his grandson by Narasa Raja. He is said by some authorities to have left the infant Immadi Raja, the Jagir of West Dannanayakanakote, but Immadi Raja is generally regarded as a posthumous son. The sons of Betad Chama Raja and Deva

Chikka Deva Raja Vamsavali, p. 57, et seq.

Wilks, vol. I., p. 29 (Palace History, p. 49, makes Raja Wodeyer prophesy the birth of a male child to his pregnant wife).

Raja received the Jagirs, Rangasamudra and Nallur Vijayapura and Arikere and Yalandarumangala respectively. Having made these settlements, he retired to Meilkotê with his brothers where he died in 1617.

Raja Wodeyer accordingly was succeeded by his grandson Chama Raja Wodeyer, who ruled from 1617-37. It has been mentioned that, under Raja Wodeyer, the office of Dalawayi was revived to meet the exigencies of increased territory and administration. This office combined in itself the offices of Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief. At the accession of Chama Raja Wodeyer, Betad Wodeyer held this important office and exercised his authority not so much as the Dalawayi, but as guardian to the young Raja. The Raja and the Dalawayi very soon fell out each other on a small matter, the one having been as tenacious of his authority as the other of his dignity. Betad Wodeyer, it would appear, dismissed a few servants near the person of the Raja who were found to be abusing the trust. This was resented and consequently there was an attempt at poisoning the Raja made by Betad Wodeyer's son. Betad Wodeyer fled for life which was granted him at the cost of his eyes. The office of Dalawayi appears to have been always unfortunate in Mysore as the officers were ready to misbehave whenever the ruler was not strong enough to keep them under control. There were four Dalawayis in this reign, the last

In one of the inscriptions Vikrama Raya is referred as the natural son of Raja Wodeyer.

of whom being Vikrama Raya, the natural son of Betad Chama Raja, brother of Raja Wodeyer. Chama Raja Wodeyer seems to have entrusted the whole administration to the

Dalawayis so as to have time enough to discharge his domestic duties. So long as the Dalawayis were men unconnected with

Nanjangood 9. (Page 96, Translation, Epi. Car.).

the ruling family, they valued their position too much to intrigue as was the case with the second and the third Dalawayis of this reign. These Dalawayis, however, made a number of conquests and annexations and extended Chama Raja's inheritance in all directions. It is during this reign that the Viceroyalty of

Palace History, p. 51. Wilks, vol. I., p. 29.

Jagadeva Rayeel was reduced to nothing by the capture of Channapatna and Nagaman-gala and the siege of Hoskote. Chama Raja seems to have preserved in carrying on the administration

Chikka Deva Raja Vamsavali, p. 60, et seq.

Palace History, p. 61.

on the lines laid down by his grandfather by keeping down the Wodeyers, by conciliating the ryots and by not increasing the rents. He is said to have collected a great deal of war-material and established a depôt at Srirangapatna. He is also credited with having written a Commentary on the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. This personage died without issue in 1637 and was succeeded by his boy-uncle Immadi Raja Wodeyer. Dalawayi Vikrama Raya lorded it over him, and finding the new ruler not the nominal one that he would have him, contrived to poison him in the year 1638.

Who was to be the next ruler? At the time of Raja Wodeyer's death his brother's children were provided with jagirs as became their dignity. Though nothing is said of Deva Raja, Betad Chama Raja is said to have been living in retirement at Rangasamudra not without exercising a whole influence at court. Now that Raja Wodeyer's line failed of male issue, people naturally looked up to the children of his next younger brother Betad

Vide genealogical table No. 4.

Chama Raja. From the Palace Genealogical tree, it will appear that Betad Chama Raja had only one son living at the time and that was Kantirava Narasa (Raja Wodeyer. This person cannot have been the mere nominee of Vikrama Raya (who was the natural son of Betad Chama Raja) as Betad Chama Raja was himself living, and as Kantirava Narasa would have suited ill the ambitious schemes of the Dalawayi. The Palace History besides makes Kantirava Narasa the adopted son of Raja Wodeyer, and as such, was invited and crowned by one of his widows. The adoption seems likely enough as Raja Wodeyer must have had reasons to fear that the direct line would fail. It

P. 65.

must also have been the interest of the Palace Party not to have a nominee of the Dalawayi for the ruler. The subsequent insolent behaviour of the Dalawayi would also support this view. However nominated, Kantirava Narasa began his rule in 1638 A.D. It is this personage that first made grants in his own name, even his predecessor Chama Raja having owned the

Srirangapatna 103, pp. 29 and 30 (Epi. Car.).

nominal suzerainty of the phantom ruler at Ganagiri. The first inscription in which an elaborate genealogy of the Mysore rulers alone is given without

reference to the ruler at Penkonda is dated 1646 A.D., and is a grant by Kantirava Narasa.

The reign of Kantirava Narasa commences the glorious period of the present Dynasty and the three successive rulers (himself and his two successors), may be called the makers of

Modern Mysore. The first act of this reign is the dismissal from service of Dalawayi Vikrama

Raya and the infliction on him of the condign punishment for his treason against the former ruler. The Palace History states that the Dalawayi was punished after due inquiry and confession by himself; but Wilks appears to be

Vol. i., p. 31.

Palace History, p. 59. Nanjangood 9, dated 1643, gives him the son of Raja Wodeyer.

right in saying that he was despatched by assassin. For the Dalawayi was not only a natural son of Betad Chama Raja but also the first officer in the State. As such, he must have been too powerful and perhaps too popular to be punished like an ordinary servant. This seems to have taught Kantirava Narasa a good lesson, and we see him throughout his reign making vigorous and rather successful attempts to curb the power of the Dalawayis, so that we see the office changing hands a little too often. This ruler is credited by Wilks with having celebrated the Dussarah festival on a grand scale and for the first time. Whatever the scale of the celebration, he was not the first to celebrate the festival, Raja Wodeyer

having done it many times during his life. *Vide ante.* Kantirava Narasa, finding it inconvenient to

have a number of different coins in circulation, asserted his sovereignty over other Wodeyers by establishing a mint and coining in his own name. This is the first

Palace History, p. 34 (Wilks, vol. p. 32.)

step at unifying the loose conglomerate of the petty chieftaincies inherited, and his coins seem to have had currency in other parts of South India as well. He is also given the credit of having made an elaborate survey of the lands under the Wodeyers, and having found the purse-proud

ryots too troublesome he took away all that they had over and above what was necessary for their bare living and occupation. This

had the desired effect, and not only cowed down the refractory Wodeyers and other landlords, but enriched Kantirava Narasa beyond all expectation. This act of public plunder was not questioned in those days as the people had no other means of fighting

for their rights than that of taking arms against the ruler. This latter measure would clearly have been to their own ruin, for, in the place of one strong master, however unjustifiable his measures, they would have had many more plunderers without the advantage of protection which the former offered. The next step Kantirava Narasa took was to keep the Dalawayis in check. There were in all ten Dalawayis in this reign, all of whom excepting one, holding the office but for a brief space of time. Under a strong ruler, the Dalawayis had only to play the second fiddle, and whenever they attempted to make themselves something more than this, they earned their dismissal. This office, the first in importance in the state, had always been given to a person intimately connected with the ruler either in blood or by association. Whenever the choice fell on relatives, the appointment did not prove happy as they attempted to assume all power and to turn the attention of the sovereign solely to the enjoyment of home life. Whenever the appointment fell to the lot of some one outside the circle of relations, the choice proved happier, because they had not the same influence in the palace as the others had and so could be easily dealt with by the ruler. Kantirava Narasa appears to have made a discovery of this fact and, therefore, deviated from the principle of choice inaugurated by Raja Wodeyer whose Dalawayis were near connections in blood. Perhaps Raja Wodeyer could not as yet have trusted others outside his family, but Kantirava was much too strong for fear of that kind. So, after the fall of his half-brother, Dalawayi Vikrama Raya, he appointed Thimmappa Nayaka and six others in succession who were, if at all connected, very distant relatives. Thus we see that Kantirava Narasa always kept real power into his own hands, and so did his two successors. Hence the vigour of the administration during the three reigns.

This ruler, besides, seems to have paid a great deal of attention to public works. He rebuilt the forts of Srirangapatna and Mysore when they got damaged during the siege by Rana-dhoola Khan. The details given of these forts are not of much importance. With the money he obtained, as above mentioned, he provided the forts with all that was needful to protect them from assault and appears to have mounted a large number of guns over the ramparts. He is said to have constructed several tanks and the canal which runs over the bridge on the southern arm of the Kauvery bringing

fresh water into the fort. He also made rich endowments to the temples in the province, particularly to those of Sriranganatha and God Narasimha at Srirangapatna. He seems to have commanded armies in person, rather than trust them into the hands of the Dalawayis. He is known to have been very remarkable for his strength and courage and the first exploit of his was the defeat of a remarkable prize-fighter at Trichinopoly. Having gone there incognito, he returned after killing the man, without waiting to receive the prize. This gave rise to one or two unsuccessful conspiracies against his life which may be passed over here. But the most important military act of the reign

Wilks, p. 31,
vol. i.

Chikka Deva Ra-
ja Vamsavali, pp.
67-68, et seq.

Chikka Deva Ra-
ja Vijayam, 2nd
Canto.

was the defence of Srirangapatna against Ranadhoola Khan, the General of Vijayapur: The siege was brought about as follows: Kantirava Narasa incited Kenge Hanuma of Basavapatna and other Wodeyers of Ikkeri, against their liege lord Veerabhadra Nayaka. The disturbance was promptly quelled by the Ikkeri Nayaka. Kenge Hanuma went to Vijayapur to solicit the aid of the Padishah there. At this time, there was also another fugitive Wodeyer, Channiah of Nagamangala, lately conquered by Chama Raja Wodeyer. The Padisha sent his most reputed General Ranadhoola Khan at the head of an army of forty thousand men to reinstate Kenge Hanuma and to take Srirangapatna if possible. The general having easily succeeded in doing the first, was very near accomplishing the second as well. Having taken possession of Ikkeri, Sira, and Bangalore on his way he laid siege to Mysore and Srirangapatna simultaneously. Besiegers and defenders seem to have fought well, but the loss of the former must have been immense considering that, even after having effected a breach, they were not able to effect an entry into the fort of Srirangapatna. They were not more successful in Mysore either; and the double victory is ascribed to divine intervention on behalf of the defenders, thus indicating that the Mysoreans were hopeless of victory in spite of their stubborn defence. Despite this failure to take the forts, Kantirava Narasa found it impossible either to stand another siege or to fight his enemy in the open field. So, through the mediation of Kenge Hanuma, a peace was concluded which left to the Mysoreans all the country south of

Chikka Deva Ra-
ja Vijayam, 2nd
Canto.
Palace His., p. 75.

the Kauvery, that on the north of the river being made over to Vijayapur. But the administration of the Vijayapur portion was still left in the hands of Kantirava Narasa himself on condition of paying over to Vijayapur all the surplus revenue after meeting the cost of administration. This took place in the year of his accession 1638-39. Though Kantirava Narasa agreed to this treaty in his helplessness, he does not seem to have thought seriously of fulfilling his promise. Ranadhoola Khan, on the other hand, leaving Kenge Hanuma as the Vijayapur agent, returned to Vijayapur, his head-quarters. Veerabhadra Nayaka of Ikkeri availed himself of this opportunity to avenge his wrongs on Ranadhoola Khan and sent an embassy to Vijayapur to expose to the Padishah the hollowness of the agreement and the unreliable character of the agent. Ranadhoola Khan was suspected and a Royal commission was sent to inquire into the affairs of Kenge Hanuma with Nagamangla Channiah as a member. Kenge Hanuma faltered and Kantirava Narasa grew defiant. To add to this, Channiah was murdered by Kenge Hanuma as he was the only member of the

Palace History,
77 and 79.

commission conversant with the details of the administration. Ranadhoola Khan was, in consequence, superseded by Khan Khan. This general and his successor Mustaff Khan were sent in succession to take possession of Srirangapatna (the fort of which was completely rebuilt since the first invasion) but fared no better than their predecessor. A plundering raid undertaken by Hemaji Pundit of Vijayapur and Abdullah Khan, a general, effected nothing of importance except the temporary occupation of Turuvekere. Having thus far been on the defensive, Kantirava Narasa could now take the offensive. In his aggressive march eastward, he drove the Vijayapur forces and took possession of its late conquests. Having defeated the 'Vanangamudi' Moodalliar of Kangru, he took Samballi, Bomballi, and Satyamangala having previously worsted the Madura Nayaka, his liege lord. On the west, he defeated Nanja Raja Wodeyer of Coorg, and after hunting him from place to place, took possession of Periapatam, his capital, and six other districts (Ghadis). In the north, he extended his conquests to the frontiers of Ikkeri, Chitaldroog and Sira. After such an eventful reign he died in 1659 leaving no male issue to succeed him.

Chikka Deva Raja
Vamsavali, pp. 68,
et seq. Wilks, vol. i.,
pp. 33 and 35. Pa-
lace History, pp. 67
68 and

The descendants of Muppin Deva Raja, the third brother of Raja Wodeyer, came in for their share of rule now. This Deva Raja had four children, one of whom succeeded Kantirava Narasa. But, as to which of these four sons succeeded, there is considerable difference of opinion among the authorities. The Palace

P. 91, vol. i., pp. 35 and 36.

History makes the successor the third son, Wilks the fourth, and Tirumal Iyengar, a contemporary, the first. In all the inscriptions of this ruler's and his successor's time, the latter is recorded as the nephew of the former. Tirumal Iyengar himself makes Dod Deva

Chikka Deva Raja Vamsavali, pp. 18, *et seq.* and

Chikka Deva Raja Vijayam iv. Canto Stanzas, 170, *et seq.*

Srirangapatna 14, 64 and others.

Vide genealogical table no. (iii).

Raja succeed but nominally, while Kempa Deviah, his third brother, was carrying on the administration in fact. The truth appears to be, that Kempa Deviah, the third son, was the successor ruling for a short time in the name of his eldest brother who must have been old, and then in his own name, on condition that the said brother's son should succeed him. Wilks and the Palace History alike seem to have gone wrong in certain particulars about this ruler, and the mistake is accounted for by all the four brothers bearing the same name, Deva Raja, with a qualifying epithet. Besides the fact that Chikka Deva Raja and his father were in prison at Tirukanamby is not borne out by any other authority. It is, however, mentioned that Chikka Deva Raja was sent away as a youth with his two wives to Gundlu, remote from Court, to keep him from profligate ways into which he was falling. His father,

Chikka Deva Raja Vijayam, Canto v.

on the other hand, lived with his younger brother at Srirangapatna and then retired to a village where he died soon after. Besides, Chikka Deva Raja is recorded to have offered his services against the Confederacy of rulers besieging Erode and was well nigh entrusted with the command of the army. Besides this, Chikka Deva Raja was a mere

Palace History, p. 100.

youth (being only twelve years old) when his uncle, a grown-up man, succeeded to the throne. Thus, then, Kantirava Narasa was succeeded by his cousin Kempa Deviah who became Dod Deva Raja Wodeyer of Mysore. At the accession of this ruler to full sovereignty, he was the legal successor, his next elder brother having died. Chikka Deva Raja, then a youth, was recognised heir-apparent

and each of them, the ruler and the heir, was guardian to his younger brother.

The two remarkable events of this reign were, the invasion of the country by Chokka Linga Nayaka of Madura, and the siege of Srirangapatna by Sivappa Nayaka, who had but lately overthrown his master and established himself in his place. In both these, Sriranga Rayeel, the fugitive ruler of Vijayanagar, was put forth as the leader. Chokka Linga Nayaka having made himself independent ruler of Madura wanted to make the most of the imperial fugitive then with him, and advanced in the latter's name to Erode, on the south-east frontier of Mysore, assisted by 'Ananthoji' of Tanjore, Vadoji of Vijaypur, Golconda, Dorik and Iyyappa Nayaka (a Jagirdar). Perplexed by the magnitude of the invading army Dodda Deva Raja wished to try diplomacy when Chikka Deva Raja offered his services to lead the Mysore forces to victory over the conglomerate mass of the invading army. Chokka Linga Nayaka, however, on the advice of his ambassador at Srirangapatna retired to Trichinopoly leaving his allies to take care of themselves. It was, perhaps true, as Chikka Deva Raja is made to say, that the allied army, though large in number, was wanting in discipline; but one cannot but suspect that the ambassador was bribed into effectually detaching his master from the coalition. Chokka Linga Nayaka apart, the others were easily defeated by the Dalawayis,

Srirangapatna 14 page 10, Translation (Epi. car.).

the superior generalship of Chikka Deva Raja having been found unnecessary. Iyyappa Nayaka was slain and among those defeated was the Brahmin Nayaka of Ginjee. The Mysore general took the elephant Kulasekara and its mate as spoils of war and made the permanent conquests of Omaluru, Erode and Darapuram. Thus ended the formidable coalition, in the name of the last scion of the Vijayanagar Family, who now betook himself to Bednore.

Sivappah Nayaka, immediately after his accession to power, sent an embassy to Mysore professing friendship to the ruler. This seems to have been refused acceptance as beneath dignity, coming as it did from a usurper. This gave offence, as perhaps was expected, and Sivappah Nayaka prepared to lay siege to Srirangapatna. Sriranga Rayeel was now with Sivappah Nayaka who extended his frontiers in the name of the fugitive. This invasion seems to have been successfully repelled, the Bednore

Nayaka having been compelled to cede the fortresses of Hassaina and Sakkearpatna. Nothing more was heard of Srivanga Rayeel, and thus came to an end the once glorious dynasty of Vijayanagar.

Dodda Deva Raja never appears to have led an army in person and appears to have been generally peacefully inclined. He devoted a great deal of attention to works of charity. He is said to have established a number of agraahars (villages for Brahmins) and built way-side choultries at short intervals of space throughout his dominions. He constructed several tanks, one of those at Mysore among them. His devotion to the Goddess Chamundi led to the construction of the steps up the hill and the Basavanandi (a gigantic bull in stone) half way up.

Palace History,
pp. 94 *et seq.*
Wilks Vol. i, pp.
35-36.

His principal items of expenditure of the money got in wars are naively given by the Historian to have been three:—providing (1) ornaments to his queens; (2) endowments to his Brahmin friends; and (3) rewards to servants for meritorious services.

After a reign of thirteen years, he died in 1672 in a progress through his dominions at Chikkanaikanahalli. He was succeeded by his nephew Chikka Deva Raja Wodeyer as was previously agreed upon. The reigns of Dodda Deva Raja and his successor are coeval with that of Aurangazeb in Hindustan, and when it is borne in mind that Chikka Deva's reign coincided in time with the rise of Sivaji and the difficulties of the Moghul Emperor in the south, it will not be difficult to understand how this ruler consolidated his State in comparative peace. The Mussalman power of Vijayanagar was the most aggressive and troublesome neighbour of Mysore. Vijayapur expeditions into Mysore have been for one reason or other frequent, and this power very often interfered in the affairs of the Wodeyers. But now, this and the other Mussalman powers of South India had to turn their attention and devote it all against the advance of Moghul arms in the south and the rise of a more dangerous enemy from amongst their own servants, the Maharattas. Even the line of conquests of Shaji and his son Sivaji bent round the Mysore territory and did not go past Bangalore, thus leaving Mysore at the angle between their northern and southern possessions. At this time it was

Wilks Vol., p. 56.

that Chikka Deva Raja came to the throne of Srirangapatna and worked unostentatiously and cleverly at the unification of the mass of petty states which he inherited.

During the first twenty years of his reign, he gradually consolidated the conquests of his predecessors, and after reconquering those places which had been taken back he extended his conquests principally in two directions. To the south-east, he extended his conquests as far as Trichinopoly, while to the north-west he pushed his frontiers far into the territories of his neighbours. Thus he added a large part of Tumkur and Kadur districts and a portion of Chitaldroog to his own dominions. The powerful gaud of Nagadi was gradually giving way before the onsets of more powerful neighbours and by the acquisition of Bangalore in 1687-88, by purchase from Ecoji, the half brother of Sivaji; Chikka Deva Raja Wodeyer reduced him to an insignificant position till later on he was completely overthrown during Dodda Krishna Raja Wodeyer's reign. His conquests before 1679 are detailed as follows: "In the east having conquered the Pandya king Chokka in battle, he captured Tripura (Trichinopoly) and the wealthy Anandhapuri. In the

Srirangapatna 157,
page 35 (Translation)
(Epi. Car.).

west he subdued the Keladi kings who came against him with the Yavanas, and gained Sakalespura and Arakalgudu. In the north, having conquered Ranadhoola Khan, he took Keta Samudra together with Kanhikere, Handalageri, Gulur, Tumkur and Honnavalli. Victorious in battle over Mushtika who came with Morasaş and Kiratas, he seized Jatakanadurga and changed its name to Chikka Deva Raya Durga. The Varaha at Strimushna, which had been broken in the Yavana invasion, he brought to Srirangapatna out of devotion to Vishnu. He took Maddagiri, Medigesi, Bijavara and Chenarayadurga, having conquered Thimmappa Gauda and Ramappa Gauda."

Srirangapatna 14,
page 11 (Translation)
(Epi. Car.).

By 1686 "Vishnu incarnate as Chikka Deva did subdue in Panchavati Dadoji Jaitaji and others in the form of Maharattas. Sambhu lost his valour, Kutub Shah failed in his purpose, Ikkeri Basava was disgraced, Ecoji was deserted by all when the mighty Chikka Deva Raja having cut off all the limbs and slit the noses of Jaitaji and Jesrata, set forth for war." Chikka Deva Raja, however, is more remembered for the ad-

ministrative reforms he introduced into the government of his State. His first minister was the Jain Vishnu Lakshana Pandit of Yelandur. This person exercised a great deal of influence over the Raja, as he appears to have been his companion, perhaps his tutor, when, as a prince, the Raja was sent to Gundlu near Tirukanumbi to keep him from evil ways. When the prince succeeded his uncle, he appointed the Pundit to be his chief minister and, under his guidance, he began to reform every department of the administration. It has been mentioned that, in Kantirava's reign, there was a great variety in the currency of the realm and that this was put an end to by the introduction of the Kantirava coins as the sole currency. Similarly there seems to have been a great deal of variety in the details of all the departments of the administration. This was all done away with and uniformity introduced by Chikka Deva Raja. The first reform was a revision of taxes which cost the life of the Jain Pundit as the responsible author of the revision. This affront to the dignity of the ruler was more than avenged by a wholesale massacre of the fanatical Jungam priests who were taken to be the authors or the instigators of the murder.

From time immemorial the rent of land appears to have remained fixed; and whatever extra revenue was needed was raised by means of taxes. In the reign of Raja Wodeyer, the only sources of revenue, as mentioned above, were rents of land, plunder from enemies, and tribute from other Wodeyers. Kantirava Narasa is said to have taken an extraordinary contribution of almost all the moveables under some pretext or other. Thus we see that, though extraordinary contributions were demanded, there was nothing like a regular system of taxation. In the absence of any precedent for enhancing the rent of land, Chikka Deva Raja Wodeyer deemed it necessary to legalise and systematise the extra demands by instituting a number of taxes. These taxes were none of them the creation of Chikka Deva, but old ones which fell out of use during the disturbed times that intervened. In one of the inscriptions dated 1290 A.D. we have incidentally a list of taxes collected under Perumala Danda Nayaka, the prime minister of Narasimha Deva of the Hoysala Dynasty. On a comparison of this list with those of Wilks and the Palace History, it will be found that there is a close agreement, thus showing that they were only old taxes revived.

This done, Chikka Deva Raja Wodeyer turned his attention

to the administrative divisions of his territory and divided the whole State, as it then existed, into 84 Ghadis (divisions) each under a Subedar. Some such division appears to have existed, but Chikka Deva Raja equalized their extent. The central administration was divided into 18 departments on the model of Moghul administration. This must have been the result of the embassy to the imperial Court during the closing years of the century when the Great Moghul, in his difficulties, condescended to receive 'a Vakil from the Zemindar of Mysore.' This arrangement still survives in the public offices being popularly known the 'Eighteen Cutcheries.' Chikka Deva Raja Wodeyer kept down the Wodeyers with an iron hand and reduced them to complete dependence on the central authority. This was done by means of one of his departments which combined the postal and the spy system and which informed him of all

Wilks, vol. i., p. 31.

Palace History,
pp. 134-137.

that took place even at great distances from Court. He is said to have introduced a kind of Militia Police system, each 'hobli' (sub-division of a Ghadi) maintaining a certain number of men at its service who were to be policemen in ordinary times and soldiers in times of war. In one word, then, Chikka Deva introduced order and system where confusion reigned. One other thing needs be mentioned here. Having introduced uniformity in measure, weight, etc., he next introduced the system of paying his officials half their salary in money and the other half in kind, the convenience of this arrangement in those days being beyond a doubt. After all these reforms, the total revenue derived by Chikka Deva Raja Wodeyer from his territories is given to be seven hundred and twenty thousand pagodas. The collection of this amount was somewhat peculiar. It was arranged to bring in two thousand pagodas every day to the royal treasury at Srirangapatna and unless this daily instalment came in Chikka Deva Raja refused to breakfast. Thus he ensured the collection of the revenue, but how this daily amount was raised and what was the actual amount paid by the ryots, it is not possible now to determine. This revenue, at three rupees a pagoda, would amount to 21 lakhs and 60 thousand rupees, the present revenue of the state being one crore and seventy lakhs approximately. There are not data enough available to institute any real comparison be-

Palace History,
pp. 124 and 125;
Wilks Vol. i., p.
63.

tween the revenues of the state now and those two centuries ago.

Chikka Deva Raja divided the whole class of Wodeyers into two sections of thirteen and eighteen families. The first of these sections included the royal family itself and was known to have preserved its blood free from any admixture and this class was prohibited from giving away their girls to members of other class though permitted to take the girls of the latter for junior wives. The second section was charged with having contracted marriage alliances with people of lower classes, and thus, they were treated as being inferior to the other. This classification was, perhaps, really due to the second class of Wodeyers being the recently conquered Wodeyers. Perhaps their poverty also and caste distinctions called for this classification. Now-a-days, however, no such distinction is kept up, and all classes of 'arasus' are regarded as one.

During the reign of Chikka Deva Raja, the Dalawayis do not seem to appear to have made themselves prominent. He seems to have been guided by the counsels of a few friends who were unconnected with the royal family, though holding high offices. These ministers sometimes advised conjointly but very often singly. The chief of these, after the murder of the Jain Pundit Vishnu Lakshana of Yelandur, was Tirumala Iyengar, the companion of the Rajah from boyhood up. This is the author of the Kannada works referred to in this paper, who unfortunately breaks off when he comes to the reign of Chikka Deva Raja, thus leaving his works incomplete.

Chikka Deva Raja Wodeyer, in his later days, was a staunch follower of the principles of Ramanuja. The Vijayanagar Viceroys of Srirangapatna were all of them Vaishnavas, and Raja Wodeyer seems to have been of the same creed too either out of policy or of faith, but it cannot however be said that all his successors were consistently such. Chama Raja and Dodda Deva Raja do not appear to have been very zealous about the sect. Kantirava Narasa appears to have devoted himself heart and soul to Vishnu. Chikka Deva Raja, probably through the influence of Tirumala Iyengar, became a Vaishnava, perhaps after adopting the principles of his first minister the Jain Pundit for some

Wilks, Vol. i., p. 124.

time. In his zeal for the Vaishnavas, he is said to have commanded all the Wodeyers to become Vaishnavas too. This order was withdrawn on the strong representations of a number

Palace History, p. 132.

Srimushua.

Vide ante (quotation.)

of Wodeyers. His devotion to Vishnu led to the construction of a temple at Mysore dedicated to the God Sweta Varaha (white boar) of the idol seems to have been roughly handled by the Mahomedans in one of their excursions into the far south and was in consequence brought by Chikka Deva to Mysore.

Thus having consolidated his dominions and introduced a settled form of administration he bequeathed his kingdom to his dumb son Kantirava Narasa in 1704, just three years before the death of the great Moghul Aurangzeb. From the death of Chikka Deva Raja dates the decline of prosperity of the Wodeyers just as that of his imperial contemporary marks the turning point in the history of Moghuls.

The succession of a dumb ruler, impossible under a less settled government, seems to have been brought about to suit the father's wish by his friend Tirumala Iyengar under the pretence of a supernatural intervention. The ruler could not have done anything and thus in this reign alone, the reins of government slipped perceptibly out of the hands of the sovereign into the hands of the Dalawayis. These latter officers gradually usurped the real power in the State. The Dalawayis of this reign are Kanthia and his son Nanjaraja; his son Basavaraj and his son Nanja Raja. The last was however succeeded by the Kalele Veerajiah, the son of Dodda Raja, and the father of the brothers Dalawayi Deva Raja and Nanja Raja of the later reigns. Under the first Dalawayi and his son and grandson, the Mysore people conquered the two Ballapurs, Midigesi, and Sira.

Wilks, Vol. i., p. 140.

It is also during this reign that the Nawab of Arcot makes his appearance in Mysore levying the 'contribution war.' Thus having reigned, rather than ruled, for nine years he passed away leaving the succession to Dodda Krishna Raja Wodeyer, more remarkable for reckless charity than for any administrative qualities.

This Krishna Raja Wodeyer is, in contradistinction to one of his successors of the same name, known as Dodda Krishna Raja.

He is celebrated in some of the inscriptions of his times for large and numerous gifts to Sri Vaishnava Brahmans in particular. This reign is remarkable for giving the best of opportunities to the Dalawayi brothers for their ascent to power and eventually to become the king-makers of the province. It is, however, worth noting here that the time itself was rich in producing usurpers and king-makers as was evidenced in Delhi, Poona and Mysore. The last Dalawayi of Kantirava Narasa was Veerajiah of Kalele. The elder of the two sons of this Dalawayi was Deva Raja who, in his turn, became Dalawayi and retained the office almost till the usurpation of Hyder Ali. This Dalawayi whose sister was one of the wives of the Raja soon contrived to fill up important offices with his own people and by pampering the king with all conceivable luxuries managed to concentrate all real power in the state in his own hands. The rise of the person into prominence ultimately brought about the downfall of the dynasty though for the time being it made the administration somewhat vigorous. The most important events of this reign other than the above are two invasions of the Province ending in the siege of Srirangapatna and the final overthrow of the Gaud of Magadi. The first of these two invasions was undertaken by a confederacy of newly created Nawabs. The Mysore territory was surrounded by the dominions of Nawab Sadat Dollah of the Karnatic Payeenghat and Ameemkhan of the Karanatic Bala-ghat. Besides these, there were the Nawabs of Kurpa, Kurnool, and Sawandi. There was also a Maharatta neighbour Siddoji Ghoripara of Gooti. Srirangapatna was laid siege to by all

Wilks, vol. i., pp.
141-142.

these six together and Krishna Raja bought them all off by the payment of 72 lakhs of rupees to be equally divided among them, and 28 lakhs in addition to the negotiator of the peace, Sadat Dollah Khan, though the Palace History claims a victory to Mysore in this case as in the next. But the elaborate copper plate Grants which dwell at great length on the other virtues

Srirangapatna 64
and 100.

Tirumakadlu Na-
rasipur 63, pp. 79-80
(Translation).

of Krishna Raja make no mention of any such victory, and a victory is the last thing to be silently passed over by the panegyrist. Besides, the victories of the other sovereigns are carefully mentioned in the same grants (one of which makes mention of the victories of Dalawayi Deva Raja). The author of one of the grants referred

to is Tirumala Iyengar, who must, at least, have lived up to 1729, whereas the dates of these two invasions, as given by the Palace History, are 1725 for the confederate inva-

Srirangapatna 64,
p. 24 (Translation
Epi. Car.).

sion and 1727 for the Maharatta invasion. So, therefore, in both these, the Mysoreans must have had the worst of it. The second expedition was undertaken by Baji Rao at the head of the Maharattas and the Peshwa was likewise bought off by

Pp. 140-141.

Krishna Raja. To redeem these failures, however, Dalawayi Deva Raja succeeded in taking possession of the impregnable rock of Savandroog, the stronghold of the Gaud of Magadi.

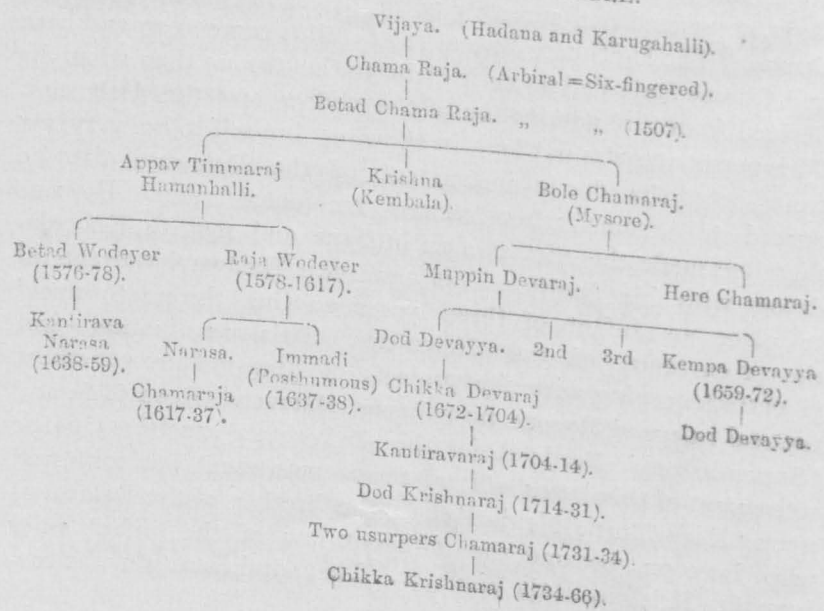
Wilks, vol. i., pp.
140-143.

The Gaud himself was taken prisoner and allowed to die in the state prison of Srirangapatna. In spite of this, however, the weakness of the Mysore State to defend itself against foreign invaders was proved beyond a doubt by the two invasions mentioned above, and this discovery led to a great deal of foreign complications which facilitated the upward course, first of the Dalawayi brothers and latterly of Hyder Ali. Having reigned for eighteen years Dodda Krishna Raja died without an heir in 1731. Dalawayi Deva Raja with the consent of the widow of Krishna Raja, who, however, was not his sister, placed a certain Chama Raja, connected but remotely with the ruling family, on the throne. The legitimate line of rulers thus came to an end here and Chama Raja had no more claim to the throne than what he derived from the nomination of the widow and the Dalawayi. This personage was not long in showing himself to be very far from being the docile instrument of the Dalawayi that he agreed to become when he was nominated ruler. He was therefore made the victim of an intrigue and sent to Kabbala-droog with his family. This time the Dalawayi was careful to place an infant of three years on the throne to avoid the recurrence of the difficulties. This nomination was in perfect keeping with the projects of king-makers generally, the real rulers of Mysore now being Dalawayi Deva Raja and 'Sarvadhikari,' Nanja Raja (the Dalawayi's uncle). On the retirement of this latter officer, the appointment was conferred upon 'Kara Churi,' Nanja Rajiah (the brother of the Dalawayi) who, later on, became the father-in-law of the infant ruler Immadi Krishna Raja Wodeyer. The administration was car-

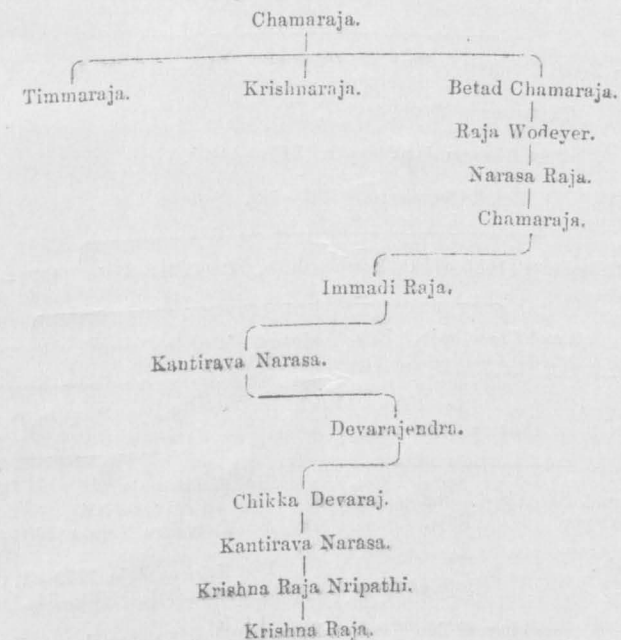
ried on by these two brothers, with the nominal Pradhan Venkatapathi of Canniambadi, with considerable vigour till owing to the advanced age of Deva Raja, the brothers exchanged offices. This change led to a misunderstanding between the brothers which eventually proved fatal to their power and thus paved the way for the rise of Hyder Ali who became the *de facto* ruler in 1761 A.D. Thus was brought to an end the rule of the Wodeyers in Mysore till it was revived under the ægis of the British power after the fall of Srirangapatna in 1799 A.D. The power of the Wodeyers will thus be seen to have passed through all the stages of decay that the Moghul rule underwent, but it had the good fortune to be revived which was denied to the other.

We have thus traced the tiny principality of Raja Wodeyer growing into the compact and powerful state under Chikka Deva Raja, and then made a rapid survey of the decline of fortune of the ruling family till the state passed out of its hands into those of a foreigner; and here we may well stop.

I.—WILKS' GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

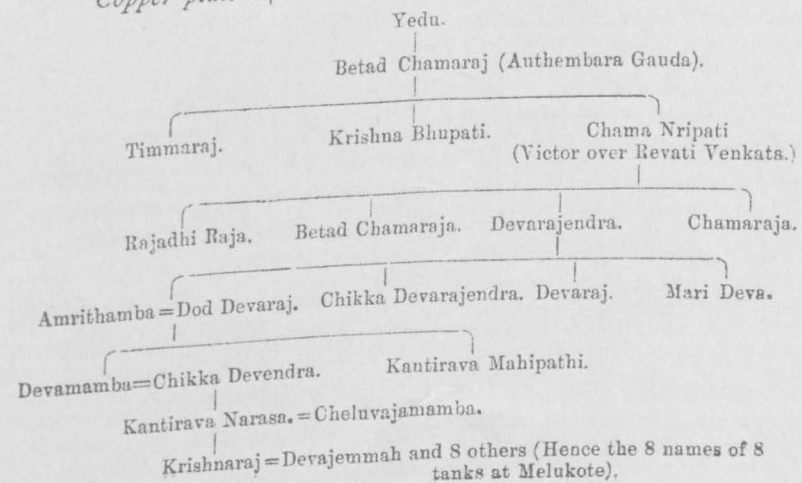


II.—DALAWAYI GRANT NO. 63, TIRUMAKUDLU NARSIPUR. (Epi-Karnataka).

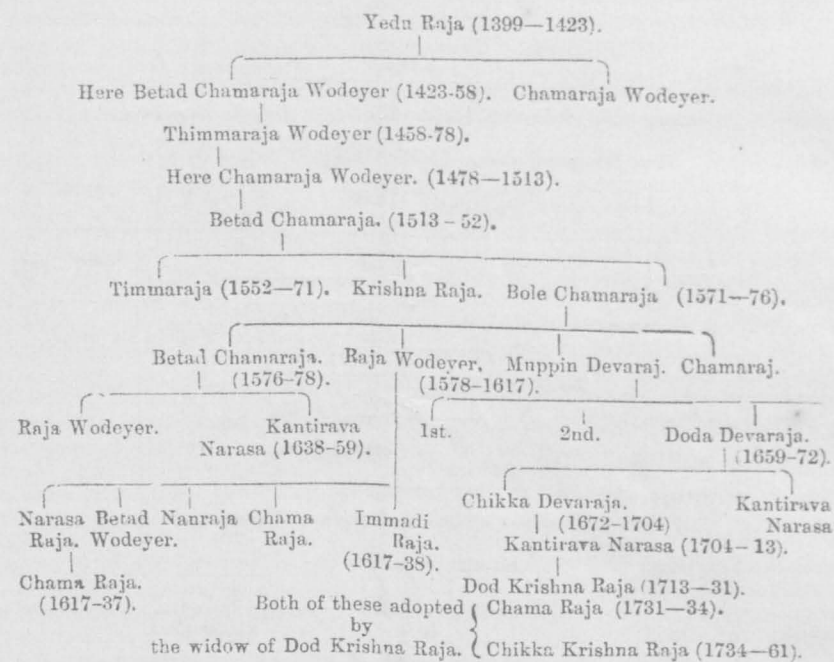


III.—SRIRANGAPATAM, NOS. 64 AND 100 OF EPIGRAPHIA KARNATAKA.

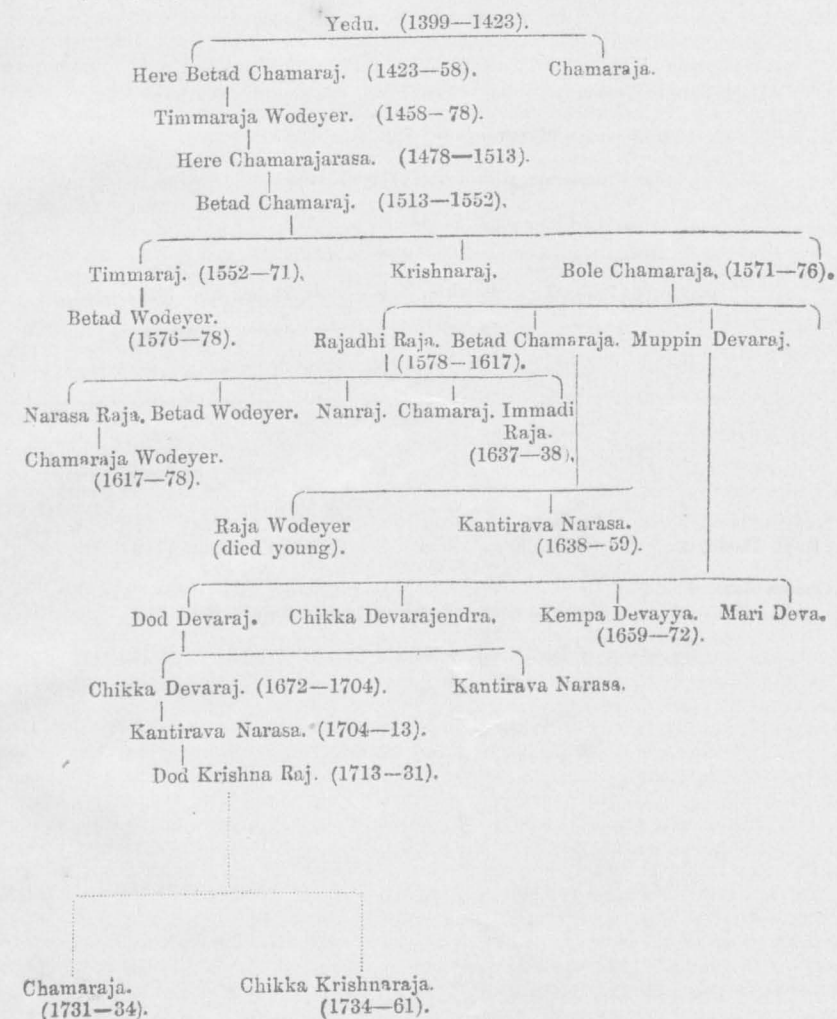
Copper-plate 64 and inscription 100 of Srirangapatam.



IV.—PALACE HISTORY.



V.—THE GENEALOGICAL TREE ADOPTED IN THE PAPER :—



S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYENGAR.

1899
 Pub. Dept.
 Encls. No. 1
 To
 C. No. 2875

Kolar Fort.

CHIEF SECRETARY
 13 OCT. 1899
 GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS
 10 Oct '99.

Sir,

I have the pleasure to send you this first a copy of my paper on 'Mysore under the Wodeyars' which was written for the M. A. Degree Examination of the Madras University last year. I got through the examination successfully and was allowed to publish it. It appeared in the Madras Review for May. And I am at present engaged upon the earlier periods of the history of Mysore for which the

epigraphical publications
of the Government are in-
valuable. As I understood
that the Madras Government
makes free gifts of such
publications to persons
like me, I beg of you
to kindly include my
name in the list of the
fortunate recipients of
such liberal gifts.

As I am not
sufficiently well-off to form
a library of my own by
purchase, I have made
this application to you.

Believing you
will kindly excuse me

S.A.
I cannot trace any
case where Govt made
free gifts of the publications
to persons like the
petitioner. I have looked
up from 92 up to
date
1904
3/11/11

the trouble and grant
the favour sought,

I remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant.

S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.

English Assistant,
Government High School,

Kolar.

To,

The Hon. C. Stokes, B.A., I.C.S.

Madras.

The petitioner S. Krishna-
Swami Aiyangar of the
Mysore Educational Service
says that he is engaged
in writing the earlier portion
of the history of Mysore
for which the Epigraphica
publications of this
Govt. are invaluable
and requests that his name
may be included in the
list of those to whom
such publications are
distributed. In epigraphic
publications it is ^{probable} ~~presumed~~
that the writer ~~does not~~
refer to the Court. Hence
publications a distribution

list of which will be found ^{note}
 in G.O. no. 129 Sub. and that C
^{merely} ~~he referred~~ to the annual
 report on Epigraphy. G.O. no.
 422. 3 Sub. Form the list of E
^{G.O. 9.28} addresses in the letter G.O.
 it will be seen that private
 in Divi duals are also included
 in its distribution list, and
 it is subd. that there seems to
 be no objection to including
 the present applicant in the
 list of addresses in that G.O.
 Orders are, however, requested
 as to whether the current
 should be referred to the G.O.
 Epigraphy for report as to
 including the applicants' ^{names}
 name in the list of those
 to whom the annual report
 is forwarded, and also as to
 whether there are any other
~~Epigraphical~~ ^{publications} that must
 possibly be supplied to the
 petitioner. All that is known
 of the applicant is that he is an
 Assistant School Master in Kolar

and that he has lately taken his
 degree as M.A. He appears to

For orders -
^{file}
 3/21/99

Subm. that this
 is unnecessary in
 any case.
^{file}
 3/21/99

^{P.C.}
 Draft order please
^{file}
 6/11/99

In C.S.
^{draft order}
 Subd. on separate sheet below
^{file}
 7/14/99

^{file}
 7/14/99

have no claim at all on Govt
 consideration in this matter &
 may, it is subm. be told that
 his request cannot be granted
^{file} If his work is recognized
^{3/21/99} by the Mysore Govt. he
 should apply to them. & the
 Govt. if he thinks it necessary
 will address this Govt.

^{file}
 4/4/99 Nothing is known of
 the man or his
 work and his request cannot
 be complied with.

[Signature]

Public

DEPARTMENT.

[24]
500-17-10-

C. No. 2875 From the M.R. Ry. S. Krishna Swami, No. , dated 11 - 10 - 1899.
Anjengar

" " " " " " 189 .
" " " " " " 189 .
" " " " " " 189 .

CS?

Order No. 1268 of 10-11-99
mis

The petitioner will be
informed that his request
cannot be complied with
(from order of 11-11-99)

for 7/11/99
for 8/11/99
for 7-11-99
H. H. H.

Done

To The Petitioner (Q to 1) signed
13/11/99

When given for copying

When copied 11/11

When examined 11/11

When signed

189

READ AGAIN G.O., No.
189

, DATED

CURRENT No.

ENCLOSURES TO C. No.

ORDER OF GOVERNMENT

LETTER OF GOVERNMENT.

STATEMENT WITH DITTO.

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IN ORIGINAL.

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